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Sonia Benson, Daniel E. Brannen Jr., and Rebecca Valentine
Lawrence W. Baker and Sarah Hermsen, Project Editors

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Reader's Guide

U•X•L Encyclopedia of U.S. History introduces students to the history of the United States from pre-Colonial America to present day. This 8-volume set explores the timeline of America: its founders, key historical figures, wars, events, political environment, economy, and culture. Entries were selected with guidance from the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Curriculum Standards for Social Studies—Middle School, which were adopted in 2002. The NCSS standards' eras are: Three Worlds Meet (Discovery of the New World, beginnings to 1620); Colonization and Settlement (1585–1763); Revolution and the New Nation (1754–1820s); Expansion and Reform (1801–61); Civil War and Reconstruction (1850–77); the Development of the Industrial United States (1870–1900); the Emergence of Modern America (1890–1930); the Great Depression and World War II (1929–45); Postwar United States (1945 to the early 1970s); and Contemporary United States (1968 to the present).

U•X•L Encyclopedia of U.S. History features nearly 700 entries—arranged alphabetically across the set—with more than 400 images and maps to help better illustrate the text. Each entry contains bolded terms that indicate cross-references to other entries within this set. In addition, several sidebar boxes offer additional insight into the people, places, and events that have occurred in American history. All eight volumes contain a general bibliography and a comprehensive cumulative subject index that provides easy access to subjects discussed throughout *U•X•L Encyclopedia of U.S. History.*

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A

Ralph Abernathy

Ralph David Abernathy and **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC) in 1957 to promote civil rights for black Americans. Abernathy has sometimes been called the "other side" of King, his longtime friend and associate. Abernathy found it easy to relate to the poor while King, at least in the early years, appealed more to the middle class. Together, the two men were a powerful team, attracting thousands of followers to the struggle for civil rights.

Early life

Ralph Abernathy was born on March 11, 1926. His father, William Abernathy, was a Baptist deacon and farmer. Abernathy aspired to be a preacher, but when he graduated from high school he was drafted into the U.S. Army to serve during the last months of **World War II** (1939–45). After the war, Abernathy enrolled at Alabama State College in Montgomery, **Alabama**. He was ordained a Baptist minister in 1948 and graduated with a bachelor's degree in mathematics in 1950. He earned a master's degree in sociology from Atlanta University the following year.

With King in Montgomery

In 1951, Abernathy became pastor of First Baptist Church in Montgomery. Three years later, King became pastor of another black church in Montgomery, Dexter Avenue Baptist. The two men became fast friends. Sharing a mutual interest in the struggle for civil rights,

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Ralph Abernathy (above), along with Martin Luther King Jr., founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and inspired thousands of people to get involved in the civil rights movement. AP IMAGES

Abernathy and King discussed how to go about bringing an end to **segregation** (the separation of blacks and whites in public places) in an orderly, nonviolent manner. Despite having been a soldier, Abernathy, like King, was convinced that nonviolence was the only acceptable means of protest.

Bus boycott

In 1955, Montgomery became the site of a huge civil rights event when a well-respected African American woman, **Rosa Parks** (1913–2005), refused to give up her seat to a white passenger on a city bus. She was arrested and fined. Parks's arrest touched a nerve in the community. The local Women's Political Council called for all black people of Montgomery to protest by refusing to ride the buses.

King and Abernathy quickly formed the Montgomery Improvement Association and held meetings to spread the word about the **Montgomery bus boycott**. They instructed local ministers to explain from their pulpits how the boycott was to be conducted and arranged for taxis and carpools to take people to work. The boycott began on December 5, 1955. Despite threats and intimidation, it lasted for more than one year, but it was successful. The U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled that segregation on Montgomery buses was illegal.

The SCLC

In 1957, King and Abernathy arranged a meeting in Atlanta, **Georgia**, with other Southern ministers. They formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization of churches and civic groups that would lead nonviolent protests across the South in pursuit of desegregation (ending the separation of blacks and whites in public places). King was elected president of the SCLC; Abernathy was its secretary-treasurer. While Abernathy was at the SCLC meeting, his home and the First Baptist Church were bombed, as were other homes and churches in

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Montgomery. Although his wife and children escaped unharmed, the warning was clear.

In 1960, King moved to Atlanta to devote more time to the SCLC, and the following year Abernathy joined him there, becoming pastor of West Hunter Street Baptist Church. During the next few years, the two ministers led nonviolent marches, sit-ins, and rallies in the major cities of the South. (See **Sit-in Movement**.) They were arrested a number of times and threatened often, but they attracted support across the nation. Little by little, they made progress against the segregation and discrimination faced by African Americans in the South. In 1965, Abernathy became the vice president of the SCLC.

Poor People's Campaign

By the mid-1960s, the **civil rights movement** had changed many laws and policies, but many African Americans were still disadvantaged and poor. To draw attention to poverty, King organized a Poor People's Campaign in 1968. He intended to march on **Washington, D.C.**, but he was assassinated on April 4, 1968, before he could carry out his plan. It was left to Abernathy to complete the task.

Soon after King's death, Abernathy, the new president of the SCLC, led a march to Washington to demonstrate for economic and civil rights. He and his followers set up a campsite called Resurrection City near the **Lincoln Memorial**, to which poor and homeless people came from across the country. The results of their efforts were disappointing, largely because Congress was preoccupied with the problems of the **Vietnam War** (1954–75).

Last years

As president of the SCLC, Abernathy led several protests against segregation in the South. He was often compared to King and was generally perceived as lacking the charisma and poise of his friend. He resigned from the SCLC in 1977 to run for Congress, but he failed to gain the seat. Undaunted, he formed an organization called the Foundation for Economic Enterprises Development (FEED) to teach job skills to African Americans.

Abernathy published his autobiography, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down,* in 1989. Because the book revealed that King had been

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carrying on extramarital affairs, critics accused Abernathy of betraying his long-deceased friend. He died the following year.

Abolition Movement

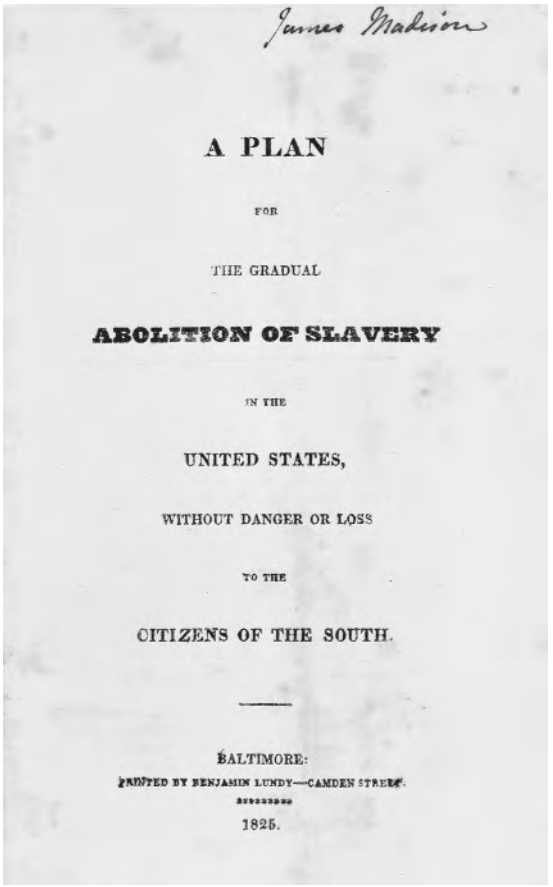
Abolition is the goal of abolishing, or completely eliminating, **slavery**. There were two significant eras of abolition in the United States. The early movement took place between 1770 and 1830 and focused on eliminating the African slave trade. Abolitionists of this early era assumed that prohibiting the importation of slaves from other countries would eventually result in eliminating slavery altogether. Thus, when the United States prohibited the foreign slave trade in 1808, many early abolitionists lost interest in the abolitionist cause. A second phase of the abolition movement—the "new abolitionism"—began in the 1830s and continued until the American **Civil War** ended in 1865. New abolition-



Members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, with well-known abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison seated bottom right. Garrison and the society used speeches, pamphlets, and newspapers to call for the immediate abolition of slavery.

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ists opposed gradual methods. They wanted immediate, unconditional emancipation (freeing of slaves). Other antislavery forces developed in this era that sought restrictions on slavery and were more agreeable to gradual emancipation through political negotiation.


James Madison

A PLAN

FOR

THE GRADUAL

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

IN THE

UNITED STATES,

WITHOUT DANGER OR LOSS

TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE SOUTH.

BALTIMORE:

PRINTED BY BENJAMIN LUNDY—CAMDEN STREET.

1825.

Many abolitionists wrote papers or distributed pamphlets suggesting ways to end slavery. This pamphlet from former U.S. president James Madison proposes the gradual abolition of slavery without endangering the economic and social stability of the South. © CORBIS

Early abolitionism

The first group to speak out against slavery in the United States was the **Quakers**, a Christian group founded in England on the belief that each individual is able to communicate with God and understand right and wrong through his or her own "inner light," or conscience. Beginning in the 1750s, Quakers in England took a strong moral stand against slavery. They helped to abolish the slave system in the British Empire by 1833. Quakers took early leadership in American antislavery activities beginning in the mid-eighteenth century. They were largely responsible for the first American abolition society, called the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, which was founded in 1775.

The **American Revolution** (1775–83) gave the United States even more reasons to oppose the injustices of slavery. Slavery not only violated the law of God, it contradicted the rights of human beings spelled out in the **Declaration of Independence**. Opposition to slavery was widespread in the new nation. By the 1780s, abolitionist societies had formed in most states, including the upper South. In the decades after the Revolution, many northern states abolished slavery. In **New Jersey** and **New York**, legislation demanding immediate emancipation failed. There, abolition groups passed laws freeing slaves when they reached a certain birthday.

In 1808, the U.S. Congress prohibited foreign slave trade, although people could still buy and sell slaves within the United States. The abolitionists' hopes that this act would result in the end of slavery proved to be unfounded. The South resisted pressure to emancipate slaves. Most

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Americans assumed that the U.S. **Constitution** left the issue of slavery to state governments and that the U.S. Congress could abolish slavery only in new territories. Many people in the North and South accepted slavery as a necessary evil.

American Colonization Society

In the early nineteenth century, a plan for ending slavery arose that appealed to slaveholders and abolitionists alike: freeing African slaves and then sending them to live somewhere outside of the United States. Most reasons for relocation were based on racism. Many whites—Southerners and Northerners alike—were uncomfortable with the idea of having freed slaves living and working in their communities. If former slaves could be relocated outside the United States, slaveholders might be less reluctant to free them, and nonslaveholding whites might be less anxious about competition for work. Some Northern reformers approved of relocation on the grounds that it would be kinder to the freed slaves, since they believed American society would never treat black people fairly or accept them as equals.

The **American Colonization Society** (ACS) was founded in 1816 as the major relocation, or colonization, organization for freed slaves. It acquired land in Liberia, Africa, for its proposed colony of freed slaves and rapidly won the approval of church and government leaders in the North and South. But the efforts of the ACS were slow; it sent only a few thousand blacks to Liberia before 1830. Enthusiasm for the movement faded as doubts grew about its practicality. A large group of black and white abolitionists united in their opposition to sending freed slaves to Africa.

Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society

By 1830, abolitionists who rejected the idea of relocating former slaves had set a new goal: the immediate, unconditional end of slavery. Characterizing their strategy for achieving this end as "moral suasion," or persuasion by appealing to people's conscience, the new abolitionists employed agents to work throughout the country as missionaries in the antislavery cause. These missionaries converted as many people as they could to abolitionism and organized their converts into local antislavery societies. The new abolition movement spread rapidly. In 1832, eleven persons formed the New England Anti-Slavery Society; by 1837,

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Massachusetts had 145 societies, New York had 274, and **Ohio** had 213. In December 1833, sixty-three men (only three of them black) formed the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). By 1838, the AASS claimed 1,350 affiliated societies, with membership approaching a quarter million participants.

The best-known of the new abolitionists was William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879). Garrison had formed strong alliances with black abolitionists such as James E. Forten (1766–1842), a wealthy black Philadelphian, in the anticolonization campaign. Garrison launched a Boston-based abolitionist newspaper, the *Liberator,* in 1831; the great majority of its readers were black. Garrison's book *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832) persuaded many young reformers to change loyalties and follow Garrison's course, calling for the immediate abolition of slavery and rejecting all compromises or half measures.

Garrison and the AASS used tactics of moral suasion and not politics in their war against slavery. Through speeches, pamphlets, newspapers, and individual contact, they spread the word to the nation that slavery was a sin. They hoped that clergymen and other opinion leaders would be persuaded and exert pressure on slaveholders. Their movement gained the greatest following in the Northeast. A growing middle class deemed slavery at odds with its religious beliefs and the free-labor system. Churches, though, generally remained aloof from the movement, and community leaders were generally hostile to the ardent reformers. Abolitionists were denounced as troublemakers who wanted to interfere with local authorities.

Political abolitionism

When the churches failed to respond to their message, some abolitionist leaders began to press for change through political legislation. These abolitionists tended to be less uncompromising than Garrison and his followers. They wanted to focus on restricting slavery and were not willing to engage in some of the other reforms Garrison had taken up, such as women's rights. In 1840, when Garrison appointed a woman to a committee, a conflict arose among leaders of the AASS over the role of women within the organization. A second abolitionist group, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, split from the AASS. Members of this new group favored a political strategy to end slavery. They supported the new Liberty Party in 1840 and 1844. By 1846, sup-

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port for that party had faded, and most political abolitionists gave their votes to the new antislavery **Free Soil Party** in 1848.

The Free Soil Party grew dramatically in the 1850s, due mainly to the outrage of Northerners over the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required people in nonslaveholding states to return runaway slaves to their owners in slaveholding states. (See **Fugitive Slave Laws**.) At this time, there was also a huge public response to the abolitionist novel ***Uncle Tom's Cabin*** (1852), written by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896). When chaos and violence broke out in the new territory of **Kansas** between those who wanted slavery and those who opposed it, antislavery sentiments in the North soared. Unlike Garrison and the AASS, the political abolitionists compromised on their goals, generally accepting slavery in the states in which it already existed and even in some new territories. Garrison, by contrast, had counseled abolitionists to stick to the moral high ground by firmly denouncing the injustice of all slavery and racism.

Black abolitionism

Black abolitionists tended to favor political action, but they complained repeatedly that white abolitionist organizations put blacks primarily in supporting roles. After 1840, black abolitionists met more frequently within their own organizations, held their own conventions, and supported their own newspapers, such as Samuel E. Cornish (c. 1795–c. 1858) and John Brown Russwurm's (1799–1851) *Freedom's Journal* and abolitionist and orator **Frederick Douglass**'s (c. 1817–1895) *North Star.*

Douglass had been closely allied with Garrison and the AASS, but by the 1840s he turned more frequently to separate "Negro Conventions" as the best institution through which to organize against slavery and racial prejudice. Like Douglass, other black abolitionists garnered significant support. Among the more popular speakers were former slaves William Craft (c. 1824–1900), Ellen Craft (c. 1826–c. 1897, **Sojourner Truth** (c. 1797–1883), and William Wells Brown (c. 1815–1884). Each was skilled at depicting the horrors of slavery, and they all sold personal narratives and gathered funds to support the movement.

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The appeal of violence

By 1850, many black leaders ceased talking about "moral suasion" and began to talk about violent rebellion. If whites did not concede to blacks the right to self-defense, some leaders asked, and if blacks never showed their willingness to fight, then how could Southern slavery and Northern injustice ever end? Even white abolitionists began to contemplate warfare. Those who followed Garrison believed proslavery leaders dominated the political system. At one public meeting in 1854, Garrison denounced the Fugitive Slave Act and burned the Constitution. White abolitionist John Brown (1800–1859) was so convinced that violence was the only way to achieve abolition that he planned an all-out war against slavery in the South. In 1859, he led a raid on a federal arsenal in the city of Harpers Ferry, in what is now West Virginia, intending to steal weapons to give to slaves. (See **Harper's Ferry Raid**.) The raid was a dismal failure, but it drew the divided nation's attention to the urgency of the problem.

The end of slavery

In 1854, political abolitionists formed the **Republican Party**, which was dedicated to stopping the spread of slavery into the western territories. In 1856, this party carried eleven northern states in the presidential election, and numerous Republicans were elected to the U.S. Congress and state offices. As a candidate for the U.S. Senate and later as a presidential candidate, **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865) never came out against slavery in existing states, but he did insist that slavery be prohibited in the new western lands, a point that many Southerners interpreted as a clear antislavery stance. When he was elected president, seven southern states seceded, or withdrew, from the United States. Four more seceded when Lincoln began to gather his army for war in 1861.

The onset of the American Civil War (1861–65) unified the antislavery factions. White and black abolitionists joined Douglass and Garrison in lobbying for immediate emancipation and the enlistment of free blacks in the Union (Northern) army. Other abolitionists focused on organizing aid for the thousands of former slaves who, as soon as war broke out, had fled to the Northern states. Sponsored by church groups and freedman's aid societies, reformers moved to **Washington, D.C.**; New Orleans, **Louisiana**; and Port Royal, **South Carolina**, to be near

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the former slaves and to provide material aid and basic schooling. These efforts continued and expanded after the war.

Midway through the war, Lincoln took two giant steps toward freedom for African Americans. In January 1863, Lincoln issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**, freeing all slaves in the United States. He also announced the formation of black military units. All abolitionists hailed the passage in January 1865 of the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery in the United States, as completing the legal process of abolition.

Abstract Expressionism

Abstract Expressionism, a visual arts movement that emerged in the late 1930s and 1940s, challenged accepted standards of what was art. Embracing improvisation (simultaneous creation and production), individuality, and energy, it was the first art movement with origins in America. Abstract art moved beyond representing reality as everyone experienced it daily. Rather than depicting people, landscapes, familiar objects, or elements from nature, the Abstract Expressionists used color, shapes, lines, and space to evoke another part of reality.

European artists in the 1920s—the Surrealists, Expressionists, and Cubists—had painted canvases in which objects and people were still recognizable but far from realistic. When **World War II** broke out in Europe in the late 1930s, many influential artists fled to the United States. Their experiments and explorations had a great influence on American painters. New York City, rather than Paris, became the center of artistic activity. Rejecting the goal of representing the world around them, instead the so-called New York School of painters wanted to convey spontaneous emotions and the subconscious mind (the part of thinking that is not in our awareness).

Many Abstract Expressionist paintings were done on very large canvases. Jackson Pollock (1912–1956) dripped and flung paint onto canvases to allow movement and color to express the subconscious mind. In his paintings, Mark Rothko (1903–1970) achieved great emotional effects by layering and stacking rectangular fields of color, with the colors bleeding into each other at the edges.

Abstract Expressionism was a radical break from traditional art, and at first it was difficult for many to accept. In the political climate of the

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Cold War in the 1950s, however, Abstract Expressionism became a symbol of American freedom and the quest for the new. Whereas the Soviet Union strictly controlled artistic expression, in the United States Abstract Expressionists were free to experiment as they wished—in keeping with the American ideals of democracy, freedom of expression, and innovation.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

See **AIDS**

John Adams

John Adams was the first vice president of the United States (from 1789 to 1797) and the second president of the United States (from 1797 to 1801). During the **American Revolution** (1775–83), he served as one of the leading politicians in the first and second Continental Congresses. (See **Continental Congress, First** and **Continental Congress, Second**.) He was well regarded by his fellow politicians as a man of strong intellect.



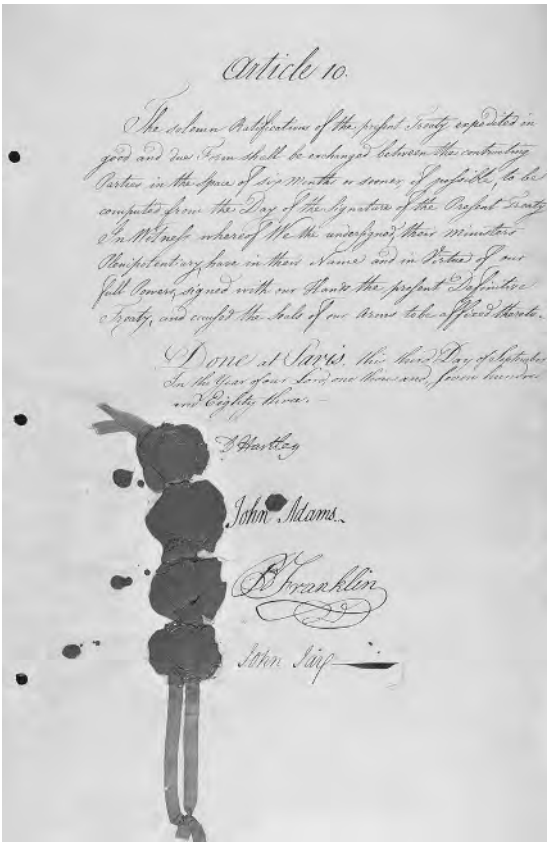
John Adams, the second president of the United States and one of the leading politicians in the first and second Continental Congresses. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Early life

Adams was born in Braintree (later called Quincy), **Massachusetts**, on October 30, 1735. His father, also named John Adams, was a farmer and leather goods maker who also served as a church deacon, town selectman, and lieutenant in the local militia. The elder Adams and his wife, Suzanne Boyleston, also had two other sons, Peter and Elihu.

Adams spent much of his youth outdoors in rural Braintree and planned to be a farmer when he grew up. Adams was educated by two private tutors and attended a public school called Dame School. In 1751, Adams's parents sent him to Harvard College to study to be a clergyman.

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John Adams helped negotiate peace with Great Britain and signed the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolution in 1783.
© CORBIS

Among the twenty-eight initial students in his class, Adams eventually ranked in the top three.

After graduating from Harvard in 1755, the nineteen-year-old Adams moved to Worcester, Massachusetts, thirty miles west of Boston. There he started to teach grammar school. He lived in the house of James Putnam, a Harvard graduate and lawyer. Adams studied law under Putnam and in 1758 returned to his parents' home in Boston to practice law.

In 1764 Adams married Abigail Smith, the daughter of a clergyman. She too was intelligent, and their marriage was marked by loyalty and friendship. Together they had five children: Abby, John Quincy, Susanna, Charles, and Thomas. Susanna died when she was just one.

Law and activism

In the 1760s, Adams continued to study law and slowly built his law practice. He also became involved in revolutionary politics. When the **French and Indian War** ended in 1763, victorious Great Britain had amassed great debts. To pay them, the British Parliament enacted a series of tax laws that became known in America as the Intolerable Acts. Many Americans began to feel it was unfair for Parliament, in which America had no elected representatives, to tax Americans.

After Parliament enacted the **Sugar Act** of 1764 and the **Stamp Act** of 1765, John Adams's cousin, statesman Samuel Adams (1722–1803), organized protests in Boston. John Adams attended meetings and emerged as an effective spokesman against Britain's imperial policies. In August 1765, he published the first in a series of four essays in the *Boston Gazette* newspaper. The essays, later published in Britain, described how colonists had emigrated to America to establish civil governments based on liberty and freedom.

In his law practice, Adams worked on a variety of cases, including divorce, wills, rape, and trespass. Adams defended John Hancock (1737–1793), who would be the first signer of the **Declaration of**

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Independence, against smuggling charges brought by British customs officials. In 1770, Adams defended Captain Thomas Preston, the British officer in charge at the **Boston Massacre** of March 5, 1770. That event happened when British soldiers fired upon a crowd of colonists, killing five of them. Adams received much criticism for defending Preston. Adams, however, believed every man deserved a fair trial, and Adams won the case.

American Revolution politics and diplomacy

In 1774, the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia to seek solutions to America's problems with Great Britain. Adams was chosen to attend as a representative from Massachusetts. Not yet in favor of independence, Adams recommended a system of equal parliaments in America and Britain with common allegiance to the crown.

In April 1775, the Revolutionary War began with the **Battle of Lexington and Concord**. Adams served that May in the Second Continental Congress, where he supported future president **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) to lead the Continental Army. By then, Adams believed independence was necessary. In February 1776, he gave Congress a pamphlet called "Thoughts on Government," in which he proposed a system of governments for the colonies. Later that year, Adams seconded the motion in Congress that led to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

Adams served America during the war as a commissioner in France, seeking foreign aid for the American cause. Returning to Boston in 1779, Adams attended the state convention that prepared the Massachusetts state constitution, which Adams drafted. Along with **Benjamin Franklin** (1706–1790) and John Jay (1745–1829), Adams served as commissioner to negotiate peace with Great Britain and eventually signed the **Treaty of Paris** to end the war in 1783. From 1785 to 1788, Adams served as America's first minister to Great Britain, missing the action as America drafted a **Constitution** to form a new plan of government.

In the federal government

Adams returned to America in 1788 and was chosen to be the nation's first vice president. He served under President Washington throughout

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both of Washington's two terms, from 1789 to 1797. Writing to his wife, Abigail, Adams called the office of vice president insignificant.

Washington's decision to retire after two terms gave Adams a chance to seek the presidency. Adams was a member of the **Federalist Party**, which generally favored a strong federal government. Adams's chief opponent for the presidency was the leader of the **Democratic-Republican Party**, **Thomas Jefferson**. The Democratic-Republican Party, whose members also became known as Jeffersonian Republicans, generally favored a smaller role for the federal government but strong state governments.

Adams defeated Jefferson and took office as president in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, on March 4, 1797. Jefferson became vice president because he received the second most electoral votes; this system eventually was changed by the **Twelfth Amendment** to the Constitution in 1804.

One of Adams's first decisions as president was one he eventually called one of his greatest mistakes: keeping Washington's cabinet instead of creating his own. The cabinet is the group of people who lead the major departments in the executive branch of government. In 1797, those positions included the attorney general, the secretary of state, the secretary of the treasury, and the secretary of war. Keeping Washington's cabinet was an error because they were very loyal to former attorney general **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804), the leader of the Federalist Party, with whom Adams had many problems throughout his presidency.

Foreign affairs

When Adams became president, America was being drawn into a naval war between Great Britain and France. The two European countries had been fighting since 1793 over issues related to commerce and imperial power. Amidst that conflict, Great Britain began capturing American merchant vessels and forcing the ships' sailors into naval service for Great Britain.

America tried to end its problems with Great Britain by signing a treaty in 1795. France considered this to be a violation of France's own treaties with America. So France began to capture American merchant vessels carrying goods to Great Britain and to force American sailors into service for France.

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Adams wanted to avoid war as much as possible. Many members of the Federalist Party, however, wanted America to align with Great Britain and fight France. Hamilton was among that group, and his desire for war with France contributed to his problems with Adams. Democratic-Republicans, including Vice President Jefferson, tended to favor France and to prefer that America stay out of the conflict if possible.

Early in March 1797, Adams proposed to send a Democratic-Republican, future president **James Madison** (1751–1836; served 1809–17), to negotiate the problems with France. Opposed to Madison, Adams's cabinet threatened to resign, so Adams dropped the idea. He instead sent a bipartisan commission to Paris, France, in July 1797. The commission consisted of **South Carolina** governor Charles Pinckney (1757–1824), **Virginia** politician John Marshall (1755–1835), and former U.S. representative Elbridge Gerry (1744–1814) of Massachusetts.

Anonymous French agents told the commission that negotiations could not begin without a monetary bribe from the Americans to help France in its war with Great Britain. The scandal led to a louder cry for war with France. Adams allowed American merchant vessels to arm themselves. Congress passed laws breaking all treaties with France and authorizing the seizure of French ships that endangered U.S. commerce. It also created the Department of the **Navy** in April 1798 and added the U.S. **Marine Corps** in July.

Domestic affairs

The conflict with France led to the passage of the **Alien and Sedition Acts** in 1798. These were four laws that increased the time for foreigners to become U.S. citizens, empowered the president to deport foreigners under certain conditions, and made it a crime to publish "false, scandalous, and malicious" things about the government. One newspaper at the time wrote, "It is Patriotism to write in favor of our government—it is sedition to write against it."

Adams did not actively enforce the Alien Acts. His administration, however, used the Sedition Act to file criminal charges against many newspapers editors who favored the Democratic-Republican Party. Hamilton did not think Adams was doing enough to enforce these laws, which added to the problems between the two men.

The federal budget nearly doubled during Adams's administration. To raise money, Congress passed a tax law called the Window Tax in July

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1798. When three Pennsylvanians were jailed in early 1799 for refusing to pay the tax, John Fries (1764–1825) led a rebellion to force federal marshals to release the prisoners. Adams ordered the rebellion to cease and sent federal troops to crush it. Fries and his supporters were sentenced to death for treason, but Adams pardoned them for their crimes. This increased his unpopularity with the Federalists.

A number of government offices were formed during the Adams administration, including the U.S. Public Health Service in 1798 and the Library of Congress in 1800. The **Mississippi** and **Indiana** territories were created in 1798 and 1800. Also in 1800, Adams became the first president to reside in the White House after the federal government relocated to **Washington, D.C.**

Peace with France and the campaign of 1800

Adams arranged his final diplomatic mission to France in February 1799. He sent Ambassador to the Netherlands William Murray (1760–1803), Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth (1745–1807), and **North Carolina** governor William Davie (1756–1920) to negotiate for peace. In October 1800, they signed the Treaty of Mortefontaine, finally reaching peace with France.

News of the peace failed to reach America in time to help Adams win the presidential election of 1800. Division in the Federalist Party allowed Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican candidate, to emerge the victor. The Democratic-Republican Party also won control of Congress in the election.

In the wake of defeat, the Federalist-controlled Congress passed a judiciary act before the end of the term. It empowered Adams in his last months in office to appoint new judges—aligned with the Federalist Party—to federal courts.

Retirement

At the age of 65 in March 1801, John Adams returned to his home and farm in Quincy, Massachusetts, where he spent the rest of his life. He wrote often to family and friends, and from 1802 to 1806 he worked on his autobiography. His wife, Abigail, died in 1818, which was a profound loss to Adams. In 1824, Adams had the paternal honor of seeing

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his son, **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–29), elected as the sixth president of the United States.

Around 1811, Adams resumed his friendship with Thomas Jefferson. The two spent the remainder of their lives corresponding about politics, philosophy, theology, and personal matters. By historic coincidence, they both died on July 4, 1826, fifty years after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

John Quincy Adams

John Quincy Adams was more effective in his term as secretary of state than he was during his one term in the White House. His efforts as president were frustrated by opponents and by his inability to compromise. An intelligent and committed politician, he went on to a distinguished eighteen-year career in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Growing up in the Revolutionary War years

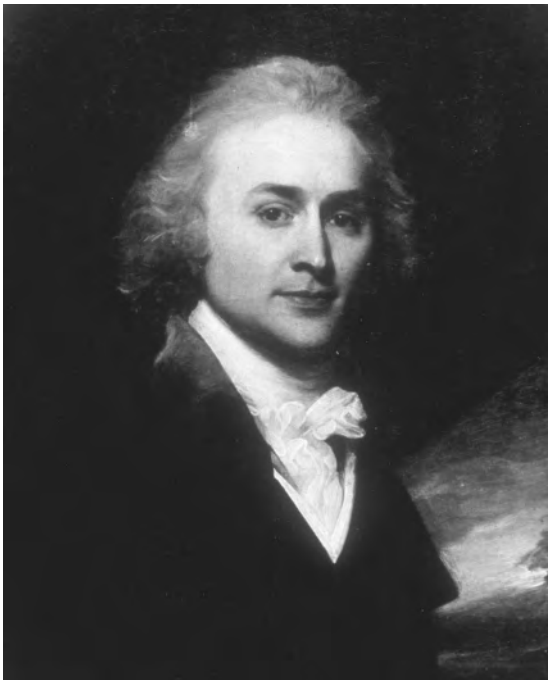
Adams was born on July 11, 1767, into a highly distinguished New England family in Braintree, **Massachusetts**. His father, **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801), would become the second president of the United States. As a young boy, Adams was intrigued with all that was happening in the years leading up to the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the war for independence from Great Britain. Adams was an exceptionally intelligent young man. He attended private schools in Europe, graduated from Harvard College, and then studied law.

While still in school, Adams served as secretary to his father in Paris, France, during negotiations in 1783 to end the American Revolution. In 1794, President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) appointed him minister to the Netherlands. After his father became president in 1796, Adams served as minister to Prussia, in present-day Germany.

A change in political course

In 1803, Adams was elected to the U.S. Senate. His father was one of the founders of **Federalism**—a school of political thought that supported a strong national government and an industrial (business and manufacturing) economy. Adams's supporters in Massachusetts fully expected him to support **Federalist Party** policies, but as he watched the new nation

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John Quincy Adams had a prominent eighteen-year career in the U.S. House of Representatives after serving as the sixth president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

take shape, his sympathies turned toward the **Democratic-Republican Party**, which favored states' rights over federal power and an agrarian (farming) economy. Adams frequently voted in favor of the policies of the Democratic-Republican president, **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9), including the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803, which nearly doubled the size of the United States. Having infuriated many of the people who elected him, he joined the Democratic-Republican Party (which was also known as the Jeffersonian Republican Party) at the end of his term in the Senate.

Secretary of state

Adams served in important overseas missions under President **James Madison** (1751–1836; served 1809–17) and was appointed secretary of state under President **James Monroe** (1758–1831; served 1817–25) from 1817 to 1825. In this position, he used his keen diplomatic skills to build and strengthen the United States. In the aftermath of the **War of 1812** (1812–15), a conflict over trade between Great Britain and the United States, he hammered out an arms-reduction agreement with Great Britain. He also negotiated with Great Britain to establish the boundary between British Canada and the United States. In 1819, Adams convinced Spain to cede **Florida** to the United States.

In 1823, President Monroe presented the **Monroe Doctrine** to Congress, which declared that the United States would not tolerate European interference in, or colonization of, the independent countries in the Western Hemisphere. Adams was a principal author of the Monroe Doctrine, which has served as the foundation of U.S. foreign policy since that time.

President

Adams joined the race for the presidency in 1824, running against four other Democratic-Republican nominees, one of whom was the popular military general **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845). Although a majority of

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the popular vote went to Jackson, the race was close, and it fell to the House of Representatives to choose the new president. The House chose Adams as the sixth U.S. president. Many felt that Jackson was robbed of the presidency.

Adams moved into the White House full of ideas. He planned to expand the country's roads and canals, build a national university, improve bankruptcy laws, create a standard system of weights and measures for American business, and much more. Once in office, though, he discovered that every move he made was fiercely opposed by Jackson's supporters in Congress. The Jacksonians were not his only problem. Adams refused to play the customary political game in Washington, D.C., neglecting to reward his supporters with the political appointments they expected. His instincts were honorable, but his lack of charm and unwillingness to compromise prevented him from gaining a popular following. He lost the election of 1828 to Jackson.

Post-presidential years

In 1830, the former president was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Adams served with distinction from 1831 until his death in 1848, earning the nickname "Old Man Eloquent" for his speeches. His crowning achievement was his opposition to the "gag rules" that prevented antislavery petitions from being read on the floor of the House. Adams argued that the rules violated the **First Amendment** of the U.S. **Constitution**, which protects the freedom of speech and the right to petition the government. The House discarded the "gag rules" in 1844. While never officially declaring himself to be in favor of abolishing **slavery**, Adams became an outspoken champion of the antislavery movement in Congress.

In 1848, Adams suffered a stroke on the House floor. He was carried to the Speaker's room, where he died two days later.

Jane Addams

Jane Addams was the first woman to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. She dedicated her life to caring for others and co-founded one of the first settlement houses in the United States.

Born on September 6, 1860, Laura Jane Addams was the eighth child of Sarah and John Addams. The Cedarville, **Illinois**, family pros-

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pered, thanks to the good business sense of Addams's father, who owned a mill and eventually a bank. Addams lost her mother to illness before her third birthday, and her eldest sister, Mary, took over the responsibility of raising the children. Addams formed an especially close relationship with her father, who instilled in her a strong sense of morality and responsibility in helping others.

After graduating at the top of her class in 1881 from Rockford Female Seminary, Addams enrolled in medical school, but she did not stay there long. Her father died suddenly of a burst appendix, and around that time Addams's own health took a turn for the worse. She spent years in and out of the hospital and took six months of bed rest to recover from spinal surgery. Afterward, Addams traveled around Europe for nearly two years. She took another two years to write and decide what she wanted to do with her life.



Jane Addams founded Hull House, which became a key component of the immigration experience in Chicago and was one of the most famous settlement houses in American history. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Finds inspiration in England

During another trip to Europe, this time in 1888, twenty-seven-year-old Addams and her close friend Ellen Gates Starr (1859–1940) visited a settlement house (community center) in London. Toynbee Hall was Great Britain's first university settlement. There, college students could work together to help improve the lives of the city's poverty-stricken population. Addams and Starr were so impressed with the settlement project that they returned to America determined to develop their own settlement house. (See **Settlement House Movement**.)

The following year, the two women leased a large, rundown building in the heart of Chicago's immigrant slum (a district marked by intense poverty and filth). Starr and Addams moved into the building with the goal of restoring it and providing neighborhood families with a place to go where they could improve themselves while forging a sense of community with one another. They named the building Hull House (real estate tycoon Charles Hull

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[1820–1889] had once lived in the building). Although Hull House was not the first settlement house in America, it would become the most famous.

The birth of Hull House

The settlement became a key component of the immigration experience in Chicago. Historians estimate that in 1890, 68 to 80 percent of Chicago's population was foreign-born. Immigrants who sailed to America's shores and headed for Chicago went directly to Hull House, where they knew they could find trustworthy people to help them locate jobs, homes, and food. That year Hull House was servicing two thousand people each week.

Once Hull House proved itself a worthy cause, Addams and Starr had little problem securing monetary donations to help keep it running. Free medical care was provided, as was relief for the unemployed. Addams made sure Hull House clients received education not only in academics but also in skills necessary for daily life. She and her colleagues taught immigrants the English language and how to count money and perform simple math calculations. She taught them how to read and made sure they learned how to use the political system to their advantage.

Through the decades, Hull House continued to provide a safe gathering place for its neighborhood citizens. In 1961, the University of Illinois at Chicago decided it would build its campus on the site of Hull House. Although the neighborhood fought the decision, Hull House officially closed in 1963. Closing of the settlement house proved to be a major loss for Chicago's poor and displaced, as they now had one less place to which they could turn for help.

Addams goes national

Addams became involved with other organizations as her reputation grew. In 1905, she was appointed to the Chicago Board of Education and elected as chairperson of the School Management Committee. Three years later, she helped found the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy (charitable giving), and she became the first female president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1909. That same year, she helped establish the **National Association for the**

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Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an organization that promotes equality between the races and is still active in the twenty-first century. From 1911 to 1914, Addams was vice president of the National American Women's Suffrage Association, one of the key women's organizations of the era. All the while, she remained at the center of social reform in Chicago. Addams headed investigations involving city sanitation issues and even accepted a position as a garbage inspector.

Throughout, a feminist

Addams believed women should have voting rights, and she encouraged women to create their own opportunities for growth and development. She was also a pacifist (one who is against violence of any kind), and she traveled the country speaking on the importance of peace. She gave lectures against America's involvement in **World War I** (1914–18) and was made chairperson of the Women's Peace Party in 1915. Shortly after that, she was elected president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a position she held until 1929.

Addams's public disapproval of America's involvement in the war brought attacks upon her in the newspapers and political magazines. Addams did not let the controversy weaken her position; she chose instead to work with **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964), who would soon be elected U.S. president, in a program that provided food supplies to the women and children of America's enemies in the war. For her tireless humanitarian efforts, Addams was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931.

In addition to her many social and political activities, Addams found time to write. She authored numerous magazine articles on social reform issues and published seven books on social reform and pacifism. Addams died of cancer on May 21, 1935.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action refers to federal requirements for employers that are made to protect minorities and women from discrimination (being treated differently) and to increase minority representation in the workforce. Although few people would deny its beneficial effects in bringing opportunities to more minorities and women, affirmative action has been highly controversial since it came into being in the mid-1960s.

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Established in two acts

Affirmative action began with the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, particularly Title VII of the act, which made it illegal for employers to discriminate against anyone on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and required them to provide equal employment opportunities for everyone. It soon became apparent that Title VII, simply by prohibiting present-day discrimination, could not make up for the continuing effects of past discrimination. Many people argued that members of minority groups, having been the victims of discrimination for many generations, had often been deprived of the education, experience, and connections of those who had never been the target of discrimination.

To address this disparity, in 1965 President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) initiated affirmative action when he signed Executive Order 11246, which required federal contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated … without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin." The overall goal was to bring groups that had been discriminated against in the past into the workforce at a more rapid rate than natural. Employers were required to compare the percentage of minorities in their present labor force with the percentage of minorities in the general population. If the employers identified situations in which minorities were underrepresented in their company, they were to file written plans that included goals, timetables, and strategies to correct the situation.

Certain affirmative action hiring processes were not allowed. Ruling in *Griggs v. Duke Power Company* (1971), the **Supreme Court** allowed affirmative action recruiting practices that were designed to increase the pool of female and minority applicants but prohibited quotas—numerical goals for the hiring of women and minorities.

Growing restrictions

During the 1970s and 1980s, as jobs became more scarce in the United States, opposition to affirmative action increased. Opponents felt that when an individual belonging to a minority was hired under affirmative action, someone else, probably a white male, was disqualified. In 1977, the Supreme Court took up a case that addressed this kind of "reverse discrimination," or discrimination against someone from the majority. In *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke,* white applicants who

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had been rejected from the University of California-Davis Medical School argued that the school had discriminated against them to fill a minority quota. The Supreme Court struck down the university's racial-quota admissions system but upheld the basis of affirmative action, ruling that it was acceptable to take race into account as a positive factor in admissions as a way to create a diverse student body.

In 1994, the **Republican Party** became the majority party in the U.S. Congress and promised to curb or end affirmative action programs. At the same time, **California** governor Pete Wilson (1933–) began tearing down his state's affirmative action structure, beginning with admissions and hiring procedures at the University of California. Governors in other states soon announced their own renunciation of affirmative action programs.

In 1995, the U.S. Supreme Court heard the case *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña.* Adarand, a **Colorado** highway guardrail company owned by a white male, filed the lawsuit to challenge the constitutionality of a federal program designed to favor minority businesses when awarding contracts. The Court ruled that federal affirmative action programs must be tested, calling for "strict scrutiny" in determining whether discrimination existed before using a federal affirmative action program. The ruling greatly restricted affirmative action practices. In response, President **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) called for major changes in the way affirmative action was carried out and prohibited quotas, reverse discrimination, and preferential treatment for unqualified individuals.

College admissions and an uncertain future

In the 1996 case *Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School,* the U.S. Court of Appeals overturned the 1978 *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* decision, which had supported race as a determining factor in school admissions. In *Hopwood,* the Court asserted that diversity was not necessarily in the interest of the state. Texas public universities were required to change their admissions processes so that race would no longer be a factor. In 2003, however, the Supreme Court upheld the University of Michigan Law School's affirmative action admissions policy, acknowledging that the school could benefit from a diverse campus, thus ruling that race could be a factor in admissions as long as it is not an overriding factor.

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Affirmative action programs survived into the twenty-first century, though greatly reduced from their original character. The subject remained highly controversial, with neither opponents nor supporters showing any sign of changing their position.

Afghanistan Conflict

The invasion of Afghanistan by U.S. forces in October 2001 began as a quick and effective strike, ousting a tyrannical government and sending terrorist forces into hiding. For a number of reasons, the Afghanistan War dragged on for years after the invasion, allowing the enemy a chance to regain some of its power.

Retaliation for a terrorist attack

Within hours of the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks** on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, the administration of President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) determined that members of the **al-Qaeda** terrorist network were responsible for the attacks. Two airliners crashed into the Twin Towers of New York City's World Trade Center, a third airliner crashed into the Pentagon, and a fourth jet crashed into a Pennsylvania field before arriving at its intended target. Al-Qaeda was led by the Saudi Arabian multimillionaire Osama bin Laden (1957–) and others who had embraced a radical form of Islam while fighting in Afghanistan during that nation's ten-year war with the Soviet Union (1979–89). Al-Qaeda was headquartered in Afghanistan, where the ruling Islamic regime, the Taliban, had been providing it shelter. After September 11, the Bush administration demanded that the Taliban turn bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders over to the United States. The Taliban stalled for weeks, claiming no knowledge of bin Laden's whereabouts.

The Bush administration prepared for war. Since an invasion of Afghanistan could be viewed as an act of self-defense, the administration did not seek United Nations approval for a multinational force. Instead, Bush called on the help of Great Britain. Canada and Australia later also contributed troops to the allied force. This mission was named Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF).

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These two Canadian soldiers are part of the NATO mission to fight insurgents and stabilize Afghanistan. SHAH MARAI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The invasion

On October 7, U.S. and British forces launched air strikes against Afghanistan. At the same time, the United States provided the Northern Alliance, a loose coalition of Afghan military groups that had long op-

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Northern Alliance fighters patrol the fallen northern city of Mazar-e Sharif, Afghanistan. OLEG NIKISHIN/ GETTY IMAGES

posed the Taliban, with funding and support for an offensive against the Taliban on the ground. The strikes initially focused on the area in and around the cities of Kabul, Jalalabad, and Qandahār. Within a few days, most al-Qaeda training sites had been severely damaged, and the Taliban's air defenses had been destroyed. The air strikes then targeted the Taliban's communications systems.

By November 9, 2001, the northern city of Mazar-e Sharif had fallen to the Northern Alliance; four days later, a combination of allied air assaults and ground maneuvers by the Northern Alliance forced the Taliban to surrender Kabul, the capital. On November 18, the Taliban announced that it would no longer provide protection to bin Laden, but the U.S. government was no longer inclined to believe the regime's promises. A week later, opposition Afghan leaders met in Bonn, Germany, with U.S. support to plan the post-Taliban government.

Some five hundred U.S. **Marines** landed in Afghanistan on November 26, the first major entry of American troops. Within hours of the marines establishing their base, U.S. planes launched air strikes against a Taliban stronghold outside the southern city of Qandahār.

The Taliban surrendered Qandahār on December 7. But both bin Laden and Taliban leader Mullah Muhammad Omar (c. 1959–) had escaped from the city. December 16 saw the fall of Tora Bora, a cave complex that had provided a fort for al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Six days later,

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on December 22, a temporary Afghan government was established, with Hamid Karzai (1957–) sworn in as chairman. At that point, the Bush administration's invasion appeared to be complete and successful, but in many ways the war had just begun.

Afghan-Pakistani border region

Although the opening offensives of the war came to a close at the end of 2001, the Taliban and al-Qaeda forces had not given up. They had simply moved into the region that surrounds the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. There they were able to reorganize more or less in the open. The Taliban arose from a large tribal group called the Pashtuns, who number about forty million and live in tribal units in eastern and southern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan. When Pashtuns in Pakistan learned of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, they joined with other anti-Western groups in the area to offer refuge to the fleeing Taliban and to al-Qaeda. Pakistan had long been an ally of the Taliban in Afghanistan, and the new war strengthened ties between the Taliban and certain Pakistani groups. The president of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf (1943–), had vowed to help the United States in its war against terrorism, but the Pakistani government was apparently unable to stop the buildup of insurgents in the remote regions of northwestern Pakistan.

In the border regions in 2002, the Taliban began to build training camps and recruit new soldiers from both sides of the border. The new recruits soon began launching car bombs and suicide bombings against the U.S.-U.K.-Northern Alliance coalition. They managed to regain control, at least temporarily, of areas that had already been liberated by the coalition forces.

On March 2, 2002, the United States launched Operation Anaconda, the largest ground operation of the war. Involving some two thousand U.S., Afghan, and allied troops, its purpose was to eliminate any Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters remaining in the mountains of southeastern Afghanistan. An estimated one thousand to five thousand al-Qaeda and Taliban forces had gathered in the Shahikot mountains in early 2002, where they could use the high-altitude caves to fire upon approaching coalition soldiers from relative safety. When the Anaconda offensive came to a close on March 17, the mountain caves were cleared

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and there were many enemy casualties, but hundreds of al-Qaeda and Taliban soldiers escaped once more into the border areas of Pakistan.

To build a state, or not

Afghanistan had long been a very poor country. Many Afghan people hoped that, after ousting the Taliban, the United States would bring in enough money and resources to supply stability and build a new economy. Among the top Bush administration officials there was disagreement. To commit large amounts of troops and money to bring political and economic stability was seen as "state-building" or "nation-building," the attempt of a powerful country to build the political and economic institutions of a weak or failing nation, and most conservatives opposed such a plan, saying it overstepped the federal government's authority. The administration wavered on these issues, announcing major reconstruction efforts but not providing the number of soldiers or amounts of money that the Afghan advisers requested.

NATO steps in

In 2002, the United States began to talk with other countries, mainly European, who were willing to help stabilize Afghanistan. In this peacekeeping and reconstruction plan, called the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), Germany was to train an Afghan police force, Japan would disarm the warlords and their armies, England would fight the drug business, Italy would help Afghanistan reform its court system, and the United States would train a large Afghan army. The United States, wanting to carry out its war on terrorists, committed an additional eight thousand troops to searching out al-Qaeda and Taliban insurgents. None of these efforts was very successful.

In November 2003 Zalmay Khalilzad (1951–), an Afghan American, was appointed to serve as U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan. Upon becoming ambassador, Khalilzad convinced the Bush administration to put more resources into the war in Afghanistan. He played a very strong role in his year and a half as ambassador, from November 2003 until June 2005. Khalilzad helped the new government draft a constitution, hold democratic elections (in which Karzai was elected president), and organize a parliament. But as things began to improve, President Bush urgently needed him for another post—in Iraq.

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In March 2003, the Bush administration had launched an attack on the nation of Iraq. (See **Iraq Invasion**.) At first, the engagement went smoothly and did not require the efforts of the military personnel in Afghanistan. By 2005, though, the experienced military leadership in Afghanistan were being recruited in large numbers to help calm the insurgency (uprising) in Iraq.

At the end of 2005, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO; a mutual security and self-defense agreement formed in 1949 among European and North American nations to block the military threat of the Soviet Union) took command of the fight against insurgents in Afghanistan. NATO forces there were comprised of 31,000 to 37,000 soldiers from 37 countries; approximately one-third of them were from the United States. The NATO mission was to stabilize Afghanistan.

In 2006, Afghanistan experienced a major increase in deadly attacks by suicide bombers and individuals with homemade explosives. The trend continued into 2007. Insurgents poured into Afghanistan from the training camps in the Pakistan borderlands. While pursuing the insurgents, NATO and U.S. air strikes have killed a large number of Afghan civilians, resulting in widespread anti-American and anti-Western sentiment. Poverty in Afghanistan was widespread, and years of war had taken a heavy toll on the population.

The U.S. Department of Defense announced in early 2008 that the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan was around twenty thousand, the highest number since the war began in October 2001. An additional three thousand troops were expected to be sent there by summer to combat the increasingly formidable Taliban forces.

AFL-CIO

See **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**

African Americans

See **Black Codes; Black Panther Party; Black Power Movement; Buffalo Soldiers; Civil Rights Movement; Great Migration; Jim Crow Laws; Lynching; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Race Riots of the 1960s; Segregation; Slavery**

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AIDS

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is an infectious disease that suppresses the immune system and prevents its victims from successfully fighting off infections that would not be of major concern in healthy people. The disease is caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which is part of a group of viruses known as retroviruses.

Although the disease did not have a name until 1982, the first known cases of AIDS occurred in 1981. In the spring of that year, both **California** and **New York** reported an increase in the number of cases of Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia (PCP), a life-threatening form of pneumonia. In June, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) reported five cases of PCP in Los Angeles, all without identifiable causes. The report is referred to as the beginning of a general awareness of AIDS in America. Before the end of the year, the first case of AIDS was reported in the United Kingdom.

Because the first documented cases of AIDS involved young homosexual men, the disease was originally believed to be exclusive to that population. Intravenous drug users were also transmitting the disease. It soon became apparent that AIDS could be acquired through blood, as evidenced by the death of a twenty-month-old child who had received blood transfusions in 1982. With this discovery, scientists and medical experts knew the disease was caused by an infectious agent, but HIV was not identified as that cause until early 1985.

How it works

AIDS was not publicly mentioned until September 17, 1985, when U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) was asked about funding for the disease at a press conference. That same year, a thirteen-year-old boy from Indiana named Ryan White (1971–1990) was diagnosed with AIDS. White was a hemophiliac (someone who has blood that does not clot) and had been infected with HIV via contaminated blood. Although White posed no risk to other students, he was banned from attending school and became a national symbol for the AIDS movement. White died in 1990 at the age of eighteen.

The public was terrified of this new disease, and little was known about it. Two scientists, French immunologist Luc Montagnier (1932–) and American immunologist Robert Gallo (1937–) and their teams dis-

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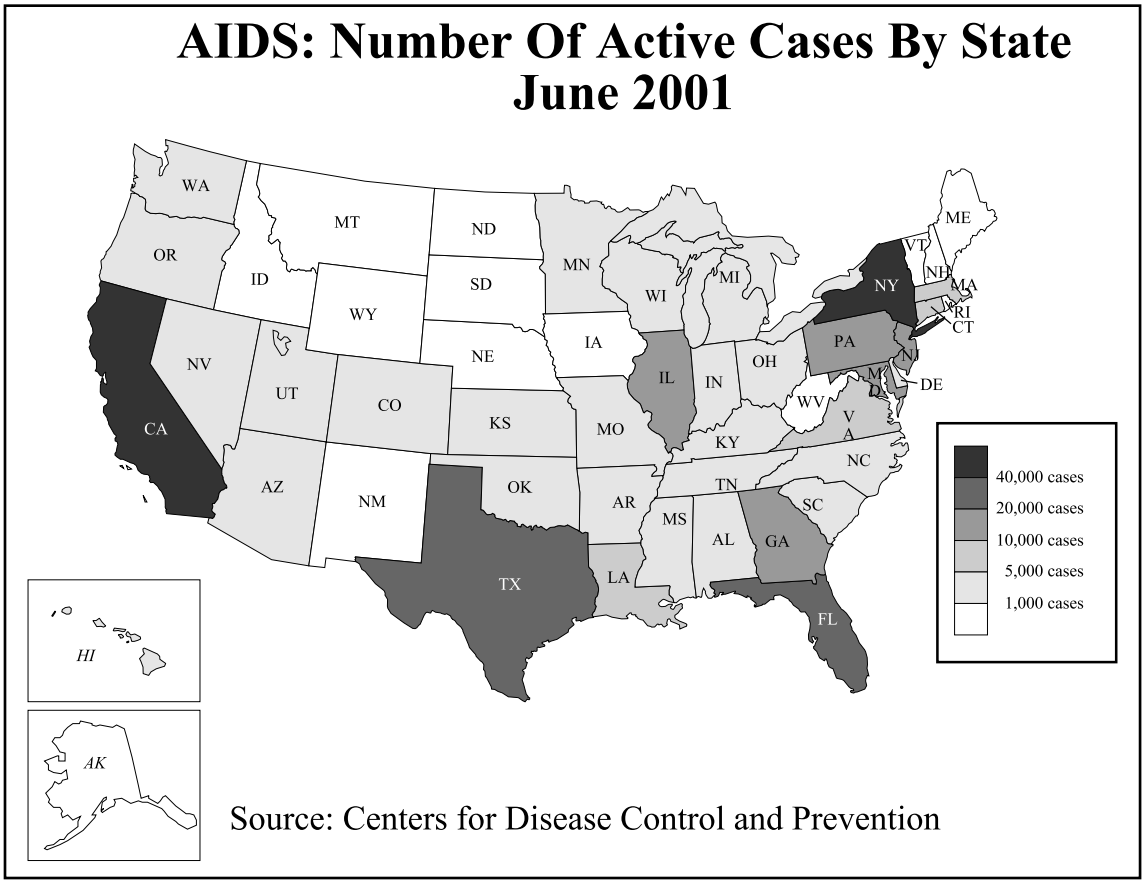
covered HIV as the cause around the same time (1983 and 1984), although they worked independently. HIV leads to AIDS because it destroys a certain type of blood cell necessary to maintaining a healthy immune system. Although a person can live for years with HIV and not know it, HIV always leads to AIDS. And AIDS is a fatal disease.

Since the advent of AIDS, researchers have learned much more about how the disease is transmitted. HIV is spread by sexual contact with an infected person, by sharing needles or syringes with someone



Several groups often gather to raise AIDS awareness. One of the most significant gatherings happened in October 1996 in Washington, D.C., when thousands of people created the AIDS Memorial Quilt to honor those who had died from and were living with the disease. THE GALE GROUP

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This map shows the number of active cases of AIDS in 2001. However, the number is continuing to increase and by 2007 North America had over 1.3 million people infected with AIDS and HIV. AP IMAGES

who is infected, and by receiving transfusions of infected blood. Babies born to women who are HIV-positive can become infected either before or during the birth process. HIV-positive mothers who breastfeed may transmit the disease to their babies. Sweat, tears, and saliva of infected people have never been shown to transmit the disease.

AIDS in the twenty-first century

No country is immune from AIDS. According to a United Nations publication, 33.2 million people lived with HIV in 2007, up from 29 million in 2001. Around 2.5 million of those living with HIV in 2007 were newly infected that year.

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The most severely impacted region of the world in 2007 was sub-Saharan Africa, where 22.5 million people live with HIV. Sixty-one percent of these people are women. More than three-fourths of all AIDS-related deaths in 2007 occurred there. In North America, 1.3 million were infected, and approximately forty-six thousand adults and children were newly infected in 2007.

Medical treatment of HIV and AIDS has made many advancements since the 1980s. In 1986, a drug called azidothymidine (AZT) was shown to slow the attack of HIV. Since that time, other drugs have been found to be effective. Antiretrovirals interfere with the reproduction of HIV; protease inhibitors interfere with the enzymes HIV requires to take control of specific body cells; and nonnucleoside reverse transcriptase inhibitors interfere with HIV's ability to sort its genetic material into the viral code that leads to AIDS.

Although modern medicine helps delay the onset of AIDS in HIV-positive patients, there is no medicine that will prevent AIDS. The medicines available are expensive, and those who need them most can least afford them. AIDS remains one of the leading causes of death across the globe and is the leading cause of death in Africa.

Air Force

The U.S. Air Force (USAF) was once part of the **Army**; it was officially established as its own branch of the military on September 18, 1947, with the passage of the National Security Act. Under that act, the USAF's mission is to provide prompt and sustained offensive and defensive air operations in combat, to preserve the peace and security of the United States, and to fly and fight in air and space.

Before 1947, the Army and the **Navy** provided military aviation. The army's aviation section, the U.S. Signal Corps, was created in 1914. The USAF has fought in every war in U.S. history since **World War I** (1914–18). Like other branches of the military, the Air Force also participates in humanitarian efforts worldwide. One of the most famous was the Berlin Airlift of 1948–49.

According to *Air Force Magazine,* the 2006 USAF had a combined active duty and reserve field consisting of 302 flying squadrons.

Despite the fact that the USAF is the aviation branch of the military, most members never leave the ground; instead, they fill the hundreds of

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support positions necessary to maintain successful missions, working as mechanics, computer specialists, civil engineers, hospitality (restaurant) workers, lawyers, drug counselors, and others.

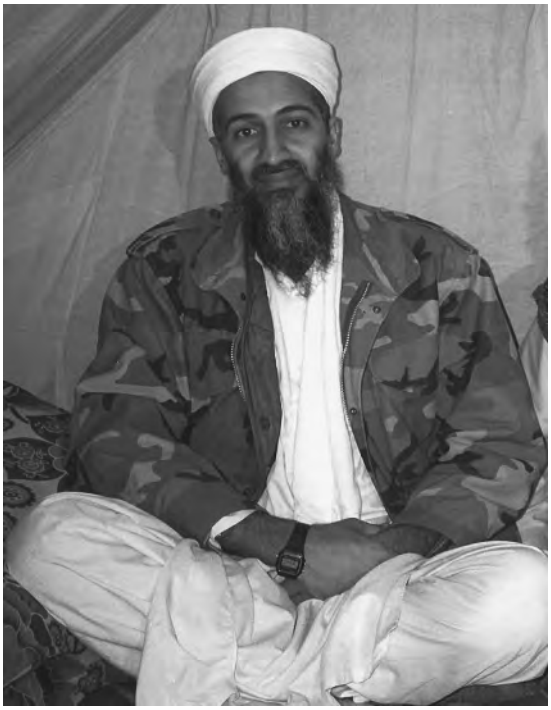
The most dangerous jobs in the Air Force are in the Pararescue, Combat Control, and Combat Weather divisions. These sections consist of enlisted members who go on special operations missions to rescue personnel, call in air strikes, and set up landing zones. The Air Force provides all training for almost every one of these enlisted jobs. After recruits go through basic training, they attend a technical training school for the particular positions they have chosen or been assigned.

Officer candidates train at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, **Colorado**. The academy was established on April 1, 1954, and the first class entered in July 1955. Women were first accepted in 1976. Graduates can be commissioned by any of the branches of the military. The USAF Academy is one of the most selective colleges in the United States.

Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda (pronounced al KYE-dah; Arabic for "the base") is a worldwide terrorist network of organizations and individuals dedicated to *jihad* ("struggle" or "holy war") for the cause of Islam. Its goal is to rid Muslim countries of what it perceives is the corrupting influence of Western culture and to install fundamentalist Islamic regimes—governments that rule according to a literal interpretation of the Muslim sacred texts (the Koran and the Hadith) and enforce sharia (Islamic law). Al-Qaeda is only one of a number of closely linked Islamic terrorist and insurgency groups. The size of al-Qaeda is not known, but estimates run between several hundred to several thousand members. Some scholars believe, however, al-Qaeda is actually a small group that has received undue publicity for acts that have originated with other, connected terrorist groups. Al-Qaeda became notorious in the United States for its actions in the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**, when members of the group hijacked four U.S. airplanes. Two of the aircraft destroyed the World Trade Center in New York City; a third crashed into the Pentagon near **Washington, D.C.**; and the fourth crashed in a field in **Pennsylvania**.

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Osama bin Laden trained militant recruits from all over the world, creating the al-Qaeda organization.
AP IMAGES

Roots of al-Qaeda

In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Muslim leaders around the world called for a jihad, fearing the Soviets would establish a secular (nonreligious) government in the Muslim country. Thousands of Muslim men, primarily of Arab origin, volunteered to assist the Afghan resistance fighters against Soviet troops. With assistance from the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, the Afghans and foreign fighters—or mujahideen (holy warriors), as they came to be known—defeated the Soviet Union in February 1989. The victory was celebrated as a triumph for God by the "Afghan Arabs," Muslims who had traveled to Afghanistan from Arab countries and joined the war in the name of Islam.

Osama bin Laden (1957–) was among the thousands of mujahideen who fought in Afghanistan. From a wealthy and prominent Saudi Arabian family, bin Laden brought financial support to the cause. After the war with the Soviet Union, bin Laden and his associates started to recruit soldiers and develop training camps. Bin Laden believed that defeating the Soviet Union was only the first step in a worldwide jihad campaign to support Muslims and promote Islamic governments. In Afghanistan, bin Laden's early supporters included members of the radical Egyptian group al-Jihad al-Islami, which was involved in the assassination of President Anwar el-Sadat (1918–1981) of Egypt in 1981. Bin Laden soon joined forces with the prominent al-Jihad leader Ayman al-Zawahiri (1951–), who favored terrorism and violence as the means by which to wage this international jihad.

Many "Afghan Arabs" returned home after the defeat of the Soviet Union ready to spark jihad in their own societies. Bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia for a short period, but he was stripped of his Saudi citizenship in 1994 because of his extremist views. He set up his organization briefly in Sudan, but soon international pressure forced Sudan to crack down on him. Bin Laden moved to Afghanistan in 1996, where he was sheltered by the Taliban, the tyrannical ruling Islamist group.

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In Afghanistan, bin Laden set up new training camps for militant recruits from all over the world, and his organization came to be known as al-Qaeda. Bin Laden was one of several primary leaders, including al-Zawahiri. Al-Qaeda represents itself as an Islamic group based on religious ideas, but its versions of the fundamental teachings of the Koran (the Muslim holy book) often differ greatly from mainstream interpretations. For example, bin Laden reinterpreted the concept of fatwa, a formal legal opinion. In Islam, believers are encouraged to seek answers to questions they have about Islam by submitting them to an Islamic cleric, or teacher. The teacher issues a fatwa in response to the question, clarifying the issue based on the writings of the Koran. Bin Laden issued his own "fatwas," which were neither responses to questions nor issued by Islamic clerics.

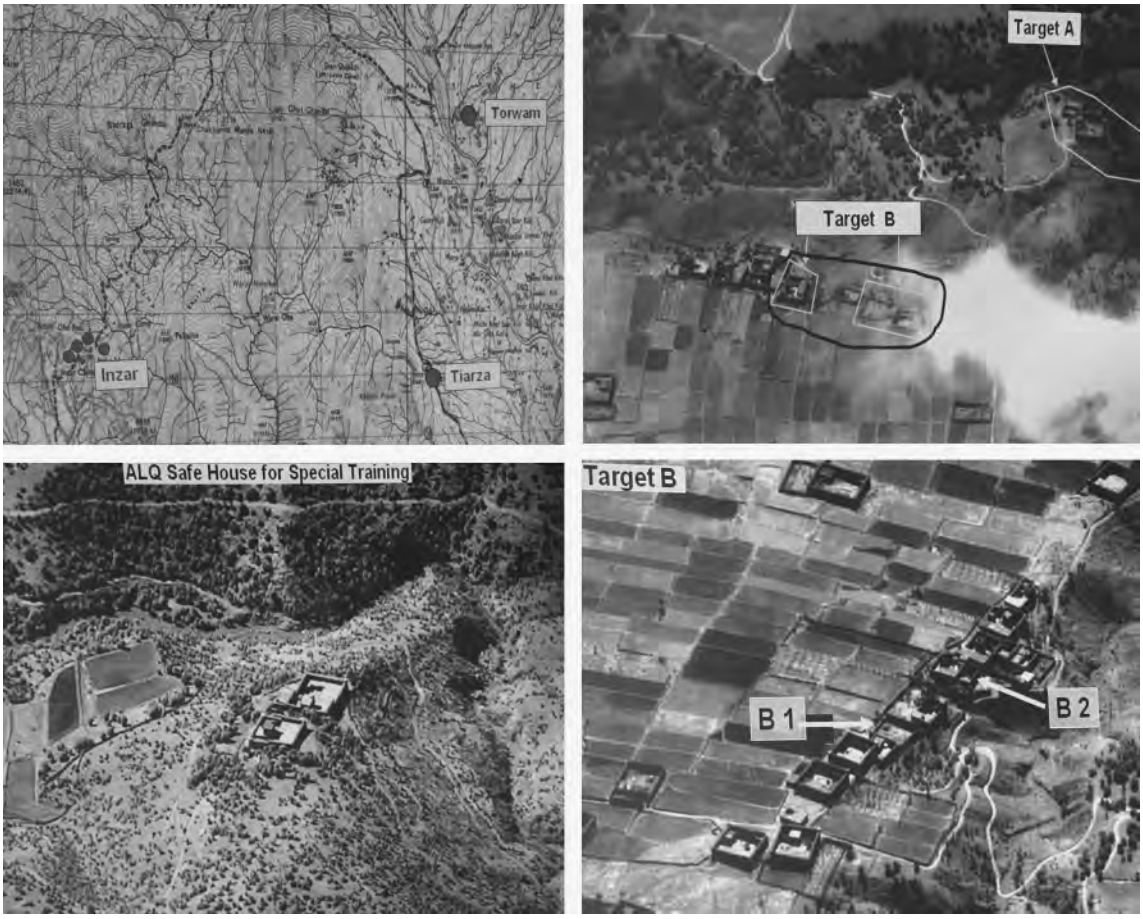
Declaration of jihad against the United States

During the U.S.-led **Persian Gulf War** (1991) against Iraq, the United States established military bases in Saudi Arabia. In bin Laden's view, this was an occupation of the holy land of Islam in Arabia, where the holy Islamic sites of Mecca and Medina are located. On August 23, 1996, bin Laden issued his first fatwa identifying the United States as an enemy and urging Muslims to kill American military personnel abroad. In 1998, he issued a second fatwa, this time in the name of the International Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders, urging all good Muslims to kill not only U.S. military personnel but also U.S. civilians.

Operations

Al-Qaeda's structure is based on secrecy. It is a worldwide network of organizations and cells (small groups of three to five people, who are secretly part of the organization but live undercover in society). Terrorist attacks are often planned, organized, and carried out by small groups called "sleeper cells," which remain dormant, or inactive, in foreign countries for long periods of time. Some of the September 11 hijackers, for example, lived in the United States for several years, using the time to plan the attack and learn the skills they needed (in this case, piloting commercial aircraft). To ensure secrecy, most members of terrorist cells do not know the identity of or the nature of the tasks carried out by other members of the organization or even their leaders. By maintaining

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These satellite photos show various hideouts of al-Qaeda–linked militants along the Afghanistan border. Due to substantial funding from bin Laden himself, al-Qaeda is able to access the Internet, television, and other media while hiding in remote areas. AP IMAGES

secrecy in this way, al-Qaeda has been able to evade most counterterrorism efforts.

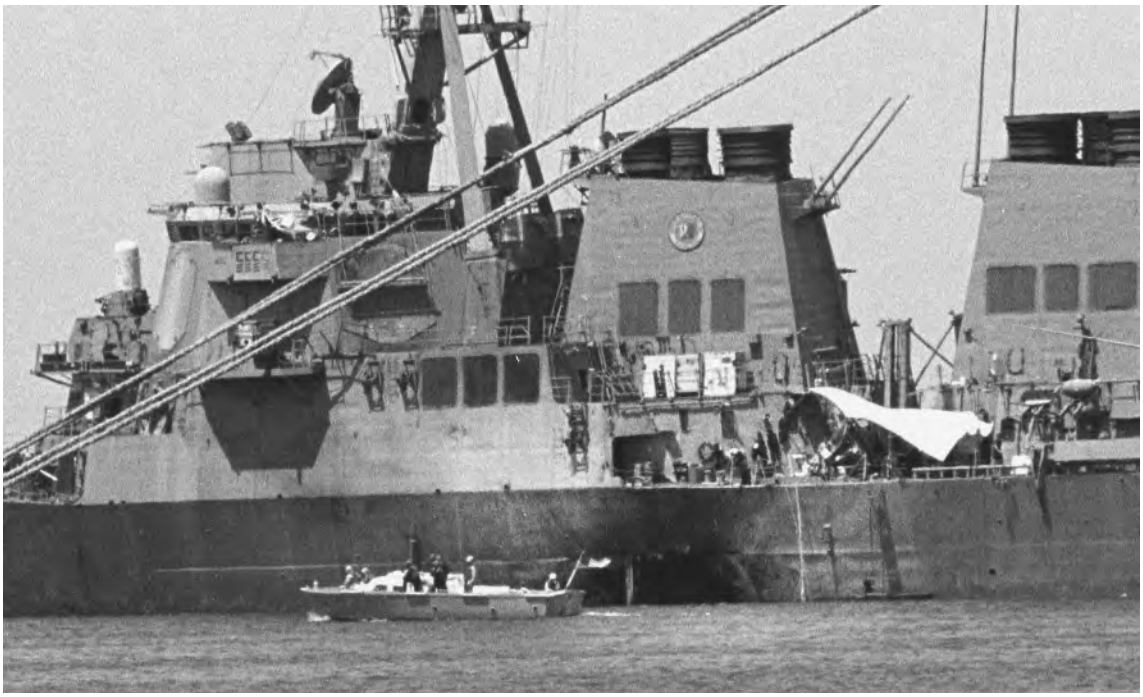
Al-Qaeda has a sophisticated structure. A primary factor has been bin Laden's access to money. He inherited about $250 to $300 million from his father. With a college education in business, bin Laden was able to set up a complex financial network. To collect money under the guise of religious purposes, he created a number of Muslim charities around the world, including in the United States. Although stationed in remote areas, al-Qaeda employed satellite communications (the use of artificial

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satellites stationed in space for communications using radio technology at microwave frequencies) for access to the Internet, television, radio, and other international media. Bin Laden and al-Zawahiri used the international media to voice their beliefs and goals and, most importantly, to gain worldwide attention. Some experts believe that they placed hidden messages in their media statements to communicate to al-Qaeda cells awaiting instructions.

History

The U.S. government began to identify bin Laden publicly as an international terrorist in the mid-1990s, when evidence connected him to attacks on U.S. military personnel and assets in Somalia (1992) and Saudi Arabia (1995–96). In addition, bin Laden was tied to several unsuccessful terrorist plots, including plans to assassinate Pope John Paul II (1920–2005) in 1994 and U.S. president **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) in 1995.



Nineteen servicemen and women were killed in 2000 when the USS **Cole** *was bombed in Yemen by al-Qaeda suicide bombers.*
AP IMAGES

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On August 20, 1998, in the wake of the al-Qaeda–led bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that killed 224 people and injured thousands, President Clinton added al-Qaeda to the U.S. list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations. On June 7, 1999, bin Laden was added to the **Federal Bureau of Investigation**'s Ten Most Wanted list, with a $5 million reward offered for his capture. The U.S. government displayed his picture on wanted posters, matchbooks, and leaflets distributed worldwide in nearly a dozen languages. Unfortunately, this led many to believe that bin Laden was single-handedly taking on the most powerful country in the world, turning him into a popular hero in some places. In response to the embassy bombings in Africa, President Clinton ordered air strikes against a bin Laden camp in Khost, Afghanistan, as well as what was believed to be an al-Qaeda chemical weapons facility in Sudan.

Bin Laden evaded capture and continued his campaign of terror. Nineteen U.S. servicemen and women were killed when the USS *Cole,* a navy destroyer ship, was bombed in Yemen in October 2000. The bombing was eventually connected to al-Qaeda and is now seen as a forerunner of what was to come on September 11, 2001. On that day nineteen al-Qaeda members hijacked commercial airliners and flew them into the World Trade Center in New York, the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and a field in Pennsylvania. It was the worst single terrorist attack on U.S. soil in the country's history, killing nearly three thousand people. Al-Qaeda links have been cited for most of the large terrorist acts worldwide since then, but other powerful and deadly terrorist organizations may be responsible for some of the violent deeds.

On the run?

After the attacks on September 11, a U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan forced al-Qaeda into hiding in Afghanistan. Al-Qaeda's operations were damaged, but the organization remained powerful. In 2003, the United States invaded Iraq and deposed its dictator, Saddam Hussein (1937–2006). (See **Iraq Invasion**.) Iraq quickly grew unstable, partly due to differences between the two major Muslim groups, the Shiites and the Sunnis. As the Iraqi conflict grew, al-Qaeda operators apparently moved into the country and recruited Iraqi rebels into the organization, attempting to further destabilize Iraq by igniting sectarian conflict. A new terrorist group arose called al-Qaeda-in-Iraq.

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In mid-2007 the location of al-Qaeda leaders bin Laden and al-Zawahiri remained unknown. Individual cells remained secret, and many financial assets were in the hands of al-Qaeda members. Political and social conditions around the world continued to produce anger and resentment against the West, resulting in a constant supply of new recruits for al-Qaeda and connected terrorist groups.

Alabama

Alabama became the twenty-second state of the Union on December 14, 1819. Located in the eastern part of the south central United States, it borders **Tennessee**, **Georgia**, **Mississippi**, **Florida**, and the Gulf of Mexico. Its capital is Montgomery, and the state motto is "We dare defend our rights."

During the sixteenth century, Spanish expeditions explored the region now known as Alabama. In 1702, two French naval officers established Ft. Louis de la Mobile, the first permanent European settlement in the region. It remained under French control until 1763, when it was turned over to the British.

The Spanish took control of Mobile in 1780 during the **American Revolution** (1775–83). American troops seized the city in the **War of 1812** (1812–15). West Florida, which included Mobile at the time, was the only territory added to the United States as a result of that war.

Native Americans still held most of present-day Alabama at the start of the nineteenth century. As American settlers began moving into the area, the Creek tribe was forced to sign a treaty giving about 40,000 square miles (103,600 square kilometers) of land to the United States. This opened up about three-fourths of the present state to white settlement.

Statehood and secession

Alabama fever took hold of Americans as they poured in from **Kentucky**, Tennessee, Georgia, **Virginia**, **North Carolina**, and **South Carolina**. Alabama became a territory in 1817 and adopted a state constitution on August 2, 1819. Four months later, Alabama became a state.

Alabama seceded (separated) from the Union in January 1861 and joined the Confederacy. Montgomery served as capital of the Confederacy until May, when the seat of government was moved to

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Richmond, Virginia. Historians estimate that at least twenty-five thousand Alabamians were killed in the American **Civil War** (1861–65). The state was readmitted to the Union in 1868.

Industry

Alabama's economy was based on **cotton**. The abolition of **slavery** brought about an attempt by the state to help build a "New South" in which agriculture would be balanced by industry. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, approximately twenty towns in Alabama claimed to be iron-working centers. Birmingham became the leading industrial center.

Alabama became home to industries such as coal and steel in the late nineteenth century, and other industries such as clothing, textiles, and wood products followed. Even with this diverse economic base, the state still fell behind in wage rates and per capita income in the early 2000s. Manufacturing grew at just over half the rate of all state goods and services in the years between 1974 and 1983. When recession (a significant decline in economic activity for an extended period of time) hit from 1980 to 1982, it affected Alabama harder than it did the nation as a whole. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, the nation entered another recession, and many people working in manufacturing and the textile industries lost their jobs.

Civil rights

Alabama was the backdrop to civil rights demonstrations during the 1950s and 1960s. One of the most famous events of the **civil rights movement** was the **Montgomery bus boycott** of 1955, begun when **Rosa Parks** (1913–2005) refused to give up her seat to a white man and move to the back of the bus. Some demonstrations and protests became violent, such as the 1963 **Birmingham Baptist Church bombing** in which four young African American girls were killed. Alabama's governor at the time was Democrat George Wallace (1919–1998), who served four terms. Like most traditional Southerners, Wallace was in favor of **segregation** (keeping races separate).

Alabama spent the last decades of the twentieth century trying to improve its educational system as well as its health care system. Widespread poverty worked against the state, and in the twenty-first century it remained one of the nation's poorest states. According to the

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U.S. Census Bureau, Alabama had the fifth-lowest median (average) income ($38,783) in the nation in 2007. The median income for the United States as a whole was $48,451.

The Alamo

The Alamo was a mission, or religious compound, built by the Spanish in the early eighteenth century in what is now San Antonio, **Texas**. The four-acre walled compound was devoted to the agricultural and religious education of the area's Indians. By the early nineteenth century, the Alamo had been abandoned by the Catholic Church (see **Catholicism**) and taken over by Spanish soldiers. After Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, the Mexican army occupied the compound.

American rebellion

By the 1830s, Texas had a majority of U.S. residents, although the area belonged to Mexico. In 1835, these residents revolted against Mexico. The rebels in San Antonio were able to clear their area of Mexican soldiers, and they quickly took command of the Alamo compound. On February 23, 1836, three thousand to four thousand Mexican troops crossed the Rio Grande—a river that borders what is now Texas and Mexico—under the command of Mexico's dictator, General Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876). Their intent was to recapture the fortification. A force of 145 Texans, under the joint command of colonels William B. Travis (1809–1836) and James Bowie (1796–1836), prepared to defend the Alamo.

The siege

Santa Anna and his forces approached the stout-walled Alamo mission and demanded that the rebels surrender. When Travis replied with a cannon shot, the Mexican army surrounded the fort, and a thirteen-day siege began. The rebels sent a message to the commander in chief of the Texas military, **Sam Houston** (1793–1863), with a plea from Travis for reinforcements. On March 2, thirty-two of Houston's men made it through Mexican lines into the fort. They joined the Alamo's defenders, an assortment of men from eighteen different states and several European countries, many of whom were relatively new to Texas. Among the rebels was the frontiersman and former U.S. congressman **Davy**

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Mexican soldiers led by General Antonio López de Santa Anna stormed the Alamo and defeated Texas rebels trying to hold the compound. KEAN COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

Crockett (1786–1836) of **Tennessee**, who led twelve Tennessee volunteers. With the 32 newcomers, there were only about 187 men defending the Alamo against about 4,000 Mexican troops. During the siege, they suffered from lack of sleep and ran low on ammunition, but no one tried to flee.

At four o'clock in the morning of March 6, Santa Anna and his troops stormed the Alamo on all sides. The Texans fought against all odds. Their guns got hot from heavy firing, their ammunition was nearly gone, and men began dropping from exhaustion. Even when the Mexicans penetrated the walls of the Alamo, the defenders continued to fight, clubbing them with rifles and drawing knives. The last point taken was the church, where Crockett and his volunteers fell. By eight o'clock

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that morning, the last of the 187 defenders was dead, and about 1,500 of the Mexican troops were killed.

The fall of the Alamo sowed panic throughout Texas. Much of the civilian population and the government fled toward U.S. soil. Meanwhile, Sam Houston gathered an army. Six weeks later, marching to meet Santa Anna, Houston delivered an impassioned address to his troops, telling them to "Remember the Alamo!" With that cry, they defeated the Mexicans at a battle near the San Jacinto River, establishing the independent Texas Republic.

Alaska

Alaska entered the Union on January 3, 1959, to become the forty-ninth state. Its name means "great land," and its motto is "North to the Future."

Alaska lies in the northwest corner of North America and is separated from the contiguous (adjacent) forty-eight states by Canada. It is the largest of the fifty states, with a total area of 591,004 square miles (1,530,699 square kilometers). Alaska occupies 16 percent of all U.S. land.

The state has a number of offshore islands, including Saint Lawrence and others in the Bering Sea, Kodiak Island in the Gulf of Alaska, and the Aleutian Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

Between ten thousand and forty thousand years ago, America's aboriginal peoples crossed a land bridge connecting Siberia with America. These hunter-gatherers from Asia dispersed and became three distinct groups: Aleut, Eskimo, and Indian.

Russian voyagers landed in Alaska in 1741, and in 1784 the first permanent Russian settlement was established on Kodiak Island. Russia sold its Alaskan territories to the United States in 1867 for $7.2 million, or two cents per acre. It became known as the **Alaska Purchase**.

Economy

The gold rush in the late 1880s hastened Alaska's economic development. That progress was overshadowed in 1898, when gold was discovered in Canada's Klondike region. Hundreds of thousands of people hoping to strike it rich came to the Yukon River valley and other Alaskan regions, including the Arctic. When the Alaska Railroad was built in 1914, even the most remote wilderness area became accessible.

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Alaska depends heavily upon oil for its economy; 85 percent of its revenue comes from oil. When overproduction in the Middle East drove down the price of oil late in the twentieth century, the state's revenue declined by two-thirds, and the state lost twenty thousand jobs between 1985 and 1989.

In March 1989 the oil tanker *Exxon Valdez* hit a reef and, in one of the worst pollution disasters worldwide, spilled nearly eleven million gallons of crude oil that contaminated 1,285 miles of shoreline. The affected areas included Prince William Sound and its wildlife sanctuary, the Gulf of Alaska, and the Alaska Peninsula. The Exxon Corporation was fined more than $1 billion in civil and criminal penalties.

Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) has been the subject of national debate since the 1990s. Some people have favored opening the twenty-million-acre wilderness to oil drilling, a move that failed to receive enough support from Congress to pass until 2005. At that time, both the Senate and the House of Representatives voted to approve drilling as part of a larger bill to reduce federal spending. Many Senate members remained committed to preventing any drilling, however, and they threatened a filibuster (a delay tactic used by a Senate minority to prevent the passage of a bill) if the text regarding drilling in the ANWR was not removed. The text was removed and, as of early 2008, drilling was still up for debate.

Unlike most states whose populations vote either Republican or Democrat, Alaska is overwhelmingly (59 percent) unaffiliated with either party. In spite of this, in presidential elections since 1968, the state has voted Republican ten consecutive times.

At the time of its statehood induction, Alaska was almost completely dependent upon the federal government for its economic stability. During the 1970s, its petroleum industry developed, and the construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline brought both money and people to the state. Other important industries include commercial fishing and tourism. Tourism brought in $1.5 billion in 2003, which was 5 percent of Alaska's gross state product.

Alaska Purchase

The Alaska Purchase was a treaty by which Russia sold territory to the United States in 1867. The area comprised present-day **Alaska** and con-

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tained abundant natural resources. Russia was motivated to sell the area because of financial concerns and its lagging interest in the region.

The region of Alaska, which had been part of Russian territory for years, had proved to be a drain on the Russian treasury. Years of neglect hampered the region's profitability, so Russia was interested in surrendering responsibility for it. With the American population increasing in California to the south, the Russians decided to open conversations to sell the area to the United States.

In March 1867, the U.S. secretary of state, William Seward (1801–1872), and Russian minister Eduard de Stoeckl (1804–1892) negotiated a treaty under which the United States would purchase Alaska for $7.2 million. As Alaska had nearly 586,400 square miles, the cost was only about two cents per acre. Alaska ultimately proved to be rich in natural resources of timber, coal, copper, gold, and oil as well as salmon and furs.

Americans mock purchase

While both governments thought they had negotiated the better deal, news of the treaty was not well received by Americans. Critics mocked the treaty with names like Seward's Folly or Seward's Icebox. They said the price was too high for a territory that would prove to be worthless. Supporters argued that the region's natural resources would help commerce in the region and assist in opening trade with Asia.

The treaty was presented to the Senate on March 30, but public outcry prevented its quick approval. The necessary two-thirds vote came only after an impassioned three-hour speech by Charles Sumner (1811–1874), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The treaty passed that day, April 9, and the two countries exchanged ratifications on June 20.

The formal transfer of Alaska occurred on October 18, 1867, before the United States had paid Russia the agreed price. Political squabbling delayed approval for funding by the House of Representatives. The appropriations bill was finally approved a year after ratification, and payment was made on August 1, 1868.

Gold was discovered in Alaska in 1881, and prospectors, merchants, miners, and explorers streamed into Alaska to seek a fortune. In 1884, Congress organized the territory by passing the Organic Act, which placed Alaska under a collection of federal laws and **Oregon** state laws.

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A second Organic Act in 1912 provided for land ownership, mail service, and a civil government under the Territory of Alaska. Alaska became the forty-ninth, and largest, state in the union in 1959.

Alien and Sedition Acts

In March 1797, **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801) entered office as the second president of the United States. His term was marked by challenges both internationally, with a war between France and Great Britain, and domestically as political differences grew between members of the **Federalist Party** and **Democratic-Republican Party**, the country's two main political parties. In 1798, both tensions culminated in the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts by the Federalist-controlled Congress.

Conflict on the high seas

Great Britain and France were at war over issues related to colonization and commerce. The United States was officially neutral in the war. In 1795, however, the United States had signed a commerce and alliance treaty with Britain called **Jay's Treaty**. France believed Jay's Treaty was a breach, or violation, of treaties of commerce and alliance that America had signed with France during the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

In angry response, France began seizing American merchant ships bound for British ports. France forced the sailors on those ships to serve France in its war with Great Britain. American attempts to negotiate peace with France in 1797 resulted in the **XYZ Affair**. Diplomatic dispatches revealed that three French agents, referred to as X, Y, and Z in the reports, had demanded bribes from the American peace envoy before opening negotiations.

Party politics

Domestic reaction to these foreign affairs emphasized growing philosophical differences between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans. While the actions of the French were not popular, many Democratic-Republican Americans still distrusted England and sympathized with the ideals of the French Revolution, by which the people of France overthrew its monarchy in 1789.

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Federalists, maintaining their history of antiforeign sentiment, became suspicious of the loyalty of the thousands of French West Indian refugees who flocked into the United States in an effort to escape revolutionary terror. The refugees often aligned themselves with the Democratic-Republicans.

Congress acts

Rallying behind the anti-French sentiment in the wake of the XYZ Affair, in June and July 1798 the Federalists of Congress passed four acts of legislation known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. The laws were intended to suppress both alien and domestic subversives, people who opposed the federal government. The Alien and Sedition Acts proved to be convenient tools for undermining the strength of the Democratic-Republican Party as well.

The first of the four laws, called the Naturalization Act, increased the length of residency required before an alien, or foreigner, could apply for American citizenship. Previously the probationary period had been five years. By increasing the period to fourteen years, the Federalists successfully suppressed immigrant citizenship and hence immigrant votes in America, which hurt mostly the Democratic-Republican Party.

Two of the acts were specifically aimed at removing aliens from America. The Alien Friends Act allowed the president to deport any alien suspected of threatening the peace and safety of the United States. The Alien Enemies Act authorized the president to seize, imprison, or deport any aliens, dangerous or not, who were citizens of a country at war with the United States. Neither act was ever enforced, and both expired in 1800.

The Sedition Act proved to be the most controversial and powerful of the acts. Aimed at citizens and aliens alike, the act made it illegal to write, publish, or speak anything of "a false, scandalous, and malicious nature" against the government or the president "with intent to defame … or to bring them into contempt or disrepute." Acting on behalf of the Adams administration, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering (1745–1829) brought more than a dozen indictments, or formal accusations, under the Sedition Act. Ten resulted in convictions, including those against Matthew Lyon (1749–1822), a Democratic-Republican congressman from **Vermont**, and the editors of eight major Democratic-Republican newspapers.

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Backlash

With no public way to criticize the administration or to challenge the Sedition Act, its opponents turned to state legislatures for relief. **Thomas Jefferson** (1751–1836), who was then vice president, anonymously penned the Kentucky Resolutions as **James Madison** (1751–1836) drafted the Virginia Resolutions. Both documents emphasized the rights of the states to declare federal laws unconstitutional and to decide when the federal government had overstepped its proper bounds.

While no other states passed official statements of opposition, public support for the Sedition Act eventually began to wane. The trials under the Sedition Act marked an early American confrontation between the power of the federal government and the liberties and free speech that people expected to enjoy in their new nation.

Recognizing that the Federalists may have gone too far, President Adams fired Pickering by May 1800 and no longer urged prosecutions under the Sedition Act. Although he managed to secure peace with France by October 1800, the effects of the Alien and Sedition Acts were profound enough to affect public opinion of the Federalist Party. Vice President Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican candidate for president in the election of 1800, won and was inaugurated the day after the Sedition Act expired by its own terms, on March 3, 1801.

Alien Registration Act

In the early years of **World War II** (1939–45), some Americans were concerned that foreigners and subversive, or revolutionary, groups were plotting to undermine the U.S. government. Although the United States had not yet entered the war, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act in 1940 to address some of these concerns.

The Alien Registration Act was proposed by U.S. representative Howard W. Smith (1883–1976) of **Virginia**, so the law was also called the Smith Act. It was quite controversial, because it severely limited free speech aimed at criticizing the U.S. government. It also required all noncitizen adults to register with the United States, hence the name of the act. Section I imposed a $10,000 fine and time in prison for those who attempted to undermine the morale of U.S. soldiers.

Sections II and III imposed similar penalties for those who supported or encouraged the overthrow of the government. Merely teaching

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or advising such action was not allowed, even without taking active steps. The Smith Act also outlawed the publication and distribution of material that advocated a revolution or the organization of a rebellious group. The act prohibited attempts to violate any part of the law. A 1948 revision made conviction somewhat harder by requiring proof of overt acts to advocate or attempt the overthrow of the government. Merely harboring such beliefs was no longer prohibited under the act.

During the 1940s and 1950s, more than a hundred people were charged with violation of the Smith Act. Only twenty-nine served time in prison for their conduct. The government targeted enforcement activity at members of communist and socialist organizations. (Communism and socialism are both economic and political theories that advocate communal ownership of property, and support governments in which the means of production are owned and controlled by the state for the good of all citizens.) Cases were appealed to the U.S. **Supreme Court**. In 1951, the Court found that the act did not violate rights under the U.S. **Constitution**. In 1957, however, the Court decided that teaching or advocating the overthrow of the government is constitutionally protected free speech. After that decision speech had to be accompanied by subversive action in order to be a punishable offense.

Allies

The Allies were the countries united in an alliance in **World War II** (1939–45) to fight the **Axis** countries of Germany, Japan, and Italy. The countries that first declared war on Germany after its invasion of Poland in 1939 were the founding Allied forces. They were Poland, Great Britain, and France.

Many countries joined the Allied efforts over the course of the war. Twenty-six countries signed the Declaration by the United Nations on January 1, 1942, uniting them in the Allied cause. More nations would sign later.

The leading efforts of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States in the second half of the war earned them the distinction as "the Big Three." Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) of Great Britain, Premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) of the Soviet Union, and President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) of the United States coordinated the military efforts of the Allies across the

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DAILY EXPRESS

No. 13,503 Black-out 8.1 p.m. to 5.55 a.m. THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 9 1943 Moon rises 4.49 p.m. sets 1.18 a.m. One Penny

ITALY CEASED FIRE AT 5.30 P.M.: "We will not fight against Anglo-U.S. armies wherever they may be." Then came this dramatic news AT 3 A.M.—

ALLIED TROOPS LAND IN CENTRAL ITALY

'On each side of Rome and near Naples'

BERLIN CRIES 'TREACHERY'

Italians ring the bells on hearing armistice news

AT three o'clock this morning the United Nations radio in Tunis said that British, American and Canadian armies are landing at many points in the heart of Italy.

This semi-official news—coming 9½ hours after General Eisenhower had announced the unconditional surrender of Italy—was followed by Stockholm reports saying that the landing points were near Naples and north and south of Rome.

Three reports also said the Americans had gone ashore in Sardinia.

Among the new landing places mentioned on the mainland were: Gaeta, naval base between Rome and Naples, 70 miles south-east of Rome and 30 miles north-west of Naples; Civitavecchia, port of Rome, 40 miles north-west of the city; Pisa Marina, ten miles north of Leghorn and 9 five miles from the inland city of Pisa.

It was said, further, that the Americans landed at Genoa. Object of the whole operation was "to cut off the German troops." Parachutes were reported to be the spearheads of some of the landings.

'CORSICA NAZIS SEIZED'

Yet another message, quoting reports "from Italian military sources," said that the Italian garrison on Corsica has overpowered the Germans and taken over control of the island.

8th catch Germans

THE SURRENDER VALUE...

CALL TO ITALIAN FLEET: 'DON'T SCUTTLE, ESCAPE'

Ordered to sail to Allied ports

Wilson: Italians obey ME

The man from Rome

APPROACH MADE WEEKS AGO

NEGOTIATIONS with Italy have been going on for some weeks in great secrecy.

4 A.M. LATEST

'NEW FASCIST GOVERNMENT'

HUNGARY: A 'DECLARATION'

VATICAN ENVOY FLYING HERE

GREAT VICTORY —ROOSEVELT

Newspapers across the globe gave constant updates on the movement of Allied forces. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

world. China and France, the latter when not occupied by Germany and its Nazi dictator, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), played important leading roles as well.

The Allies managed to defeat the Axis powers even though their resources were stretched around the world. After the capture of Italy's dictator, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), Italy switched sides to fight with the Allies in September 1943. The battles across Europe ended with the unconditional surrender of Germany on May 7, 1945. Battles around the Pacific Ocean against Japan continued until the United States used the **atomic bomb** for the first time to end the war. After suffering the devastation of the cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan agreed to surrender on August 10, 1945.

Amendments

See **Individual Amendments, e.g. First Amendment**

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American Civil Liberties Union

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is an organization founded to defend equal rights and civil liberties for all Americans, including the rights to free speech, due process, and freedom of the press.

Founding in 1920

The ACLU has its roots in **World War I** (1914–18). ACLU founder and long-time president Roger N. Baldwin (1884–1981) strongly opposed the war. He joined the antiwar organization American Union Against Militarism (AUAM) in New York in 1917 and quickly became its most determined crusader. After the war, on January 20, 1920, Baldwin and some of his AUAM associates established a new group they called the American Civil Liberties Union.

Baldwin immediately changed the focus of the ACLU from antiwar issues to civil liberties. The ACLU's sole commitment was to the **Bill of Rights**, the amendments made to the U.S. **Constitution** regarding liberties, such as freedom of religion, speech, and press, and the right to privacy, to assemble peacefully, and to petition the government.

The ACLU was founded during a period known as the **red scare** of 1920, when an overwhelming fear of Communists was sweeping the nation. Communists are people who believe in an economic or political system in which property is owned collectively by all members of society, and labor is organized for the common good. In 1919, the U.S. government launched nationwide raids to round up and detain alleged radicals, who it claimed were part of a Communist plot to destroy the country. The ACLU, still a tiny new organization, worked tirelessly in the courts to stop the government from violating civil liberties, going to court to fight its deportation of foreigners for their political beliefs and its attempts to stop trade unions from organizing.

Famous cases

In 1925, Baldwin wanted to test the powers of his organization on the issue of free speech. He was particularly concerned about a **Tennessee** law that prohibited teaching the theory of evolution in schools. The theory of evolution is a scientific explanation of how changes may have happened in populations of animals, including human beings, from one

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Roger Baldwin founded the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and focused on protecting liberties, such as freedom of religion, speech, and press, and the right to privacy. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

generation to the next, due to genetic modifications. The people responsible for the anti-evolution laws believed that human development was the work of God and should not be explained to students in scientific terms. Baldwin believed the prohibition against teaching a scientific theory was a violation of the right of freedom of speech. He sought out a teacher willing to break Tennessee's anti-evolution law so ACLU lawyers could take the issue to court. John T. Scopes (1900–1970) volunteered, and thus began a trial that came to be called the **Scopes monkey trial**, because of the evolutionary theory that human beings evolved from apes. Although it lost the case, the ACLU gained notoriety and respect from the trial.

Since the Scopes trial, the ACLU has been involved in many of the most famous controversies in American history, playing a role in an estimated 80 percent of the landmark **Supreme Court** cases related to individual rights. During **World War II** (1939–45), the ACLU challenged the internment of Japanese Americans, who were forced to leave their homes and businesses and live in confinement in government camps simply because of their ancestry. (See **Japanese Internment Camps**.)

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ACLU lawyers argued a case against religious prayers in public schools, resulting in the Supreme Court ruling that the practice was unconstitutional. The organization defended many protesters of the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). In 1977, it defended the right of the Nazi Party to hold a demonstration in the predominantly Jewish town of Skokie, Illinois.

ACLU and African American civil rights

From its beginnings, the ACLU made the issue of racial justice a major part of its program. It established a close working relationship with the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP). In the 1940s, ACLU leaders developed a proposal for a broad legal attack on institutionalized **segregation**, which is the separation of blacks and whites in public places. It eventually became the basis for NAACP attorney **Thurgood Marshall**'s (1908–1993) successful legal fight against segregation and led to the landmark ***Brown v. Board of Education*** ruling in 1954. The ACLU was also a supporting force in the African American **civil rights movement** of the 1960s.

On a number of issues, however, the ACLU and African American civil rights activists have disagreed. On **First Amendment** (freedom of speech) grounds, the ACLU opposed measures designed to restrict the activities of racist groups such as the **Ku Klux Klan**. It also opposed efforts by the NAACP to have the racist film *Birth of a Nation* banned in a number of cities. Its position was that the First Amendment guaranteed freedom of speech and assembly to all groups and that authorities could not make distinctions between groups based on their personal beliefs.

The twenty-first century

In 2005, the ACLU had five hundred thousand members and handled about six thousand court cases. Supported through membership dues, tax-deductible contributions, and grants, the ACLU's program consists mainly of litigation (legal proceedings), lobbying (attempts to influence government activities and policies), and public education.

Throughout nearly ninety years of activism, the ACLU remains committed to the fundamental principle that the defense of civil liberties must be universal, or extend to everyone. At times this has resulted in harsh criticism and the loss of some core supporters. The ACLU's de-

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fense of the freedom of speech of racist and anti-Semitic groups, such as the Klansmen and American Nazis, deeply angered some of its supporters. The ACLU's position that civil liberties should not be suspended in the interest of civil defense was not popular in the first fearful days after the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks** on the United States. Most historians agree, though, that the ACLU's insistence on upholding the Bill of Rights has remained remarkably evenhanded and courageous amid the changing currents of public opinion.

American Colonization Society

In 1816, the American Colonization Society (ACS) was organized in **Washington, D.C.**, with the objective of encouraging, and paying for, free black Americans to establish and live in a colony in Africa.

Why colonization?

For a time, the colonization project seemed to appeal to everyone. Many of the first members of the ACS were Southerners who supported a gradual abolition (elimination) of **slavery**. (See **Abolition Movement**.) They promoted colonization as a means to deal with the growing numbers of free blacks that would result from abolition. Soon many Northerners joined the society, believing, like the Southerners, that free blacks and whites could not live together without conflict. Colonization appealed to Southern slave owners as a way to rid the South of troublesome free blacks, who they feared would incite rebellions among their slaves. It was also popular with some Northern antislavery advocates, who hoped it would make slaveholders more willing to free their slaves. Some African Americans also endorsed the idea in the belief that Americans would probably never treat them as equals and that they might have a better life in distant Africa.

Most black Americans, though, argued that the United States had been the home of their families for generations. They had a clear right to live there as equals and were willing to fight for that right. Most abolitionists came to strongly oppose the ACS.

Liberia

After a long search for a location for the new colony, the ACS bought a large area of land on Cape Montserado, in West Africa, about 225 miles

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south of Sierra Leone. There, in 1822, the society established the colony of Liberia. Liberia's capital, Monrovia, was named in honor of the fifth president of the United States, **James Monroe** (1758–1831; served 1817–25), who, along with Congress, gave the society close to $100,000 to transport black Americans to Liberia. In the project's first ten years, about 2,638 blacks migrated to Liberia.

To encourage the colonization of Liberia, the ACS published letters from blacks who had moved there and had good things to say about it. It also published *The African Repository and Colonial Journal*, which served as strong propaganda (the spreading of ideas or information, both true and otherwise, to promote or damage a cause) by painting a positive picture of Liberia for black Americans. The ACS also promised to provide colonists with land and economic support for six months. This promise was not always kept, and emigrants were at times left stranded on the Cape.

In 1838, the Commonwealth of Liberia was formed under the administration of a governor appointed by the ACS, and the ACS governed the country until it became a republic in 1847. By 1846, thirteen to fourteen thousand free black Americans had immigrated to Liberia under the plan. Joining these emigrants in Liberia were slaves rescued from illegal slave-trading ships off the coast of Africa. (See **Slave Ships and the Middle Passage**.)

Conflict

By the 1840s, the ACS was mired in controversy. Abolitionists, black and white, opposed the society's basic assumption that African Americans could not live and work in the same communities as white Americans. They argued that African Americans had worked hard in the United States and had earned the right to call it home. They thought the ACS was creating a distraction from what abolitionists considered the only reasonable course of action—the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States. Most Southern plantation owners did not approve of the ACS either. They did not want to see African Americans, a group they considered the region's labor force, shipped across the Atlantic.

The news from Africa was not much better. The native people of Liberia resented the newcomers from the United States. Armed conflict and bloodshed erupted in the colony. In 1847, the ACS went bankrupt (did not have enough money to cover its debts). The American Liberians

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took the opportunity to found the independent Republic of Liberia. Seizing power, they dominated the native groups as well as the Africans rescued from slave ships, creating a rigid class system in the new country. The ACS stopped promoting colonization as part of its agenda, and by the end of the century the group had disbanded.

American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations

The AFL-CIO is a voluntary federation of labor unions that represents workers in various industries. AFL-CIO stands for the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The AFL-CIO began as the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1886. At that time, America was in the midst of the **Industrial Revolution**. Factory workers were becoming a significant percentage of the country's labor force. Workers formed unions to help them bargain with employers for better working conditions.

The AFL was led at first by Samuel Gompers (1850–1924). Gompers believed that unions should focus on organizing skilled laborers, but not unskilled ones. Gompers preferred unions to organize based on the type of work members did, not the industries in which they worked. He also believed that unions should not be too involved in politics. Rather they should focus on strategies and tactics for bargaining with employers.

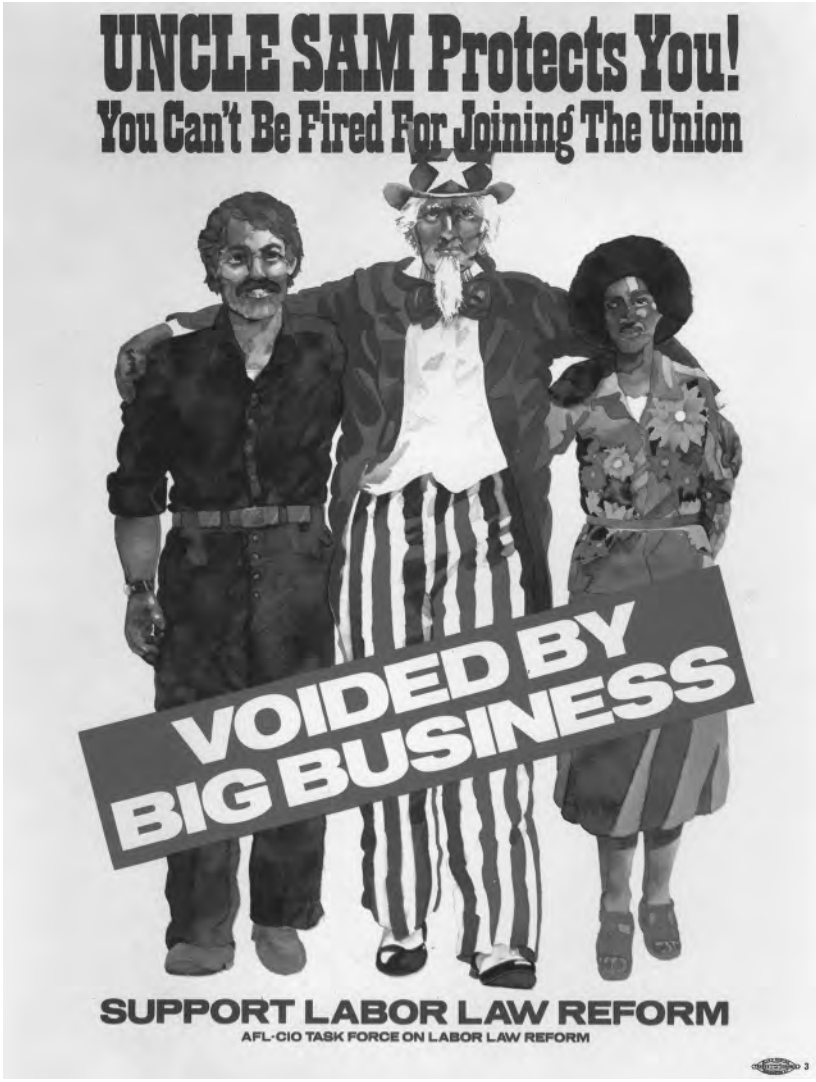
In the 1930s, the **Great Depression** (1929–41) made poor working conditions even worse for laborers. By then, the factory system had a large number of unskilled laborers in the American workforce. Some members of the AFL, including John L. Lewis (1880–1969), believed that unions should organize unskilled workers based on the industries in which they worked. Lewis also believed that unions had to be more political and work for laws that favored workers.

At the AFL's annual convention in 1934, Lewis and his friends helped pass a resolution that resulted in the AFL working to increase organization among industrial unions. The executive committee of the AFL disagreed with the resolution. It associated unskilled laborers with

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violent strikes and other radical organizing tactics. So the AFL did not do much to implement the resolution.

In November 1935, Lewis and others formed the Committee on Industrial Organizations. They intended to operate within the AFL as a separate committee. AFL president William R. Green (1872–1952) opposed the committee. The AFL ordered the committee to disband and then suspended it in 1936 and expelled it in 1937.



The AFL-CIO heavily recruited for members with posters and pamphlets. The organization works for favorable labor laws and helps workers bargain with their employers. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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Unions and Race

Organized in 1886, the American Federation of Labor initially represented the interests of skilled, white, male, and immigrant workers from Europe. African Americans were typically excluded from the unions and related work with restrictions on membership, apprenticeship, and hiring practices. In response, black workers, particularly railroad porters, longshoremen, and plasters, formed all-black unions on their own. When the Congress of Industrial Organizations formed in 1938, it adopted more inclusive racial policies to strengthen its membership and its bargaining power with the federal government.

In 1938, Lewis and his supporters formed their own organization called the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The AFL and the CIO functioned separately for the next two decades. The CIO initially had great success, growing as industry boomed during **World War II** (1939–45). This forced the AFL to modify its recruitment efforts for its member unions.

After World War II, the federal government passed many laws to restrict the power of unions. By the 1950s, the AFL and the CIO decided they needed to work together for favorable laws and to organize workers for bargaining with employers. They merged into one federation in 1955, representing around sixteen million workers, about 35 percent of the American workforce. By the end of the century, the figure fell to around fourteen million, or 20 percent of the workforce, as factories began to move overseas, forcing Americans to find other types of work.

American Flag

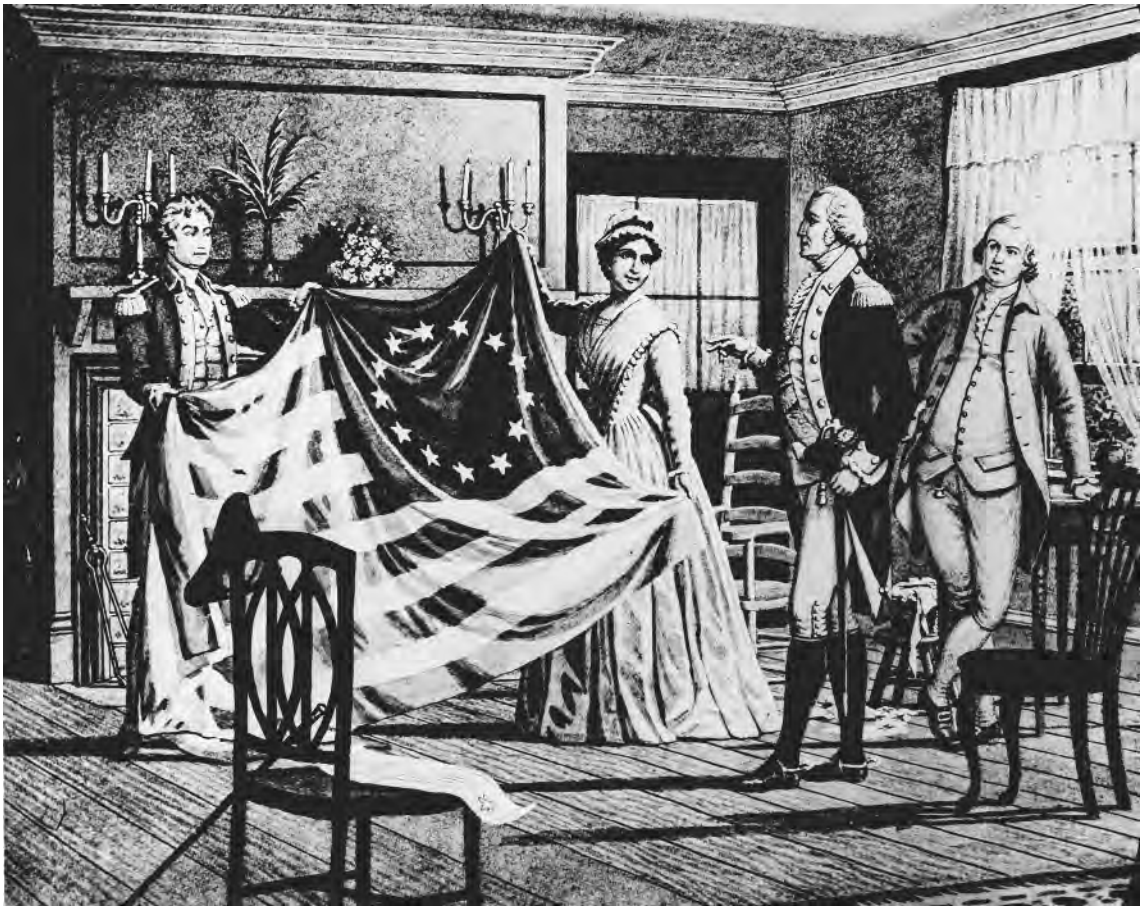
The Marine Committee of the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, adopted a resolution on June 14, 1777, stating that the flag of the United States would have thirteen stripes, alternating red and white. (See **Continental Congress, Second.**) The union would be symbolized with thirteen white stars on a blue field. There was no direction as to how many points each star would have or how they would be arranged. As a result, the first American flags varied in pattern.

Popular legend has it that the first American flag was sewed by a Philadelphia seamstress named Betsy Ross (1752–1836). Ross knew General **George Washington** (1732–1799), who was the leader of the Continental army at the time. Historians have not been able to verify the Ross story, although it is known that Ross sewed flags for the Pennsylvania navy in 1777. Many various flags were sewn throughout the **American Revolution** (1775–83), but the flag commonly referred to

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as the Betsy Ross flag (with the stars arranged in a circular pattern) did not appear until the early 1790s.

The first unofficial national flag was called the Grand Union Flag or the Continental Colors, and it was raised at the request of Washington near his headquarters outside Boston, **Massachusetts**, on January 1, 1776. This flag had thirteen alternating red and white horizontal strips and, in the upper left corner, the emblem of the British flag of the time. The first official flag, known as Old Glory or the Stars and Stripes, was approved by the Continental Congress the following year on the day the flag resolution was adopted. The emblem of the British Union Flag was



Betsy Ross shows George Washington the first American flag she made in Philadelphia in 1776. A year later, the Continental Congress formally approved the 13-stripe, 13-star flag of red, white, and blue. AP IMAGES

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replaced by thirteen white stars on a blue background, representing the **thirteen colonies**. No one knows with certainty who designed the flag, though many historians believe it was Francis Hopkinson (1737–1791), a member of the Continental Congress and signer of the **Declaration of Independence**.

In the twenty-first century, the American flag has thirteen horizontal stripes: seven red and six white alternating. The union of fifty states is represented by fifty white, five-pointed stars on a field of blue in the upper left quarter of the flag. President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) gave specific proportional measurements for each facet of the flag in August of 1959.

American Indian Movement

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minneapolis, **Minnesota**, in the summer of 1968 by founders Dennis Banks (1937–) and Clyde Bellecourt (1939–). Modeling itself after the **Black Panther Party**, the organization initially focused on forming street patrols to stop police brutality and other violence in the local Indian community. A number of service programs ranging from alternative schools to low-cost housing followed within the next two years.

Expands to national goals

After 1971, with the recruitment of American Indian activists such as Russell Means (1939–) and John Trudell (1946–), the organization became national in character and shifted its focus to gaining recognition of American Indian treaty rights in **Indian reservations**. (Reservations are tracts of land set aside by the federal government for use by the American Indians, often as the result of major concessions on the part of American Indian communities.) Most of AIM's activity from late 1972 onward was based at the Pine Ridge Reservation in **South Dakota**.

Trail of Broken Treaties

For a time, AIM pursued a strategy of forcing confrontations with federal, state, and local authorities to gain national attention for the plight of American Indians. The most spectacular of these clashes was called the Trail of Broken Treaties.

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Originating on the West Coast in the autumn of 1972, the Trail of Broken Treaties began as a car caravan of several hundred American Indians who traveled across the country to **Washington, D.C.** There they were prepared to carry out a week-long schedule of ceremonies, meetings, and peaceful protests. The protesters brought with them a list of twenty points for presentation to federal officials, calling for the restoration of treaty activity between federal and tribal governments, the recognition of existing treaties, the creation of a commission to review treaty commitments, and much more. The document forcefully asserted sovereignty (self-rule) for Indian people.

The road-weary protesters expected to find decent accommodations when they arrived in Washington. Instead, they found they had no assigned places to stay, no provisions, and no real acknowledgment from federal officials. Hundreds found themselves stranded in an unfamiliar city. On the morning of November 3, caravan participants sought shelter in the **Bureau of Indian Affairs** (BIA) building while the group's leaders met with federal officials. A confrontation between police and Native Americans soon erupted in the lobby of the bureau. Within minutes, the police were pushed out onto the street and the building was barricaded from within. The protesters officially occupied the BIA building for the next week.

The takeover of the BIA might have been interpreted by some as a bold act of political resistance. However, damage to the building and its contents, and the destruction and removal of important tribal documents, as well as those pertaining to individual Native Americans, resulted in notable negative press. As the main force behind the Trail of Broken Treaties, AIM had secured a reputation as a militant (war-like) organization capable of violence.

Wounded Knee II

AIM's membership grew in the early 1970s as many American Indians joined the movement for American Indians rights. Attention began to focus on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota when Richard Wilson was elected president of the Oglala Sioux tribal council in 1972. Wilson was accused of buying hundreds of votes in that election. His administration was charged with mishandling government funds and granting questionable contracts to whites. In response to these charges, Wilson had opponents beaten and their families threatened. He main-

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tained a GOON squad—an acronym for Guardians of the Oglala Nation—to physically intimidate his opponents.

Investigators from the **Department of Justice** concluded later that Wilson had imposed a "reign of terror" on reservation residents and that federal authorities had funded him to do so. But Wilson won the support of the BIA by refusing to allow protests within the reservation. The BIA ignored complaints against him, funded his GOON squad, and sent its own agents to help him. Means, by then an AIM leader, vowed to run against Wilson in the next election for tribal chair, but that would not occur until 1974.

The residents of Pine Ridge voted to impeach Wilson as tribal chair in 1973, but at his hearing he managed to talk the tribal council into voting in his favor. Several hundred angry members of the Oglala Sioux tribe convened a meeting, asking AIM to attend. AIM's policy was to enter the reservation only on request. The Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization made the official request for AIM's help in overthrowing Wilson.

The occupation

On February 26, 1973, AIM members began to caravan to the Pine Ridge Reservation. As he tried to enter the reservation, two members of Wilson's police force beat Means. He later returned, leading a larger band of about 250 Indians. According to a police report, they broke into the reservation store at 7:55 PM and took weapons and ammunition. Then they took over the community of Wounded Knee, the site of the 1890 **Wounded Knee massacre**. Their original intent appears to have been a short occupation to negotiate for Wilson's dismissal and a traditional tribal government free of BIA interference. The various government forces, however, blockaded the roads and arrested anyone coming out of Wounded Knee who appeared to be implicated in the takeover. In response, the occupiers set up defenses and barricades of their own. A seventy-one-day armed standoff had begun.

Support for the occupation grew on other reservations. Other Indians made their way to Wounded Knee. During the occupation, there was regular gunfire between the federal agents and the occupiers. Hundreds of thousands of shots were fired into the village; two Indians were killed and another dozen badly wounded during the fighting. The occupation ended peacefully when federal officials agreed to discuss violations of U.S. treaty obligations with the Oglala chiefs.

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The aftermath

In the aftermath of Wounded Knee, 562 federal felony charges were lodged against AIM members. Only fifteen of those resulted in convictions, but the expense of continuously posting bail and paying attorneys exhausted the movement's funds and diverted its members' attention for years.

From March 1973 to March 1976, at least 69 AIM members and supporters died violently on Pine Ridge, while some 340 others suffered serious physical assaults. In twenty-one of the AIM deaths, eyewitnesses identified the killers as known GOON squad members. Not one of these crimes was ever brought to trial as the result of a federal investigation.

The disagreement among the Oglala Sioux did not end, nor did friction between AIM and the government. A shootout at Pine Ridge in June 1975, which killed one Indian and two FBI agents, led in 1977 to a controversial trial and a life sentence for murder for AIM leader Leonard Peltier (1944–).

Later years

Despite the Wounded Knee trials and Peltier's conviction, AIM has remained active. The organization has drawn considerable national and international attention to the Peltier case. In 1978, AIM participated in the "Longest Walk," a national march on Washington, D.C., in the continued attempt to air Native American grievances. Three years later, AIM established Yellow Thunder Camp on federal land in the Black Hills of South Dakota. The establishment of the camp was the first step, according to AIM leaders, in reclaiming this sacred land for the Lakota, or Sioux, people. AIM has also protested against false and harmful images of Native Americans in the media and as sports team mascots, and against environmental abuses.

American Party

See **Know-Nothing Party**

American Red Cross

The American Red Cross was established on May 21, 1881, in **Washington, D.C.**, by a nurse named Clara Barton (1821–1912) and some of her acquaintances. Barton had visited Europe just after the

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American **Civil War** (1861–65), where she learned of the International Red Cross Movement. Once she returned to America, she campaigned for an American Red Cross society, which would provide care to the wounded in time of war and disaster. Sixty-year-old Barton was the organization's first leader, and she remained so for twenty-three years.

Under Barton's leadership, the Red Cross conducted its first domestic and overseas disaster-relief efforts, assisted the U.S. military throughout the **Spanish-American War** (1898), and successfully campaigned for the inclusion of peacetime relief work as part of the International Red Cross Movement.

The Red Cross received its first congressional charter in 1900 and a second one in 1905. This charter outlined the purposes of the organization and remained in place into the twenty-first century.

With the onset of **World War I** (1914–18), the Red Cross grew from 107 local chapters in 1914 to 3,864 in 1918. Membership grew from seventeen thousand to more than twenty million adult and eleven million Junior Red Cross members. By the end of the war, the American public had donated $400 million in funds and materials. Twenty thousand registered nurses were recruited to serve in the military, and additional Red Cross nurses volunteered to fight the worldwide influenza epidemic of 1918.

Once the war was over and attention could be turned to peacetime activities, the Red Cross focused on service to veterans. It enhanced its programs in accident prevention, safety training, and nutrition education. Volunteers were on hand to help victims of the Mississippi River floods in 1927, those of the severe drought throughout the Great Plains states known as the **Dust Bowl**, and those of the **Great Depression** throughout the 1930s.

War, again

Once again the Red Cross was called upon in time of war, this time for **World War II** (1939–45). More than 104,000 nurses signed up for military service as the Red Cross prepared twenty-seven million packages for American and Allied (forces fighting alongside the Americans) prisoners of war. (See **Allies**.) The organization shipped more than three hundred thousand tons of supplies overseas and initiated a national blood drive that collected 13.3 million pints of much-needed blood to be used by the military.

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With the end of the war came another refocus of priorities, and the Red Cross established the first nationwide civilian blood program, which eventually supplied almost 50 percent of the blood and blood products in America. In the 1990s, the organization expanded its role in biomedical research and began "banking" human tissue for distribution. As America entered other wars, the Red Cross provided services to members of the military. It has since expanded its services to include civil defense, HIV/**AIDS** education, training in CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitation, an emergency medical procedure), and the provision of emotional care and support to disaster victims and survivors. The Red Cross played a key role in helping the federal government form the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in 1979.

Controversy

After the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks** on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., the Red Cross came under scrutiny and was criticized for its handling and management of donations. The organization established the Liberty Fund, to which Americans donated $547 million, all of which they assumed would go directly to victims of the tragedy. The fund was closed in October 2001 after meeting its donation goal. When it was revealed that only 30 percent of donations directly assisted victims and that the rest would go toward improved telecommunications, building a blood supply, and planning for future terrorist attacks, there was public outcry. The Red Cross then hired someone from outside the organization to handle the management of the fund, and it was promised that all monies would go to the victims, survivors, and their families.

Criticism and controversy followed the Red Cross into 2005, the busiest hurricane season on record. Hurricane Katrina, which hit **Florida**, **Louisiana**, and **Mississippi** in August, was the most devastating natural disaster the organization had ever dealt with. The Red Cross was criticized for its management of nearly $1 billion in donations and received allegations that it responded more efficiently and quickly to white victims and neighborhoods than it did to African Americans.

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American Revolution

The thirteen British colonies in America fought the American Revolution (1775–83) to become independent from Great Britain. (See **Thirteen Colonies**.) As a result, a new nation was born, the United States of America.

Taxation without representation

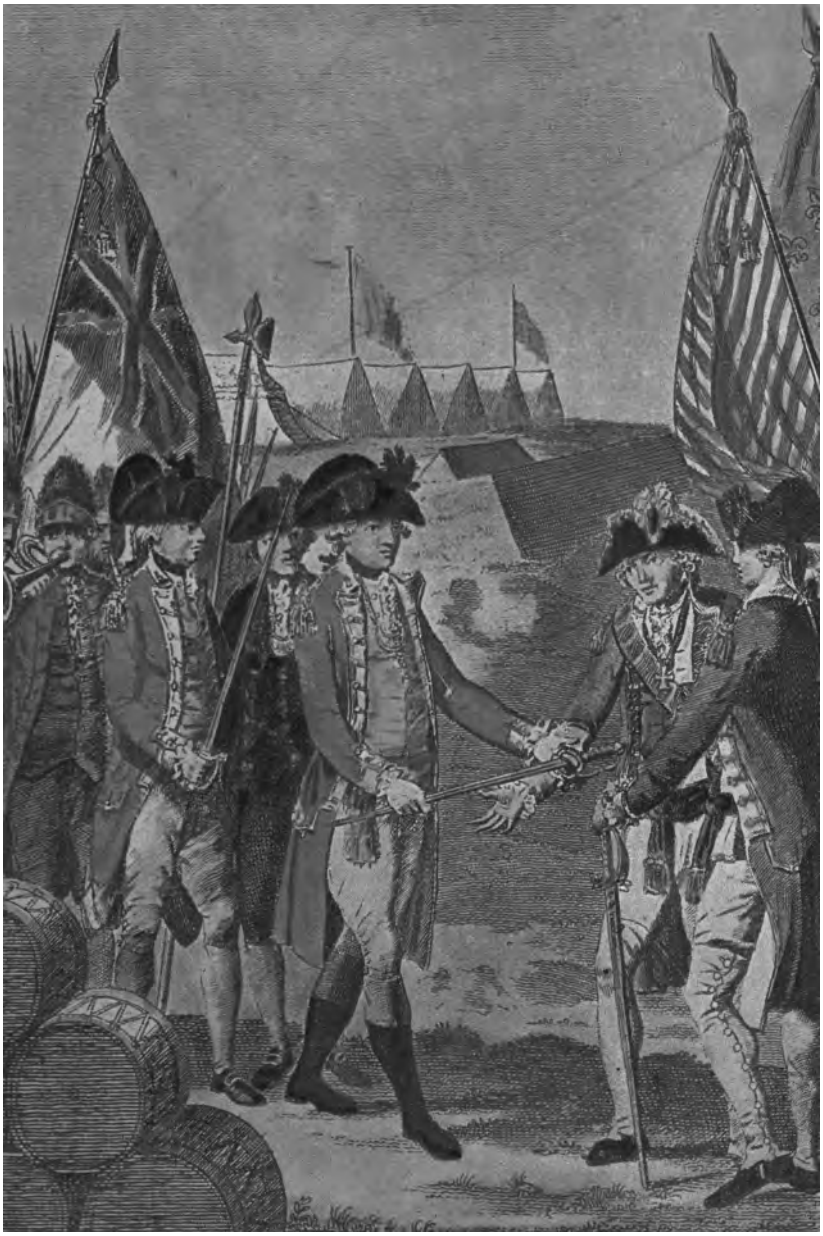
By the 1760s, the British colonies in America had developed into thirteen individual territories with their own economic and political systems. For the most part, the British Parliament and monarchy had refrained from being involved in most aspects of colonial life since the early 1700s. The British maintained and managed their economic interests in the colonies, but they also allowed the colonies to govern themselves to a large extent.

The outbreak of the **French and Indian War** (1754–63) changed the status of the colonies in 1754. The British provided troops to support and protect the colonists in the conflict against the French and the Indians. The war lasted until 1763 and depleted the British treasury.

After the war, the British Parliament sought to replenish its treasury. Taxes had never been applied to the colonies, but Parliament decided it was necessary for the colonies to share the responsibility of paying war debts. Parliament enacted a series of tax measures over the next ten years that sparked outrage throughout the colonies. Although the vast majority of the colonial population was loyal to British rule, they had grown used to levying their own taxes through their own governments. As the colonists had no representation in Parliament, they felt they had no duty to pay taxes to Great Britain.

Parliament was firm about its decision to tax the colonies, however, and the series of acts placed on the colonies were strict. Parliament attempted to control colonial trade and passed restrictions on colonial money. It taxed imports in America through measures like the **Tea Act** (1763) and the **Sugar Act** (1764). Another set of laws included the **Stamp Act** (1765), the **Declaratory Act** (1766), and the **Townshend Acts** (1767). These laws placed duties (taxes on imports) on a wide variety of goods, such as legal documents, glass, and lead.

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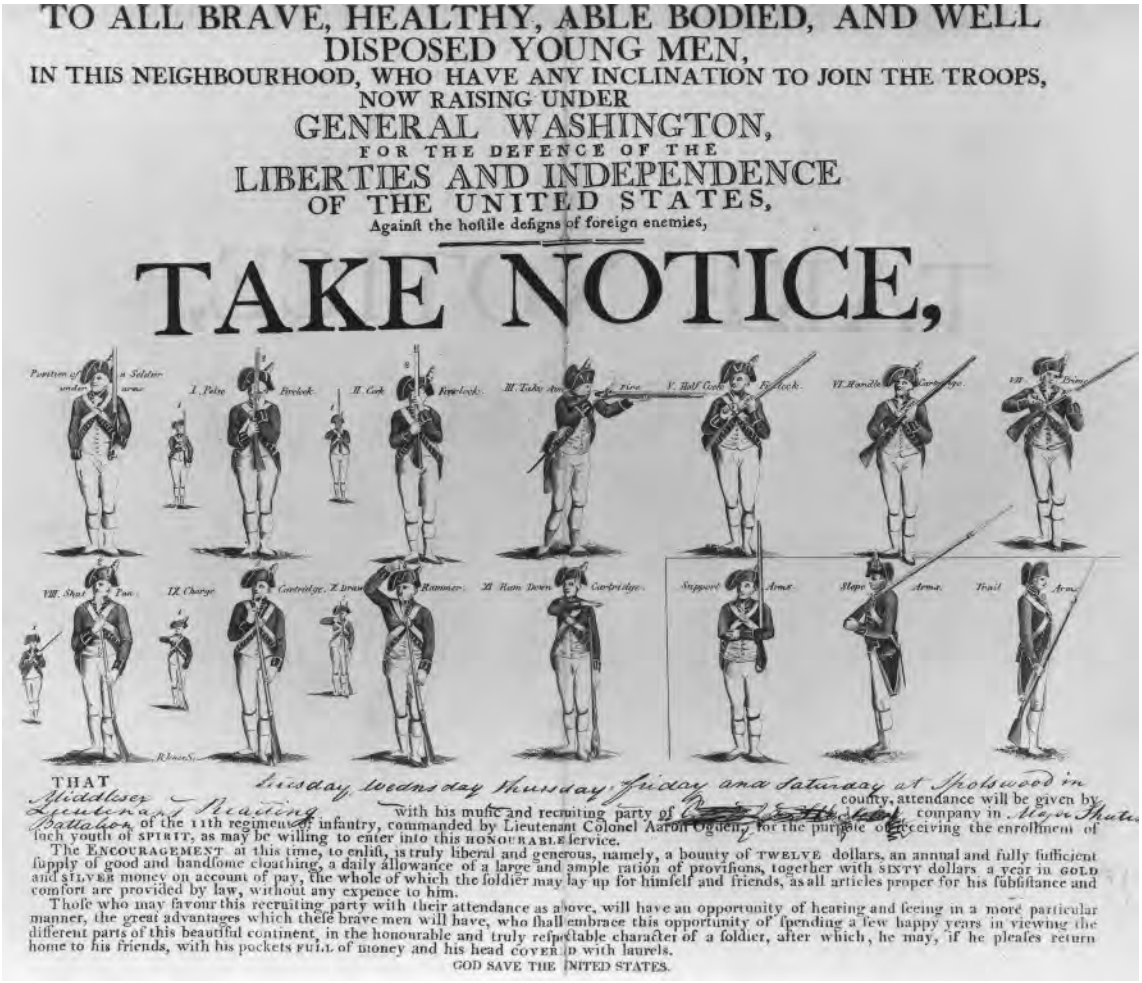


The American Revolution ended shortly after the surrender, shown here, of British General Charles Cornwallis to George Washington at the Battle of Yorktown in 1781. TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

Tensions rise

The colonies had developed independently over time. Their governments, economies, and populations were noticeably different. As a result, the colonies often disagreed on policy matters and rarely united in a cause.

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TO ALL BRAVE, HEALTHY, ABLE BODIED, AND WELL DISPOSED YOUNG MEN,
IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHO HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO JOIN THE TROOPS,
NOW RAISING UNDER
GENERAL WASHINGTON,
FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
LIBERTIES AND INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Againſt the hoſtile deſigns of foreign enemies,

TAKE NOTICE,

THAT Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday at Shotswood in Middlesex County, attendance will be given by Lieutenant Reading with his muſic and recruiting party of Captain Stuart's company in Major Shute's Battalion of the 11th regiment of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Aaron Ogden, for the purpoſe of receiving the enrollment of ſuch youth of SPIRIT, as may be willing to enter into this HONOURABLE ſervice.

The ENCOURAGEMENT at this time, to enliſt, is truly liberal and generous, namely, a bounty of TWELVE dollars, an annual and fully ſufficient ſupply of good and handſome cloathing, a daily allowance of a large and ample ration of proviſions, together with SIXTY dollars a year in GOLD and SILVER money on account of pay, the whole of which the ſoldier may lay up for himſelf and friends, as all articles proper for his ſubſiſtance and comfort are provided by law, without any expence to him.

Thoſe who may favour this recruiting party with their attendance as above, will have an opportunity of hearing and ſeeing in a more particular manner, the great advantages which theſe brave men will have, who ſhall embrace this opportunity of ſpending a few happy years in viewing the different parts of this beautiful continent, in the honourable and truly reſpectable character of a ſoldier, after which, he may, if he pleaſes return home to his friends, with his pockets FULL of money and his head COVERED with laurels.

GOD SAVE THE UNITED STATES.

In reaction to harsh British rule, American colonists rallied together and called for enrollment into the U.S. Army at the start of the American Revolution. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

The actions of the British Parliament began to unite the colonies in common resentment of British rule. The Stamp Act particularly angered the colonists, as it seemed to affect everyone. Printers were among those most affected, however, and they aroused public opposition through the publication of newspapers, editorials, and pamphlets.

The colonists resisted Britain's actions in a variety of ways. Public criticism appeared in print over Parliament's taxation without the con-

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sent of colonial representatives. Merchants and laborers created the Sons of Liberty, a military-like club. Ordinary colonists harassed tax collectors, attended public protest meetings, and participated in boycotts of British goods. In protest, colonists dumped loads of tea into the Boston Harbor in December 1773, an event called the **Boston Tea Party**.

Increased colonial resistance led to enactment of the **Coercion Acts** in 1774, by which Parliament restricted the power of local governments. When Britain dissolved the **Massachusetts** legislature, closed Boston Harbor, shut down colonial courts, and quartered, or housed, British troops in private homes, the colonists were inspired to work together as they never had before. Reaction spread far beyond Massachusetts, and some Americans began to consider military resistance.

The colonies organize and fight

In 1774, delegates from the colonies gathered at the First Continental Congress to evaluate the level of discontent among all the colonies. (See **Continental Congress, First**.) The Congress sent a petition to the British government seeking a resolution of their complaints. Though not all Americans agreed that greater resistance was necessary, some colonists began to prepare for war.

Historians generally agree that prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, only one-third of the colonists actively supported military action and independence. The remaining two-thirds were either Loyalists faithful to British rule, or uncommitted either way.

Tensions between the colonists and the British turned hostile on April 19, 1775. British troops went to Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts to collect weapons and capture rebels. (See **Battle of Lexington and Concord**.) When the British met armed resistance from

Culpeper's Rebellion

During the colonial period in America, England passed dozens of navigation acts to control trade in the colonies. The acts placed heavy duties on goods imported into the colonies, and prevented the colonies from trading with other nations. Their purpose was to ensure that colonial trade enriched England.

In 1677, rebels led by John Culpeper (1644–1693) revolted against the colonial government in the Albemarle section of the colony of Carolina. Dissatisfaction with the Navigation Acts was at the heart of the rebellion. The rebels seized Thomas Miller, who collected import duties for England under the **Navigation Acts**. They also replaced the colonial government with their own government for two years, naming Culpeper governor.

The proprietors of the colony eventually resumed control and sent Culpeper to London to stand trial for treason. Culpeper escaped punishment with the help of the Earl of Shaftesbury. The rebellion, though it did not last, was an early indication of the trouble between England and the colonies that would lead to the American Revolution.

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citizen militias, the conflict became violent, and the American Revolutionary War began.

The colonies united with a vote for independence at the Second Continental Congress in the summer of 1775. (See **Continental Congress, Second**.) Colonial delegates worked to establish an independent government under the **Articles of Confederation**. Although the document provided a unifying government, it proved to be weak: It was unable to supply the funds, supplies, and military staffing that could have made for a swifter war.

American victory was due in great part to the strength of command and leadership from General **George Washington** (1732–1799). Against the odds, Washington overcame problems posed by political squabbles, a weak federal government, inexperienced militias, and lack of supplies. Though it struggled at first, the Continental Army was transformed into a disciplined and effective force under Washington's supervision.

The other key to American victory was the vital support of France. In May 1779, France and America signed a treaty that provided an alliance and loans for the American cause. Spain and the Netherlands also joined the fight on behalf of the Americans. The combined efforts of these countries finally brought military victory in October 1781. At the Battle of Yorktown in Virginia, British General Lord Cornwallis (1738–1805) surrendered. The war formally ended with the **Treaty of Paris** in 1783.

Amistad Insurrection

In the 1830s, Africans were regularly kidnapped by slave traders and sold in an illegal slave trade. One group of Africans rose up in rebellion against their captors only to find themselves in a battle within the U.S. court system. Their story brought the concept of **slavery** into sharp focus in a country divided by its beliefs about slavery.

In 1839, a Portuguese slave ship brought a shipload of kidnapped Africans from present-day Sierra Leone to sell in Havana, Cuba. After crossing the seas in a cramped and filthy slave ship, a group of fifty-three Mende-speaking Africans, led by a man named Sengbe, who came to be called Cinque (c. 1817–1879), were sold to two Spaniards, Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montes. At this time slave trading was illegal in the United States,

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but the ever-growing demand for slaves had created a flourishing trade and colonial authorities did nothing to prevent it.

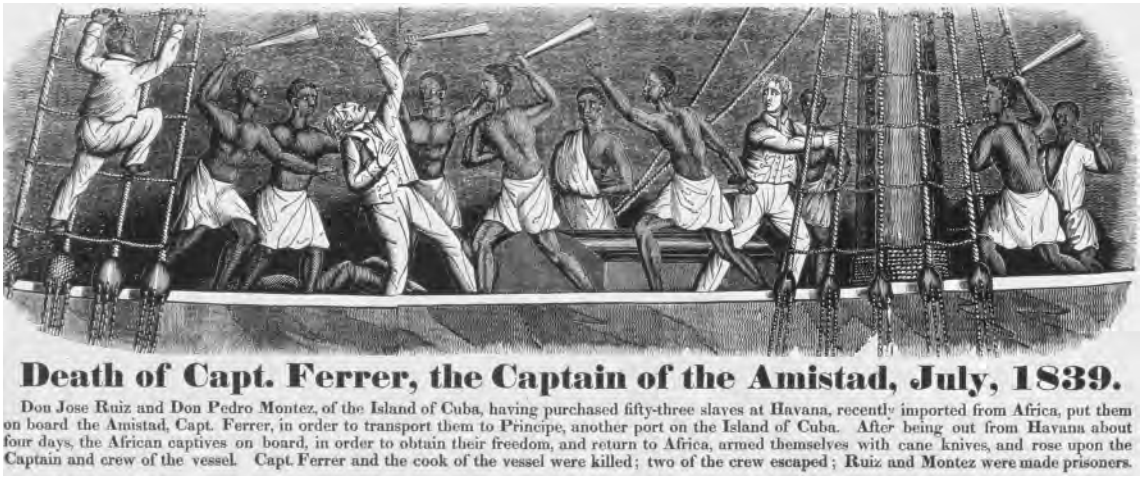
The mutiny

The Spaniards boarded the Africans on the *Amistad,* a ship heading toward their estates in northern Cuba. During the voyage, the Africans conversed in sign language with the ship's crew, asking what would happen to them. A seaman jokingly gestured that they would be killed and eaten. Soon after that, the African captives seized control of the ship, killing two crew members.

The mutineers (people who rebel) spared the lives of Ruiz and Montes and ordered them to pilot the ship to Africa. The Spaniards pretended to sail east by day, but secretly reversed course by night. After two months they brought the *Amistad* to the northern coast of the United States. The Africans were arrested and jailed in **Connecticut**, and charged with committing murder and piracy. Ruiz and Montes, backed by the Spanish government, pressed a claim for the return of the *Amistad,* including its cargo of slaves.

A divided public

While the Africans awaited trial, newspapers across the country carried their story. Many regarded them as curiosities, but Connecticut's aboli-



The slave mutiny onboard the **Amistad** *in 1839 divided the public as to whether the men should be freed.* MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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The testimony of the slave Cinque about the terrible conditions on the Amistad *was an important factor in the Supreme Court upholding previous court decisions and declaring the Africans free and able to return to their native land.* NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION

tionists (people who oppose slavery and work to end it) eagerly took up the captives' cause. They organized an *Amistad* relief committee and hired respected attorneys to defend the Africans. Aside from sympathy for the Africans, the abolitionists viewed their case as a way to put the institution of slavery on trial.

Naturally, people from the southern slave states opposed the abolitionists and sided with the lawyers prosecuting (pursuing charges against) the Africans, demanding that they be returned to their "owners." Southerners wanted the courts to uphold what they believed to be the absolute rights of slaveholders. They feared slave rebellions and did not want the *Amistad* rebels to go unpunished, for fear their own slaves might follow their example. President **Martin Van Buren** (1782–1862; served 1847–41) also wanted to see the Africans deported to Cuba. For him, this solution would avoid diplomatic tension with Spain and keep voters in the South on his side at election time.

The trial

In the *Amistad* trial, the defense lawyers asserted that the Africans had the right to free themselves from the horrible conditions of slavery. They argued that returning them to Cuba meant certain death for them. In addition, since the captives had been kidnapped in violation of Spanish law, the abolitionists argued that the blacks were not legally slaves and therefore were not "property" belonging to Ruiz and Montes. In January 1840, Cinque, who had learned a little English, electrified the courtroom with his testimony about conditions on the *Amistad,* at one point shouting "Give us free! Give us free!"

The judge in the *Amistad* case ruled in favor of the Africans. He deemed them innocent of murder and piracy, since they had only acted to free themselves. He ordered the ship and its goods to be returned to Ruiz and Montes, but stated that the Africans were to be freed and allowed to return to their homes.

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John Quincy Adams for the defense

The prosecution appealed, and the *Amistad* case went before the U.S. Supreme Court. At the time, five Supreme Court justices were Southerners who had owned slaves. The defense sought out former U.S. president **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–29) to present its case, banking on his renown as much as on his legal ability. In his seventies and still an outspoken member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Adams had been following the *Amistad* case since the beginning. He enchanted the court with hours-long orations about the principles of American freedom and justice. Even as this was going on in court, though, President Van Buren had stationed a ship nearby with standing orders to carry the prisoners to Cuba. Abolitionists watched the ship night and day to ensure that the president did not overstep his powers and whisk the captives away.

In March 1840, the Supreme Court upheld the earlier court's decision. The Africans were free, though reduced in number to thirty-five owing to deaths in prison. It took almost another year for the *Amistad* relief committee to raise money to hire a ship to carry Cinque and the other Africans back to Sierra Leone. They are the only known Africans sold as slaves in the New World to return to their lands. Upon his return home, Cinque was unable to find his wife. He disappeared shortly after his return and little else is known of his life. In the United States, though, he remains a symbol of resistance to the Atlantic slave trade.

The *Amistad* decision did not condemn slavery. It simply held that Africans who were not legally slaves could not be considered property. If the *Amistad* rebels had been slaves by U.S. law, or if the abolitionists had not intervened on their behalf, the decision would have been very different. As it happened, though, the case provided the nation with a rare perspective on the human rights of kidnapped African people. Abolitionists viewed this as a victory, whereas slave owners of the South generally viewed the decision with contempt.

Antebellum Period

Antebellum is a Latin word that means "before the war." In American history, the antebellum period refers to the years after the **War of 1812** (1812–15) and before the **Civil War** (1861–65). The development of separate northern and southern economies, westward expansion of the nation,

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and a spirit of reform marked the era. These issues created an unstable and explosive political environment that eventually led to the Civil War.

Separate economies

After the War of 1812, England finally acknowledged American independence and began to establish a relationship with the young nation. With the last of the military threats gone, the United States turned its attention to building a strong nation. Its economy was strong and diverse, and Americans had a lot to offer other countries.

In colonial times, the southern and northern areas of the country had diverse economies. Each, however, soon established areas of specialization that reflected regional differences. The North, with its great port cities, began to focus on industry. A constant stream of immigrants provided cheap labor for the variety of businesses. The South, with its fertile lands, focused on agriculture. By 1815, **cotton** was the primary crop in the South. The invention of the **cotton gin** helped the region serve a growing worldwide demand for the crop. The institution of **slavery** provided the labor to harvest large plantations for greater profits.

As a result of the very different businesses in the North and the South, their economies developed differently. In Congress, politicians engaged in heated debates as they tried to serve the needs of their own region. The institution of slavery was a particularly difficult issue. As the nation gained territory and **westward expansion** began, politicians argued over whether slavery would be allowed to expand into the new areas.

Expansion and the slavery question

Under President **Thomas Jefferson**, the United States had made the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803, and the lands began gradually to organize into states. After the War of 1812, the nation expanded even more rapidly. **Florida** Territory was ceded by Spain in 1819. The **Oregon** Treaty and the Mexico Treaty added lands farther west. By 1848, the U.S. territory stretched from the Atlantic Ocean all the way to the Pacific Ocean. In 1821, there were twenty-four states in the Union. By 1861, when the Civil War broke out, there were thirty-four.

Rapid growth caused growing pains for the young nation. With every addition of a state, politicians in Congress had to confront the dif-

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ferences between North and South. Slavery was always a point of conflict. According to the **Constitution**, slaves were counted as three-fifths of a citizen for purposes of federal representation and taxation. If slavery continued to expand, the Northern politicians would begin to lose influence in policy decisions. In the interest of economic security, Northern politicians argued against the expansion of slavery. Southerners supported the expansion.

Social reforms

The antebellum period was also marked by increased public activism. During the Second **Great Awakening** (from 1800 to the 1830s), Christian morality found energetic expression in religious revivals, mass meetings where people sought salvation. The spirit of reform also motivated organizations working toward social change. Temperance organizations hoped to eliminate social ills caused by alcohol consumption. Others hoped to improve society through education reform and increased literacy. Abolitionists focused on ending slavery everywhere. Americans debated these issues as the young nation struggled to improve itself.

Some aspects of the antebellum period, particularly in the South, have been presented in a positive light in popular **movies** and books. For instance, plantation life in the South is sometimes portrayed with nostalgia. Such presentations, however, ignore the evil of slavery and the difficult political and social realities of the times. The antebellum period came to an end with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861.

Susan B. Anthony

Susan B. Anthony's Quaker upbringing greatly influenced the role she played in nineteenth-century America. **Quakers**, properly known as the Religious Society of Friends, had founded their religion on the belief that priests and places of organized worship are not necessary for a person to experience God. In the Quaker view, all people have an "inner light" that can guide them to divine truth. Quakers do not believe in armed conflict or **slavery**, and they were among the first groups to practice equality between men and women. Anthony led a crusade to ensure that all women were granted the rights she herself had come to expect.

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Susan B. Anthony was born on February 15, 1820. Her father, a cotton-mill owner, instilled in his children the ideas of self-reliance, self-discipline, and self-worth. Both her parents were strong supporters of the abolitionist (antislavery) and the temperance (avoidance of alcohol) movements. (See **Abolition Movement** and **Prohibition**.)

Protests inequality

After completing her schooling at the age of seventeen, Anthony began teaching in schools in rural **New York** state. Teaching was one of the few professions open to women at the time, but wages for men and women differed greatly. Anthony's weekly salary was equal to one-fifth of that received by her male colleagues. When she protested this inequality, she lost her job. She then secured a better position as principal of the girls' division of a private school.

In 1849, after teaching for over ten years, Anthony found her professional future bleak. She joined the local temperance society but was denied the chance to speak at a meeting because she was a woman. Unwilling to be silenced, she founded the Daughters of Temperance, the first women's temperance organization. She began writing temperance articles for the *Lily*, the first woman-owned newspaper in the United States. Through the paper's editor, Amelia Bloomer (1818–1894), Anthony met women involved in the recently formed women's suffrage (right to vote) movement. (See **Women's Suffrage Rights**.)

Works for women's suffrage

In 1851, Anthony met women's rights leader **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (1815–1902). They formed a deep personal friendship and a political bond that would last for the rest of their lives. From that point on, Anthony worked tirelessly for women's suffrage. She lectured on women's rights and organized a series of state and national conventions on the issue. She collected signatures for a petition to grant women the right to vote and to own property. Her hard work paid off in 1860 when the New York state legislature passed the Married Women's Property Act. It allowed women to enter into contracts and to control their own earnings and property.

During the **Civil War** (1861–65), Anthony and most other members of the women's movement worked toward the emancipation of the

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slaves. In 1863, she helped form the Women's Loyal League, which supported the policies of President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65). After the war, Anthony and others tried to link women's suffrage with that of the freed slaves. They were unsuccessful. The **Fifteenth Amendment**, finally adopted in 1870, extended voting rights only to black men—not to women. Anthony and Stanton continued to fight, forming the National Woman Suffrage Association.



Susan B. Anthony led a movement to try and bring equality between men and women. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Brought to trial for voting

The **Fourteenth Amendment**, adopted in 1868, had declared that all people born in the United States were citizens and that no legal privileges could be denied to any citizen. Anthony decided to challenge this amendment. Saying that women were citizens and the amendment did not restrict the privilege of voting to men, she and fifteen other women voted in the presidential election of 1872. All sixteen women were arrested three weeks later, but only Anthony was brought to trial. The presiding judge opposed women's suffrage and wrote his decision before the trial even had started. Refusing to let Anthony testify, he ordered the jury to find her guilty and then sentenced her to pay a $100 fine. She refused, and no further action was taken against her.

Anthony continued to campaign for women's rights. Between 1881 and 1886, she and Stanton published a three-volume collection of writings about the movement's struggle. Through Anthony's determined work, many professional fields became open to women by the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, at the time of her death in 1906, only four states—**Wyoming**, **Colorado**, **Idaho**, and **Utah**—had granted suffrage to women. Fourteen years later, in 1920, Congress adopted the **Nineteenth Amendment**, finally giving women throughout America the right to vote.

Antietam, Battle of

See **Battle of Antietam**

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Anti-Federalists

A loose organization of delegates to the **Constitutional Convention** of 1787 who shared political goals became known as the Anti-Federalists. They opposed the policies for a strong central government supported by a larger group of delegates, members of the **Federalist Party**. The presence of the Anti-Federalists forced some compromises during the writing of the **Constitution**. The government created by the Constitution, however, was stronger than the Anti-Federalists desired.

Anti-Federalists worked during the writing of the Constitution to preserve the power of state government. Mindful of their experience under an overbearing English government, they sought to limit the power of a single national government. Some Anti-Federalists believed that state government was important for maintaining control over local affairs and keeping power in the hands of the people rather than an elite ruling class. Other Anti-Federalists simply wanted most governmental power to come from the state rather than from a central national government. Still others were concerned that a strong central government could too easily violate individual rights to liberty (freedom). Although they often spoke in terms of democratic governance by the people, the Anti-Federalists generally did not favor political rights or civil liberties for women, slaves, and similar groups.

Although the Anti-Federalists managed to work out some compromises during the Constitutional Convention, many opposed the final draft of the Constitution. They felt that, on balance, it gave too much power to the federal government. When **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804), **James Madison** (1751–1836), and John Jay (1745–1829) wrote the *Federalist Papers* to support the ratification (acceptance) of the Constitution, Anti-Federalists wrote articles to encourage the defeat of the Constitution.

The Anti-Federalists failed to defeat the Constitution, which was ratified in 1788. They generated enough political pressure, however, to force the Federalists to agree to incorporate a **Bill of Rights** into the Constitution. Containing the first ten amendments to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights protects individual liberty from unfair conduct by the federal government. The bill also says that any power not granted to the federal government is reserved to the states and the people.

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The Anti-Federalists never organized themselves into a political party. As a group, they faded under the first installation of the federal government in 1789. The aggressive economic policies of Hamilton, who was the secretary of the Treasury under President **George Washington** (1743–1826; served 1801–9), stirred more opposition to the Federalists. Many who had aligned with the Anti-Federalists organized under **Thomas Jefferson**'s leadership to oppose the Federalists as Democratic-Republicans. The **Democratic-Republican Party** survived well into the nineteenth century.

Antiwar Movement (Vietnam)

In every war the United States has fought, there have been protesters. The antiwar movement during the Vietnam War (1954–75) is particularly memorable because it played out at a time when there were actually two other strong movements taking place: the student movement and the **civil rights movement**.

The civil rights movement, led by **Martin Luther King, Jr.** (1929–1968), began in the mid-1950s and attracted not only blacks but also the era's young white middle class. These young people saw the civil rights movement as part of a larger social movement that questioned the status quo (the existing state of affairs) in general. Racial **segregation** and inequality were two of society's ills, as was an economy sustained by war and the exploitation of smaller and poorer countries. Even the quality of education was in question: Students believed that the system promoted conformity over creativity and individuality.

Reform-minded student organizations and societies formed across the country in the early 1960s. Some focused on women's rights, others on educational reform or civil rights. By 1965, however, the protest against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War eclipsed all other concerns.

Early protests

Although the war had begun in 1954, the United States's involvement was not significant until 1965. The first antiwar protests were loosely organized student demonstrations in which protesters gathered to share their concerns. In April 1965, teachers at college campuses across the country began hosting "teach-ins," forums in which U.S. foreign policy

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was explained and criticized. Before the month was over, a national event in **Washington, D.C.** was broadcast to more than one hundred colleges. April also saw the first major demonstration: **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS) organized the event, which attracted around fifteen thousand participants to Washington, D.C.

Many opponents of the Vietnam War were protesting the draft. The draft is a means of building up the military. Males eighteen and older had to register with the government's Selective Service, and if their names were drawn in a lottery, they were required by law to join the military and serve in the Vietnam War. The draft, also known as conscription, was first used during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). (See also **Conscription Acts**.) The first public draft protest of the Vietnam War took place in October 1965 in New York City. David Miller broke the law when he burned his draft card, and for his act of protest he was arrested, found guilty, and served two years in jail. Meanwhile, the antiwar movement gained momentum as it stretched across the globe. Antiwar protests were held simultaneously in the United States; Paris, France; Rome, Italy; and London, England.

Focused and determined

By 1967, the antiwar movement had grown so widespread that those who were only moderately opposed to the war marched alongside those with more extreme perspectives. The days of a handful of protesters standing on a street corner waving signs were gone, and in their place were groups numbering in the thousands. On October 21, 1967, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam organized a rally in Washington, D.C. More than one hundred thousand people participated in the rally, and thirty-five thousand continued in the planned march to the steps of the Pentagon.

Protest music played a major role in the antiwar movement. Folk music was at the height of its popularity, and performers such as **Bob Dylan** (1941–), John Lennon (1940–1980), and Peter, Paul, and Mary loaned their voices to the movement at demonstrations and press statements. Dylan's 1963 hit "Blowin' in the Wind" became a theme song of the movement.

Although most peace activists embraced nonviolence, emotions ran high, and antiwar slogans such as "Make love, not war," and "Hell no, we won't go!" offended parents, spouses, and friends whose loved ones

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Thousands of antiwar protestors demonstrate in front of the United Nations in 1967. AP IMAGES

were fighting overseas. Battles sometimes broke out between protesters and police, counterprotesters, and armed troops.

Seasons of violence

The violent protests peaked in 1968. The most famous protest of the year took place in August, just months after the assassination of U.S. senator **Robert F. Kennedy** (1925–1968) of **New York**. The Democratic National Convention was being held in Chicago, **Illinois**, that year, and when it became clear that Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey (1911–1978) would emerge as the **Democratic Party**'s presidential nominee, a coalition of extremist antiwar organizations showed up in Chicago intent on disrupting the convention.

What they found there were twelve thousand police officers, almost six thousand Illinois National Guardsmen, and five thousand federal troops. On the night Humphrey was nominated, rioting broke out all over Chicago. Some eyewitnesses reported that the authorities provoked

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the demonstrators to violence. By the time the riots had subsided, more than one thousand people were wounded and almost seven hundred had been arrested.

In the most notorious confrontation between protesters and police, on May 4, 1970, at Ohio's Kent State University, a peaceful protest ended in tragedy when four demonstrators were shot and killed by National Guardsmen who opened fire on the protesters. (See **Kent State Shooting**.) Nine other students were wounded. The nation was shocked, and eight million students protested by going on strike from their colleges and high schools. Five days after the shooting, one hundred thousand people marched in Washington, D.C., to protest the senseless deaths of the unarmed students. Singer Neil Young (1945–) wrote a song, "Ohio," about the tragedy, and the event is referenced in numerous other songs.

As the Vietnam War continued, protests grew increasingly confrontational and violent between demonstrators and police.

From the margins to the middle

As violence increased within the antiwar movement, there was a shift in public opinion: Older Americans and prominent public figures became more vocal in their criticism of the continuing war. Politicians spoke out against the government's actions, and even some veterans of the war organized to bring an end to what had become the longest-running war in U.S. history. The Republican candidate, **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74), won the presidential election in 1968 with a campaign platform to end the war.



Nixon had no great plan to bring home the troops, but he did try to bomb the North Vietnamese into submission. When that failed, he put into action a plan that eventually turned over responsibility for the ground war to South Vietnam. This was known as "Vietnamization," and it did allow U.S. troops to gradually withdraw, although U.S. air fighters were still standing by to deploy at a moment's notice.

Days after the Kent State shooting in 1970, state police opened fire on student protesters at

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Jackson State College in **Mississippi**. Twelve students were injured and two were killed. One student at a New York school responded to the Kent State shooting by hanging a banner out a dormitory window that read "They Can't Kill Us All." Nixon's response was seen as callous by members of the antiwar movement. He met with about thirty student protestors at the **Lincoln Memorial** in Washington, D.C., just five days after the shooting, but his attempts at reaching out were condescending and clumsy.

With the 1971 publication of the Pentagon Papers—a top-secret, seven-thousand-page government report on the planning and policy making before and during the war—most Americans began to support total withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. The report uncovered lies, illegal actions, and other unethical behavior on the part of the president, the government, and the military. By the time the war officially ended in 1975, nearly all of the United States was a part of the antiwar movement.

Appomattox Courthouse

Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia, is the American **Civil War** site at which the Confederate army, led by General **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870), surrendered to **Union** general **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885) on April 9, 1865. The surrender is commonly viewed as the end of the Civil War, although afterward the **Confederate States of America** government briefly attempted to maintain its rebellion.

Confederate surrender came after a series of encounters between the forces under Lee and Grant. Eighty thousand Union soldiers forced thirty-five thousand Confederate soldiers out of Petersburg, Virginia, in the end of March 1865. Grant continued pushing the rebels south and eventually managed to cut them off and surround them.

On April 9, realizing the position the Confederates were in, Lee sent a flag of truce to Grant. The two generals met that afternoon to arrange the surrender. By all accounts, Grant was generous with the terms. He allowed the officers to keep their side arms (weapons kept by the belt; hand guns and swords) and the soldiers to keep their horses for working their farms. He also issued rations to the starving Confederates. In all, 7,892 infantrymen surrendered with arms to Union forces at

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Appomattox. A total of twenty-eight thousand Confederate troops were paroled (released after promising not to fight) by the agreement.

Appomattox Courthouse became a national historic site in 1954.

Arizona

Nicknamed the Grand Canyon State, Arizona entered the Union on February 14, 1912, as the forty-eighth state. It is the sixth-largest state in terms of size, with a total boundary length of 1,478 miles (2,379 kilometers). Arizona lies in the Rocky Mountains region of the United States and is bordered by **Utah**, **Nevada**, **California**, **New Mexico**, and Mexico.

It is believed that the region now known as Arizona was inhabited by several cultures by 500 C.E., including the Anasazi, Mogollon, and Hohokam. These cultures were in decline by the fourteenth century for reasons unknown even in the twenty-first century. When the first Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century, they found native populations—the oldest of which were the Hopi—living a hunter-gatherer lifestyle in the river valleys.

Arizona was a largely peaceful territory, even when Mexico revolted against Spain in 1810. When the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) broke out in 1846, two U.S. armies marched across the Arizona region. The **California Gold Rush** in 1849 also brought thousands of Americans through the region. In 1863, President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) signed the Organic Act of Arizona, which created the new Territory of Arizona.

Arizona is largely desert and has a dry, hot climate. The northern region of the state includes the Grand Canyon, a vast gorge more than 200 miles (320 kilometers) long, up to 18 miles (29 kilometers) wide, and more than 1 mile (1.6 kilometers) deep. This same region boasts the Painted Desert, the Petrified Forest, and Humphreys Peak, the highest point in the state at 12,633 feet (3,853 meters).

Although Phoenix has air quality poorer than most other U.S. cities, most of the state is known for its clear air, open lands, and breathtaking forests. Arizona works hard to protect these resources in the wake of a growing population and tourist industry.

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Population and economy

Arizona once was considered a "retirement" state, where people moved in their sixties. This is no longer true; only 13 percent of the population in 2006 was age sixty-five and older. The majority of the population (28 percent) was age twenty-five to forty-four. By far, the largest concentration of the state's residents (nearly 1.5 million) lived in the capital city of Phoenix. The next most populated city was Tucson, home to just over five hundred thousand people.

By the 1970s, Arizona's agricultural economy had been replaced by manufacturing, with centers in Phoenix and Tucson. The state's primary industries included wood products, computer and electronic equipment, and transportation equipment. Still, Arizona ranked twenty-ninth in the nation in terms of agricultural output value in 2005. The state led the nation in copper and molybdenum production in 2004.

Tourism and travel accounted for more than $13.76 billion in direct sales in Arizona in 2004, and 27.8 million Americans and another 900,000 international tourists visited the state that year. The state's twenty-two national parks and monuments, the most popular being Grand Canyon National Park, attract millions of visitors annually.

Arkansas

Nicknamed the Natural State, Arkansas was the twenty-fifth state to enter the Union (June 15, 1836). It is located in the western south-central United States, bordered by **Missouri**, **Oklahoma**, **Texas**, **Louisiana**, **Mississippi**, and **Tennessee**. Arkansas ranks twenty-seventh in size among the fifty states, with a total area of 53,187 square miles (137,754 square kilometers).

The first Europeans to explore Arkansas were Spaniards, led by **Hernando de Soto** (c.1496–1542), in 1541. Prior to their appearance, the region was inhabited by Quapaw, Caddo, Osage, and Choctaw as well as Cherokee tribes.

In 2006, Arkansas ranked thirty-second in the nation's population, with an estimated total of 2,810,872 residents. Its capital city, Little Rock, was home to just under 185,000 people. Although much of Arkansas's population was once African American, the state lost a substantial portion of its farm population during the **Great Depression** (1929–41; a worldwide economic crisis), and many African Americans

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migrated to industrialized states to look for work. Modern Arkansas is predominantly white.

Although Arkansas has a diverse manufacturing economy ranging from textiles to bicycle production and including a major woodworking industry, its economy continues to be enhanced by the **cotton** industry. Other major agricultural industries in the state include soybeans, poultry, and fish farming. Arkansas is home to more than fifty Fortune 500 firms, including Tyson Foods and Wal-Mart Stores.

Arkansas is a poor state. In 2004, 17.9 percent of its population lived below the poverty line, which made Arkansas the fifth poorest state in the nation. In 2003, 18 percent of the state's total population had no health insurance. Of that population, 47 percent had family members who worked full time, year-round.

In 1957, the Little Rock school system became the site for public controversy when the school board announced its voluntary compliance with the **Supreme Court**'s 1954 ***Brown v. Board of Education*** decision, which called for the **desegregation of public schools**. On September 5 of that year, nine African American students attempted to enter Central High School. (See **Little Rock Central High School Desegregation**.) Governor Orval Faubus (1910–1994) ordered the National Guard to take over the school to prevent these children from attending. Guardsmen were removed via court order later that month. By 1980, Central High was one of the most racially balanced schools in the South.

Arlington National Cemetery

Arlington National Cemetery is comprised of 624 acres and sits on the **Virginia** bank of the Potomac River, opposite **Washington, D.C.** It was originally part of the estate of President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) and was passed along to his adopted son, G. W. Parke Custis. Custis's daughter, Mary Ann, who inherited the estate, married Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870).

Military hospital erected

The United States seized the estate upon the outbreak of the American **Civil War** (1861–65). The military built a fort and a hospital on the site and the grounds were used as a cemetery. In 1882, the U.S. **Supreme Court** declared the property be returned to the Lee family. The family

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accepted $150,000 payment for the land and it became one of the most important historical sites maintained by the U.S. government.

The soldiers of every war since the **American Revolution** (1775–83) are buried in Arlington National Cemetery, as are distinguished statesmen, including Presidents **William Howard Taft** (1857–1930; served 1909–13) and **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63). Also in the cemetery is the Tomb of the Unknowns (also known as the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier), which commemorates the dead of both world wars and the **Korean War** (1950–53). This shrine sits on top of a hill overlooking Washington, D.C., and was opened to the public in 1932. The tomb is guarded twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, by the U.S. Army.

Includes ceremonial facilities

The Tomb of the Unknowns is part of the Arlington Memorial Amphitheater, which seats fifteen thousand people and is host to Veteran's Day and Memorial Day services. It was completed in 1921 and sits on the site where Robert E. Lee once had his gardens.

There are other sites on the cemetery grounds that attract hundreds of thousands of tourists each year. One of these is a memorial to the members of the crew who died in the ***Challenger*** **Space Shuttle explosion** in January 1986. There is also a Pentagon memorial, dedicated to the 184 lives lost during the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attack** on the Pentagon.

Army

The U.S. Army was officially established on June 14, 1775. **George Washington** (1732–1799) was commander in chief of the first national army, which included around 8,000 men. In October 1776, Congress voted to increase the army to include 88 battalions of infantry, or 60,000 men, each of whom would serve for three years, or if they enlisted during wartime, for the duration of the war. Two months later, Congress voted to establish 22 more battalions, for a total of 110. There were approximately 75,000 soldiers in the Continental army until 1781, when Congress reduced the number of battalions to 59, a more realistic and manageable number.

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The original army consisted mainly of infantry (foot soldiers) and artillery, but it also had a small cavalry (mounted soldiers), a small corps of engineers, and a few maintenance personnel to repair and maintain equipment. The army disbanded almost completely after the **American Revolution** (1775–83), but some remained to help protect the frontier settlements.

The army has participated in every war in U.S. history since the Revolution. After the **War of 1812** (1812–15), Secretary of War **John C. Calhoun** (1782–1850) established a peacetime army that remained intact until the start of the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48). In 1820, that army included about ten thousand troops, but it reduced its ranks by half later that year and maintained that level until 1835, with intermittent increases to total up to twelve thousand men.

The **Spanish-American War** (1898) was the first overseas war for the U.S. Army. By the end of the war, more than 274,000 men had joined the army, but most of them never left their training camps in the United States. After the war, the Army War College was founded and the school system modernized. Between 1900 and 1916, the army numbered from 65,000 to 108,000 officers and soldiers. Their duties extended overseas and included building the **Panama Canal** from 1907 to 1914.

In 1903, the army recognized the National Guard as part of its ranks during emergencies; in 1916, the National Defense Act added a reserve corps and began to provide officer training in colleges.

World wars

Even with the reforms in place, the army was not ready when **World War I** (1914–18) began. The government implemented the selective service system, or draft, by which all young men had to register, and if their names were chosen by lottery, they had to join the military. Some were exempted because of physical or mental illness, but healthy men who were called to duty had to serve. Within eighteen months, the army grew from 210,000 to 3,685,000.

The draft was used again during **World War II** (1939–45). Numbers reached a peak of around 8.3 million officers and men during the war, 5 million of whom were deployed overseas to fight. The army was divided into three commands: Army Air Forces, Army Ground Forces, and Army Service Forces. The **Air Force** eventually became its

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own independent military branch; the service forces were responsible for keeping operations running smoothly on the homefront.

After the war, the United States gained new ground in world affairs, and with it, added responsibility. A peacetime draft was enacted, and for most of the next twenty-eight years the army was comprised of both volunteers and draftees. During the **Korean War** (1950–53), the army was desegregated, and soldiers all were given equal opportunity for advancement. Before this time, although African Americans had served in the army since the **Civil War**, they always had been grouped into units separate from whites, and were never promoted to officer levels.

The draft continued almost through the **Vietnam War** (1954–75); it ended on July 1, 1973, when American troops withdrew from combat. The army once again became voluntary, and it remained so in the twenty-first century.

War in Afghanistan and Iraq

The Army participated in wars during the twenty-first century. The United States attacked Afghanistan in October 2001 in response to **al-Qaeda**'s involvement in the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks** on U.S. soil. In 2008, that war was still in progress. In March 2003, a coalition of troops led by the United States invaded Iraq. (See **Iraq Invasion**.)

Peacetime activities

The army has served the nation in peacetime, too. During the nineteenth century, soldiers helped survey the lands for the transcontinental railroad lines, keep peace during **Reconstruction** (the time of rebuilding in the South after the Civil War), and explore the West. Army doctors have contributed to the advancement of modern medicine, and in times of natural disaster, army personnel provide assistance to victims.

Benedict Arnold

Benedict Arnold was a patriot during the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Although he fought heroically for the American cause and earned the rank of brigadier general, he is most remembered for his acts of treason.

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Early life

Arnold was born in Norwich, **Connecticut**, in 1741. His parents, Benedict and Hannah King Arnold, were well established, and young Arnold had a good education. The household was strict and religious, and he was a bit rebellious against the constraints of home. He twice ran away from home to join a militia fighting in the **French and Indian War** (1754–63).

In 1762, Arnold's parents died. He moved to New Haven, Connecticut, where he became a druggist and bookseller. He was quite successful and began another business trading between Quebec, Canada, and the West Indies. In February 1767, he married into a prominent family from New Haven. He and his wife, Margaret Mansfield, would have three sons between 1768 and 1772.

Military career

Arnold became a captain in the Connecticut militia in 1775 and participated in the siege of Boston. It was the beginning of a notable army career. When his wife died while he was on a mission, Arnold devoted himself entirely to the Revolutionary cause. He served with distinction and earned the rank of major general.

Arnold's military career was plagued with inadequate recognition for his performance and accusations of misconduct. He prepared his resignation several times, but the personal pleas of General **George Washington** (1732–1799) prevented him from actually resigning. The American cause had many victories as a result of his bold and determined leadership.

Change of sides

In May 1778, Arnold was assigned to be the commander at Philadelphia after the British evacuation from that city. He met and fell in love with a socialite, Margaret Shippen. Over time they would have four sons and one daughter.

In attempting to entertain and live as an aristocrat, Arnold fell deeply into debt. Soon after his marriage, Arnold began the treasonous relationship with the British for which he is so well remembered. It is assumed that a combination of his need for money and resentment of the

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authorities responsible for his difficult career motivated him to sell military information to the British.

In 1780, Arnold obtained a command at West Point. This was a strategically important military base, and Arnold offered to turn the fort over to the British for a financial reward. The plot was foiled when his contact, Major John André (1750–1780), was caught on September 20 with incriminating documents. André was executed, but Arnold managed to flee to the British in New York. He was received into the British Army and given the rank of brigadier general of provincial troops. He continued to fight in the war, though now opposite his countrymen.

End of life

In 1781, Arnold sailed with his family to England. His personality and reputation for treason made him quite unpopular in England. Although he attempted to continue military service and a number of business ventures, he had little success. He failed as well to gain sufficient recognition and compensation for the services he rendered to the British during the war. It proved to be difficult to establish himself socially as well as economically in the new country. The time until his death in London in 1801 was unhappy.

Chester A. Arthur

Chester A. Arthur was the twenty-first president of the United States, serving from 1881 until 1885.

Climbs the political ladder

Chester Alan Arthur was born to an Irish minister and his wife on October 5, 1829, in Vermont. He graduated from college in 1848 and went on to study law. To support himself, he worked in education as a teacher and a principal. To complete his formal training, Arthur moved to New York City, where he passed the bar exam in 1854. Two years later, he opened his own law firm.

Arthur quickly became active in politics in an effort to make contacts and find clients. The **Republican Party** benefited from the young lawyer's knowledge and efforts, particularly **New York** governor Edwin D. Morgan (1811–1883), whose 1860 reelection was due in large part to Arthur's tireless promotion. As thanks, Morgan appointed Arthur to

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Chester A. Arthur was the twenty-first president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the position of state engineer-in-chief. Within a year, the outbreak of the American **Civil War** (1861–65) caused Arthur to be reappointed as the state assistant quartermaster general. His duties included supplying housing, food, and equipment for New York's militia (volunteer civilian fighting troops). By 1862, he was promoted as the state quartermaster general.

Arthur returned to his law practice in 1863 when Democrat Horatio Seymour (1819–1886) was elected governor. He kept close ties with the Republican Party and with U.S. senator Roscoe Conkling (1829–1888) of New York in particular. Conkling was a corrupt politician with a great amount of power, and he helped secure Arthur a position as collector for the port of New York. As collector, Arthur was responsible for all paperwork filed on imports and exports as well as for collecting import taxes on goods coming in from other countries. In such a powerful position of authority, Arthur gave thousands of jobs to fellow Republicans based solely on their political affiliation. Whether they were qualified to perform these government jobs was not important. This was known as the spoils system, and American politics relied heavily on such strategy.

In 1877, President **Rutherford B. Hayes** (1822–1893; served 1877–81) had the Customs House investigated. Arthur was held accountable for the poor management of the organization and lost his job in 1878.

Enters vice presidency

Arthur ran as vice president on the **James A. Garfield** (1831–1881; served 1881) ticket (list of candidates) in the 1880 election and the duo won, despite Arthur's past. Just four months into the Garfield presidency, Charles J. Guiteau (c. 1840–1882), an enraged attorney who had unsuccessfully sought a government position, shot Garfield. The president lingered for ten weeks before dying in September. Arthur took over the presidency.

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While vice president, Arthur had not joined Garfield in his battle against Conkling and other supporters of the spoils system. Once he reached the presidency, though, he wanted to prove himself trustworthy. He stopped spending time with friends who knew him before his change of heart, and he began to support civil service (government workers) reform.

Arthur was responsible for passing the first federal immigration law in 1882. The law barred criminals, lunatics, and paupers (extremely poor people) from entering America. That same year, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which put severe restrictions on Chinese immigrants. (See **Asian Immigration**.)

In 1883, Congress passed the Pendleton Act, which established a Civil Service Commission that required that applicants to government agency positions pass a test. No longer would a friendship with a politician influence who was hired. The act also protected government employees from being fired for reasons other than job performance. The Pendleton Act angered Republicans because it allowed members of the **Democratic Party** to secure powerful positions in the civil service.

Angering his own party did not concern Arthur. He also sought to lower taxes so that the federal government did not have an embarrassingly high surplus of revenue each year. Republicans were traditionally in favor of high taxes, and they were furious over the signing of the Tariff Act of 1883. The law brought a gradual reduction in import taxes over the next decade.

A year after he became president, Arthur learned that he had a fatal kidney disease. He kept this information private, and in 1884, he sought reelection to avoid the appearance of being afraid of getting beat. He failed to receive his party's nomination, however, and died in 1886.

Articles of Confederation

The Articles of Confederation, written in 1776, became the first constitution adopted by the rebelling American colonies to unite them under a common government. The Articles bridged the gap between the time the **thirteen colonies** broke from Great Britain in 1776 and adopted the **Constitution** of the United States of America in 1788.

Prior to the revolutionary period, the American colonies functioned separately. By standing together against the imperial conduct of Great

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Britain during the 1760s and 1770s, the colonies began to feel a sense of unity. As talk of independence spread, revolutionaries turned their thoughts to establishing a new nation.

Beginning in May 1775, delegates from the colonies gathered at the Second Continental Congress to discuss independence from Britain and to define an independent government. (See **Continental Congress, Second**.) While one committee produced the **Declaration of Independence**, another sought to create a document that would bring the independent states together under a central government.

A first draft of the Articles of Confederation was presented as early as July 12, 1776. Congress approved a final draft and sent it to the states on November 15, 1777. Every state was required to ratify, or accept, the document before it became official. The **American Revolution** (1775–83) and political differences between the states delayed ratification (acceptance) for nearly five years. Congress started to function as defined by the Articles as soon as a majority of states had accepted it, but the document was not fully ratified until March 1, 1781.

The Articles of Confederation reflected the conflicts between the colonies and the imposing rule of the British government. State independence was well protected under the Articles. States maintained control over imposing taxes, regulating commerce, and enlisting troops. States were to support national efforts through participation of their delegates at Congress and contributions of their troops and money to the central government.

Under the Articles, there were no balanced branches of government; Congress was the national government. Congress held power over war, foreign policy, foreign loans, regulation of money, and Indian trade. Each state sent two to seven delegates to Congress annually, but each state had only one vote. A simple majority of states normally decided issues, although for the most important ones the consent of nine states was required. Amendments to the Articles of Confederation required unanimous support.

The national government established by the Articles struggled to assert enough control to accomplish its tasks. Dependent on the generosity of the states for war expenses, soldiers, and military supplies, Congress had trouble managing the Revolutionary War. The politics of congressional committees, constantly changing delegates, and the nine-

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state requirement for approving some changes further hampered Congress's ability to function.

In spite of the difficulties presented by the Articles of Confederation, Congress functioned well enough to carry the new nation through its first years. Congress successfully organized a federal government and raised an army that waged an eventually victorious war. Congress took charge of negotiating foreign alliances and loans with France and other nations, as well as a peace treaty with Great Britain in September 1783. Congress worked to bring national stability and unity with such institutions as a national bank and a standard currency.

Eventually, however, the men who controlled the national government wanted it to have greater powers. With support from influential men such as **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97), the states called for a national constitutional convention in 1787. The Constitution written at that convention was ratified by the states in 1788, turning the Articles from a functional document into a historical one.

Asian Immigration

Asian immigrants to the United States arrived from many different countries, at different times, and for different reasons. There is no single historical background for Asian Americans, but a wide range of histories.

In 2000, the U.S. Census reported a population of 11.9 million people of Asian descent, making up 4.2 percent of the total U.S. population. The number of Asian Americans had soared since 1960, when there were only 878,000 people of Asian descent in the nation. The national backgrounds had changed significantly as well. In 1960, 99 percent of Asian Americans came from three national backgrounds: 52 percent were Japanese, 27 percent were Chinese, and 20 percent were Filipino. In 2000, Chinese and Filipino Americans were the largest groups, followed by Asian Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese. Japanese Americans were the sixth-largest group.

Early Chinese immigration

The Chinese were the first Asian immigrants to come to the United States in significant numbers. A few Chinese seamen and merchants had arrived on the East Coast of the United States by the end of the eighteenth century, but it was not until the discovery of gold, or **California**

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Gold Rush, in 1848 that large numbers began the long journey to the Americas. The 1850 census counted only about 750 Chinese in **California**, but by 1852 more than 10,000 aspiring Chinese gold miners had passed through the Customs House in San Francisco.

Spurred on by a harsh economy at home, an estimated 322,000 Chinese people, mostly men, entered the United States between 1850 and 1882. A majority came from the rural provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien and spoke Cantonese. Although some paid their own way, most were very poor and financed their passage by the "credit-ticket" system; that is, they borrowed money from Chinese middlemen, which they were to repay with interest out of their earnings in America.

The Chinese workers formed urban clusters within larger cities. These clusters were called Chinatowns, and they operated independently of the larger cities around them. The Chinese found strength in numbers, and they relied upon each other to create a cultural identity that would protect them against the harsh attitudes of Americans.

The Chinese not only lived in Chinatowns, they also shopped and socialized there. The culture of Chinatowns was much like that of the homes the immigrants had left behind. Although these cities-within-cities were originally overcrowded slums full of crime and violence, many turned into tourist attractions by the mid-1900s.

Chinese immigrants were treated badly in the United States. They were subject to discrimination, often violent. They could not become American citizens, for a 1790 law reserved citizenship for white persons. Even so, Chinese immigrants journeyed throughout the West, seeking gold or job opportunities in **Nevada**, **Oregon**, **Idaho**, **Colorado**, and **South Dakota**.

Thousands of non-Chinese travelled from the eastern United States in search of instant wealth from gold. But most miners were disappointed; they did not find gold simply lying around in streams and gulches. Mining was hard work, and many men gave up after weeks or months of finding nothing. Disappointment led to resentment, as Americans considered their Chinese peers competition for the gold. Soon the Chinese were accused of stealing the Americans' wealth.

One other aspect of the Chinese workers frustrated Americans: They would not fight back. They were a peaceful group of immigrants and accepted their fate in America. Whereas other groups might respond with violence, the Chinese instead drew strength from each other. Having de-

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veloped Chinatowns as their home base, they lived largely separate from the larger cities around them. By limiting their interactions with non-Chinese, they did not often confront racial hatred face-to-face.

After the Gold Rush, thousands of Chinese went to work in the **railroad industry**. Construction of the Central Pacific—the western half of the transcontinental railroad—was accomplished largely because of the skill, dedication, and hard work of some twelve thousand Chinese workers. But most Chinese were publicly denied any credit for their years of labor. A famous photo taken at Promontory Point, **Utah**, records the celebration over the last spike being driven into the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869. That golden spike connected the east and west by railway. Not one Chinese worker appears in the photo.

After the railroad work was completed, in California in particular, Chinese labor became an important part of the economy. Chinese laborers converted the swamps of the San Joaquin and Sacramento deltas into rich farmland. Half of the labor force in San Francisco's four key industries—shoes, woolens, tobacco, and garments—was Chinese. Even with these contributions, the Chinese increasingly became the target of white resentment and racism.

The first restrictions on immigration

Succumbing to pressure from anti-Chinese groups, in 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, the first major restriction on immigration to the United States. The act prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the United States; it also prohibited them from becoming U.S. citizens. Another act six years later banned the reentry into the United States of Chinese laborers who had gone back to China to visit. Thus, Chinese men could not visit their families or even go home to marry. These immigration restrictions permanently separated untold numbers of Chinese families who would never see one another again.

The Chinese Exclusion Act marked the beginning of an illegal immigration movement that involved an **"underground railroad,"** much like the one used by African American slaves earlier in the century to flee north to non-slave states. People secretly worked together to smuggle Chinese citizens into the United States via **Texas**. The Chinese would be safely hidden and transported by various men and women on their journey to the United States. Once in Texas, these aliens attended a secret school that taught them enough English to help them find work.

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Chinatowns became even more important to the immigrants, as they needed to find shelter and steady work.

In spite of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the illegal immigration movement caused the Chinese population in America to increase. It peaked in 1890 at around 107,488 people. The number decreased after that, mostly because the majority of Chinese immigrants were travellers who had never planned to stay. Using the Chinese underground railroad, they returned to their native land.

The Chinese were legally forbidden to immigrate to the United States until 1943, when China became America's ally (partner) in **World War II** (1939–45). At that time, the Chinese fell under regular immigration law. Most Chinese immigrants who entered the United States after the war were women, many of them the wives of Chinese men already in America.

Early Japanese immigration

Japan had been an isolated country until the 1860s, when it embarked on a program of industrialization and modernization. This program involved imposing heavy taxes on already impoverished peasants (land



Japanese laborers were first recruited to work on sugar plantations in Hawaii and later also did agricultural work throughout California. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

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workers), many of whom, encouraged by stories of the "land of money trees," left Japan for America.

Japanese laborers were at first recruited to work on the sugar plantations of the independent kingdom of **Hawaii**, beginning around 1868. By 1890, some 12,000 Japanese had settled in Hawaii and 3,000 in the United States. In the 1890s, some 50,000 more Japanese came to Hawaii and 22,000 to North America. In 1910, the Japanese population in the United States, by then including the territory of Hawaii, was 153,000.

The Japanese government, unlike the Chinese, was able to regulate emigration. Wishing to avoid the problems of gambling, prostitution, and drunkenness that had beset the predominantly male Chinese immigration population, Japan actively promoted the emigration of women. From the end of the **Civil War** (1861–65) through the early twentieth century, the Japanese were the largest group of Asians to immigrate to the United States.

Filipino immigration

In 1903, the United States annexed (took control of) the Philippines, which had been a Spanish colony for four hundred years. The Filipinos were assigned unclear status as U.S. nationals—something between a foreigner and a citizen. As colonists, they were free to immigrate to the United States, and many arrived during the period from 1906 to 1934. Many came as laborers for farms and industry, and a significant number of Filipino students came to study at American universities on government-funded scholarships. These students were expected to return to the Philippines when they had finished their studies to provide the colony with their professional skills, but many stayed in the United States.

Further regulation of Asian immigration

The Barred Zones Act of 1917 and the Immigration Act of 1924 effectively ended Asian immigration to the United States. The 1917 law barred immigration from most of Asia, while the 1924 legislation established immigration quotas (a proportional number) for each country; the quotas for most Asian countries were set at zero. For a time, Filipinos could enter the United States as U.S. nationals, but in 1935 Congress passed legislation that imposed a quota of fifty Filipino immigrants per year. Immigration from Asia virtually stopped.

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The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 opened immigration to specially skilled Asians, thus increasing Asian immigration. In 1959, Hawaii became a state. Hawaii's population was strongly Asian, with people of Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean descent. **Native Hawaiians** are of Polynesian descent. Hawaiian statehood added significant numbers of Asian Americans to the U.S. population.

Asian immigration, 1965–2000

It was not until 1965 that large numbers of Asians were able to immigrate to the United States. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished the national origins quotas and ended policies that discriminated against Asian nations. It provided 170,000 visas (documents allowing a person to legally enter the country) for people emigrating from countries in the Eastern Hemisphere, with no limit for any one country. The act gave special preference to family members of people already in the country.

The act dramatically changed U.S. immigration. From only 3 percent of the total of immigrants in 1960, Asians made up 34 percent of all immigrants to the United States in 1975. The nations of origin began to change as well.



After the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished stricter restrictions on immigration, many people were able to send for their families to join them in the United States. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

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Chinese were the largest group of immigrants. In 2000, there were more than 2.4 million Chinese Americans, making up about 21 percent of Asian Americans, and recent Chinese immigrants made up the fourth-largest group of foreign-born U.S. residents. In 2002, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the Chinese language ranks second (after Spanish) among foreign languages spoken in the United States. The Filipino American population soared as well, from 176,130 in 1960 to 1.8 million in 2000.

Immigration by Asian Indians rose from 300 in 1965 to 14,000 in 1975; in 2000 there were 1.9 million Asian Indian Americans. Asian Indians immigrated to the United States mainly because of widespread unemployment in their home country. They have settled throughout the nation. One of the country's fastest growing ethnic groups, they are also one of its wealthiest.

In little over a century, the Korean American population has grown from a small group of political exiles and immigrant laborers in Hawaii and California to become one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the United States. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Americans identifying themselves as of Korean descent numbered 1,228,427.

Southeast Asian immigration

There were less than four thousand Vietnamese Americans in 1970. The **Vietnam War** (1959–75), a war between the communist North Vietnamese and the anticommunist South Vietnamese, changed that dramatically. Despite U.S. participation on their side, the South Vietnamese were defeated in 1975. On the day the capital city of Saigon fell, at least sixty-five thousand South Vietnamese fled the country.

The first wave of about 130,000 Vietnamese arrived in the United States in 1975. That year, the United States passed the Indochina Migration and Refugee Act, which gave 200,000 Vietnamese refugees special status and permission to enter the United States. The situation in Vietnam deteriorated in the following years, and hundreds of thousands more fled. In the period between 1983 and 1991, 66,000 Vietnamese entered the United States legally, and 531,310 more arrived between 1991 and 2000.

In 1975, neighboring Cambodia was taken over by the Khmer Rouge, a radical and brutal revolutionary group under the leadership of

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Pol Pot (1926–1998). The Khmer Rouge aimed to turn Cambodia back into a farming country and began by forcing Cambodians to move from the cities to the country, where many starved. The government then began killing educated and professional Cambodians and anyone connected with Americans. The death toll ran into the millions. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979, hundreds of thousands of Cambodians took advantage of the situation to flee to Thailand. From there, tens of thousands eventually immigrated to the United States. In the 1990s, Cambodia's political situation improved, and emigration from the country slowed down. In 2000, there were an estimated three hundred thousand Cambodian Americans.

In 1975, communist forces took over Laos as well as Vietnam. Thousands of Laotians fled to the United States, entering the country as refugees. In 2000, there were 198,000 Laotian Americans.

Other groups of Asian descent, such as Thai, Hmong, Pakistani, and Taiwanese Americans, have also developed significant populations since the 1970s.

John Jacob Astor

John Jacob Astor, one of the richest and most powerful men of his time, was an entrepreneurial wizard who made his fortune from the western fur trade and urban real estate. Astor played a central role in **westward expansion** in the nineteenth century. He created a complex business structure that spanned the continent and reached out to markets in Europe, South America, and Asia. In many ways, his business practices were the forerunners of the large industries of the late nineteenth century.

Astor was born on July 17, 1763, in the city of Walldorf in present-day Germany. At the age of sixteen, he moved to London, England, to help his brother sell musical instruments. At twenty, he immigrated to New York City, where he established a prosperous business purchasing furs in Canada for resale in Europe and the United States. He expanded his interest in furs and entered the profitable China trade, trading furs for tea and silk. (See **Fur traders and mountain men**.) Astor was extraordinarily successful, becoming a millionaire by 1807. According to many historians, he was the first millionaire in the United States.

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The American Fur Company

In 1808, Astor established the American Fur Company and set out to command the fur trade from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. To accomplish this, he had to challenge the powerful British fur companies in the West. He hired traders to set up Astoria, a trading post in **Oregon**, in 1811. From Astoria, the traders were to obtain furs from the Indians and then ship the pelts directly to China. As promising as the scheme first seemed, Astor's timing was poor. In 1812, the United States went to war with Great Britain in the **War of 1812**. In 1813, the British Northwest Company surrounded Astoria and forced Astor's agent to sell out the entire post for far less than it was worth. A furious Astor was forced to abandon his Oregon trade.

Although the American Fur Company was unable to capture the Pacific trade, it nonetheless became the largest American fur trading firm in the West as Astor expanded his interest in the Great Lakes region. In 1821, the American Fur Company invaded the Upper **Missouri** fur trade. By either combining with competitors or buying them out, Astor's company managed to capture much of that market as well. But by the early 1830s, Astor realized that American beavers were rapidly being depleted (over-hunted until there were few left). Beaver hats, once all the rage in Europe, had gone out of style. He sold the American Fur Company in 1834, getting out before the market dried up.

Land speculation

Astor had long invested his profits from furs in New York City real estate. After 1834 and until his death fourteen years later, he continued to buy, improve, and sell land on Manhattan Island. He owned at least $5 million in land when he died. Even as he grew wealthier, his greed seemed to increase. According to those around him, over the years Astor's personality changed. Earlier, he had a reputation as a cunning but fair employer and an honest dealer. In later life, he became known as a harsh, selfish, and greedy man.

Astor speculated in land elsewhere, including in the West. (The town of Astor, **Wisconsin**, for example, later became Green Bay.) He bought stock in railroads and canals, purchased government bonds, and was involved in various banks. When Astor died in 1848, his estimated worth was $20 million, making him the wealthiest person in the nation. He left $400,000 to found a library, which became the heart of the New

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York Public Library, today one of the largest in the world. He left most of the rest of his wealth and businesses to his son William, establishing one of the great family fortunes of the early United States.

Atlantic Charter

The Atlantic Charter was signed August 14, 1941, four months before the United States officially entered **World War II**. It was a joint statement by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) of the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) of Great Britain. The charter reflected their countries' eight common objectives for a postwar world. The objectives emphasized the different philosophies of the two democracies and the other main Allied power, the Soviet Union. President Roosevelt hoped the charter would encourage support in the United States for entering the war alongside the **Allies**.

The Atlantic Charter was written during a secret meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill when the United States was still technically a neutral country. It was becoming clear to Roosevelt that the United States would probably enter the war soon, so the meeting covered many issues concerning the war. Churchill was not convinced of the need for a joint declaration, but he introduced ideas in a draft statement. A number of points proved to be controversial, but at the end of the meeting a final statement was formed. The ideas it contained would prove to be highly important in guiding Allied initiatives throughout the war and in establishing postwar peace.

The Atlantic Charter included eight basic points. It set forth the concept that each country should have the right of self-determination. This meant that territorial changes would happen only with the approval of the people concerned. Furthermore, each country would be allowed to establish the government of its choosing. Both powers declared that they sought no territorial gains from the war. Other points reflected their hopes for a world in which all nations would have access to trade and prosperity. They included thoughts on a new system of international security that would allow freedom of the seas, encourage fewer arms, and reduce fear in the world.

The Atlantic Charter was welcomed in both countries. Its importance, however, became clear only after the United States entered the

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war. The Charter helped define Allied goals when it was included as part of the Declaration by the United Nations in January 1942. Twenty-six nations embraced the aims of the Atlantic Charter when they signed the Declaration by the United Nations. That number eventually doubled.

The Atlantic Charter had a significant impact on the postwar world. The notion of an international system of security prompted the formation of the United Nations (UN), created in 1945. By grounding itself in the declaration of 1942, the UN embraced the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The right of self-determination thus became a guiding principle in international politics. In the thirty years following the war, important transfers of political power happened throughout the world. With encouragement from the Atlantic Charter, many countries were motivated to establish their independence from outside rule.

Atlantic Slave Trade

In 1502, Spanish colonists asked the king of Spain for permission to bring African slaves to the New World to provide labor for their large farms, or plantations. The colonists occupied the West Indies, the islands in the Caribbean Sea on which explorer **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) had first landed ten years earlier. In their first decade in the West Indies, the Spanish colonists had forced Native Americans to do their labor, but the native Caribbean people were dying in large numbers from overwork and from the infectious diseases brought to the New World by the Spanish. The Spanish king gave his approval for the colonists to import Africans, and the Atlantic slave trade began.

Trade on the African coast

The Portuguese, who claimed the exclusive right to trade on the west coast of Africa, had started the African slave trade in the early fifteenth century. While they were trading other goods with the Africans, the Portuguese noticed that **slavery** was an accepted part of life there. The most common form of slavery occurred when one tribe forced prisoners of war from other tribes to become their domestic slaves. Portuguese traders soon learned to buy slaves from the African coastal rulers. They also rented land from the local rulers and built a series of great forts that looked like castles along the coast of Africa. These forts, called barra-

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coons, were designed to temporarily confine the Africans who had been purchased by the Europeans and were awaiting transport to Europe.

One of the African coastal kingdoms from which Portugal obtained slaves was Benin, located in the forests of Nigeria. Benin was a large empire with a powerful army. Like many other coastal kingdoms, Benin came to accept the slave trade as a fast way to increase its wealth and maintain its status with Europeans. The Portuguese slave traders later developed a slave trade in southern Africa in Kongo, virtually destroying the once-powerful civilization by taking so many of its people into slavery. When profits failed there, they moved on, turning their attention to Angola, farther south. Using black mercenaries (paid soldiers) equipped with firearms, they began a long war in Angola, capturing many Africans in battles that were truly slave hunts. The Portuguese slave traders then found sources for more captives in the prosperous Swahili coastal cities of East Africa.

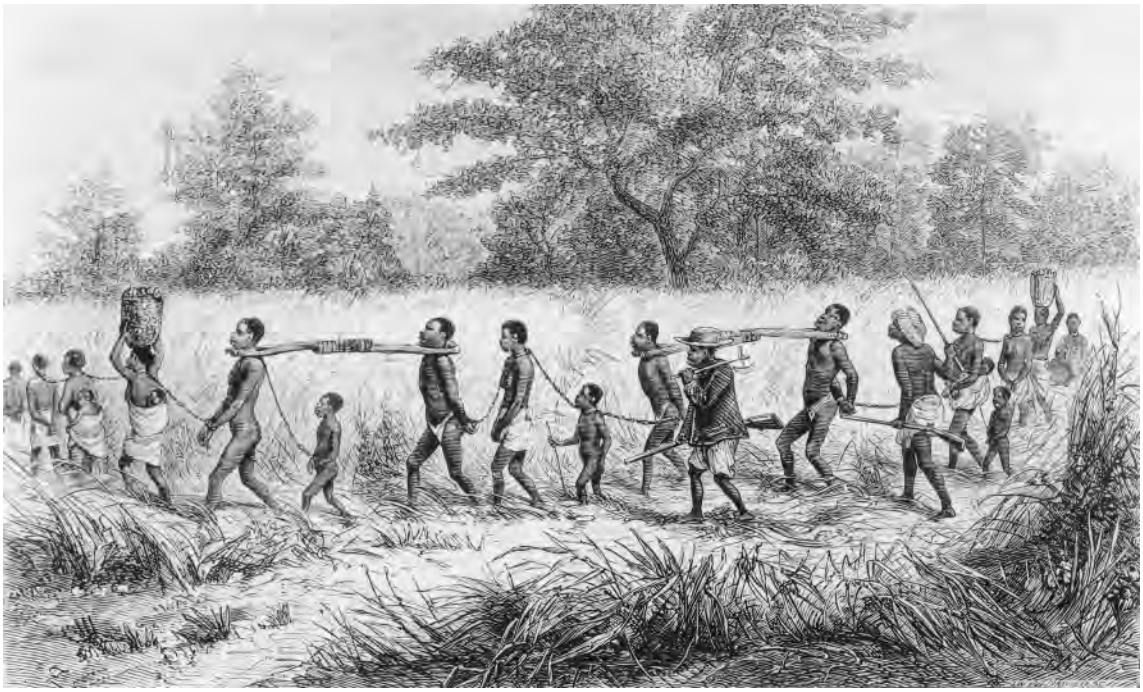
The Atlantic slave trade thrived as the plantations of the New World grew. By the eighteenth century the actual slave catching was done mainly by inland groups, such as the Ashanti and the Dahomey, while the coastal tribes acted as middlemen between the slave catchers and the European slave traders. The captives usually came from regions 200 to 300 miles inland, often much farther. African slave traders marched the captives in coffles, or gangs, to the coast. To prevent escape, two slaves were often linked together by means of a stick with a fork at each end into which the slaves' necks were fastened. Once they reached the coast, the captives were kept in a barracoon. When enough people had been collected, they were ferried out by canoe to the ships waiting offshore.

British slave trade

The Portuguese claim on the slave trade was soon challenged by French, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Prussian, and English slave traders, or slavers. By 1713, England had a virtual monopoly (exclusive right to the trade) on the slave trade north of the equator. Around that time, there was a great boom in the slave trade due to the increasing demand for slaves in the West Indies, where large tobacco and sugar plantations demanded a tremendous amount of physical labor.

Unfortunately for the slaves, the profits on the Caribbean plantations were so high that many people were worked to death within a year or two of arriving. With profits made from the work of one slave in less

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After slaves were caught, they were marched to the coast. To prevent escape they were often yoked together by means of a stick with a fork at each end into which the slaves' necks were fastened. ENGLISH SCHOOL/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES

than a year, the plantation owners were able to purchase another person to replace one who had died. The English city of Liverpool was built largely on money made from this inhuman, but booming, trade. The people of Africa became convinced that white men were cannibals who ate nothing but human flesh, as they could think of no other explanation for the enormous demand for African people.

Slave trade begins in the colonies

In the early days, English colonies in North America depended on European indentured servants for labor. Indentured servants were individuals who were committed to working for someone for a fixed number of years, usually in exchange for the price of their passage to the colonies. Indentured servants had few rights during their period of service, but after it was over they were free. By the seventeenth century, the

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supply of indentured servants began to run short, and the colonists sought African slaves to meet labor demands.

The first black slaves landed in **Jamestown, Virginia**, in 1619. They were treated as indentured servants. Although they were not treated as well as their European counterparts, at least some of the early African slaves gained their freedom at the end of their contract. Some went on to become property owners and professionals. But within a few decades African slaves in the colonies had come to be considered human property rather than indentured servants.

Initially all the original **thirteen colonies** had slaves. Small farms in New England, however, had much less use for physical labor than the plantation system in the South, which relied heavily on slave labor. When demand grew for sugar, tobacco, rice, and **cotton**, the number of slaves in the South grew as well, and slaves became concentrated there. (See **Slavery in the Antebellum South**.) Slavery was abolished in most northern colonies at the end of the eighteenth century, but the New England colonies continued to take an active part in the slave trade itself by providing ships and crews and selling the slaves in the South.

Triangular trade and the Middle Passage

The Atlantic slave trade developed into a triangular, or three-legged, trade in the mid-eighteenth century. A captain in Europe or New England would load up with rum and other goods to trade and sail to Africa, where the goods would be exchanged for slaves. He would then take his slaves to the West Indies or the Americas and sell them, taking on a cargo of molasses, which he would transport to New England to be made into rum. In this way, a captain was never forced to sail with an empty hold and could make a profit on each leg of the voyage.

The base of the triangle, the two- to five-month voyage in which the African captives were transported across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, became known as the Middle Passage. (See **Slave Ships and the Middle Passage**.) The captives were packed into tiny spaces and forced to live in unbearable conditions for the voyage. Many died on the way.

Scholars believe between twelve and fifteen million Africans were brought across the ocean during the four-hundred-year history of the African slave trade between 1500 and 1900. The great majority of them went to the West Indies and Brazil. By comparison, what became the United States imported relatively few slaves, about five hundred thou-

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African American slaves work the land on a plantation in the South, which relied heavily on slave labor. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

sand people. Many of the slaves who came into the United States were purchased from the West Indies, not directly from Africa.

Prohibiting foreign slave trade

By the end of the eighteenth century, opposition to the slave trade grew strong in Europe and the United States. Great Britain abolished the trade in 1807, and the United States did the same in 1808, prohibiting the import of slaves from foreign countries but continuing to allow the sale of slaves between states. (See **Abolition Movement**.)

The Atlantic trade continued to increase despite the prohibitions against it. The invention of the **cotton gin** in 1793 and the development of the power loom created an almost unlimited demand for cotton and resulted in fresh demands for slaves. The value of a prime field hand rose from $500 to $1,500. The records of one slave smuggler showed that on

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a single successful trip he made a net profit of $41,439. Two or three such voyages could make a man wealthy for life.

The illegal slave trade

The slavers started using fast ships that were rarely caught by the much-slower British patrol ships on the African coast. As slavery was still legal in Africa, the native rulers continued to erect barracoons along the coast and await cruising slavers. Arriving slave traders would signal from their ships, usually by flags, that they were in the market for a certain number of slaves. The captives were then ferried out and quickly loaded onto the slave ships; the slaver would then sail for the West Indies at high speed. Unless a frigate (a type of warship) was able to catch a slaver in the act of loading, capture was highly unlikely.

In 1840, the British Navy, tired of seeing the barracoons packed with slaves along the coast, finally burned them after freeing the captives. As a result, the barracoons had to be relocated far inland, which made loading the slaves onto ships much more difficult. Meanwhile, slaves continued to be run into southern ports of North America.

The end of the slave trade

With the abolition of slavery in the United States and the end of the American **Civil War** (1861–65) in 1865, the Atlantic slave trade largely came to an end. (Brazil continued its trade in slaves until 1888, when it became the last country in the Western Hemisphere to outlaw slavery.) For Europeans and Americans, the Atlantic trade and slave labor had resulted in prosperity, at least for a time. For Africans, the slave trade was decimating. It bled dry great sections of the continent, leaving communities so weak that they could not harvest crops. The slave trade also encouraged local wars and discouraged the development of Africa's resources because the trade was so enormously profitable that nothing else could compete with it.

Atomic Bomb

The scientific discovery that would enable the creation of the atomic bomb occurred on the eve of **World War II** (1939–45). In 1934, experiments with uranium by Italian physicist Enrico Fermi (1901–1954) led to the discovery of nuclear fission. Scientists found that each fission of a

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uranium-235 nucleus releases 100 million times more energy than is released in a chemical reaction.

Most of the scientists who worked on nuclear fission experiments were German or Italian. They fled their native countries as German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the Nazis began their ascent to power. Had these men not emigrated to America, it is quite likely that Hitler would have been the one to control the use of the atomic bomb.

In the late 1930s, scientist **Albert Einstein** (1879–1955) wrote a letter to President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), encouraging a national effort for the development of an atomic bomb. The government did not move quickly. It was not until mid-1942 that a program, authorized by Roosevelt, began to build the bomb. The **Manhattan Project** was the name given to the work by a division established within the Army Corps of Engineers. The sole purpose of this project was to develop the atomic bomb.

The first nuclear bomb test was conducted on July 16, 1945, in **New Mexico**. The test was a success, detonating a bomb as powerful as 20,000 tons of TNT explosives. Within a month, two such bombs were dropped on Japan, killing an estimated 110,000 to 150,000 people and injuring another 200,000 or more. On August 15, six days after the second bomb was dropped, Japan announced its surrender, bringing World War II to an end.

By 1962, two thousand nuclear weapons existed across the globe. The Soviet Union and the United States owned 98 percent of them. By the end of 2007, there were still 26,000 nuclear warheads in existence; more than 95 percent belong to Russia and the United States.

Stephen Austin

Stephen Fuller Austin was the chief colonizer of **Texas**. He carried out his father's dream of creating an agricultural society in the remote Spanish-held region. He was largely responsible for founding the state of Texas.

Early years

Stephen Austin was born on November 3, 1793. His father, Moses Austin, was a mine owner. In 1798, the Austin family moved to the province of Spanish **Louisiana**, where Moses established and operated a lead mine south of St. Louis. In 1804, young Stephen Austin began school in **Connecticut** and then entered Transylvania University in

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Kentucky. In 1810, he returned to **Missouri**, which had become part of the United States because of the **Louisiana Purchase** (1803). Austin worked at a bank in St. Louis, and in 1814 he was elected to the Missouri Territorial Legislature.

In 1820, Austin moved to the **Arkansas** Territory, where he established a farm on the Red River. He was appointed district judge that same year. It was obvious that Austin had natural leadership ability. In 1821, he went to New Orleans to study law.



Stephen Austin set up the Austin colony and was largely responsible for founding the state of Texas. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Moses Austin's dream

Around this time, events set in motion by his father changed the course of Austin's life. Moses Austin decided to found a farming colony in the unsettled land in the Spanish province of Texas. In 1821, Moses secured a grant from the Spanish authorities that permitted him to settle three hundred families in Texas. These families would agree to become Spanish subjects in return for grants of land. Moses Austin, however, died before he could begin his colonization venture. As he lay dying, he asked Stephen to carry out his dream of founding a colony in Texas.

Founding the colony

Austin had just secured his father's colonization grant from the Spanish authorities when Mexico became independent from Spain in 1821. The grant was no longer valid. Austin traveled to Mexico City to speak directly with the new Mexican government. He could not immediately secure a grant for his Texas colony and ended up staying in Mexico City for a year. While there, he learned to speak and write in Spanish and made many friends among the Mexican leaders. The Mexican government finally approved the grant in early 1823.

Austin returned to Texas and assumed direction of the colony, which grew rapidly. By the end of 1824, almost all three hundred colonists

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permitted by the colonization charter had received land grants. The Austin colony was centered along the rich land of the Brazos River. The small town of San Felipe became its chief settlement.

Texas, Mexico

In 1824, the Mexican government approved additional colonies of Anglo-Americans (white, non–Hispanic Americans) in Texas. Austin was able to bring hundreds more families into Texas, and by 1830 he had attracted some five thousand. Among this population was a significant number of African American slaves.

By the 1830s, the Mexican government was concerned that too many Anglo-Americans had immigrated to Texas. As a result, it passed the law of April 6, 1830, which (among other restrictions) ended all future immigration into Texas from the United States. Austin worked hard to secure a repeal of this law. He once again went to Mexico City to lobby for measures favorable to Texas. Although he failed to secure all the concessions he wanted, he did convince the government to repeal some of the most objectionable aspects of the law.

Rebelling

By the time Austin returned to Texas in late 1831, Anglo-Texans had grown impatient. The town council of San Felipe called for a convention of Anglo colonists to discuss the abuses of the Mexican authorities in Texas. The Convention of 1832 drafted a long list of terms the Anglo-Texans wanted the Mexican government to grant. A year later, a second convention met and drafted a provincial constitution for Texas as a separate state within Mexico. Austin was chosen to deliver this document to the Mexican government, and he left for Mexico City in May 1833.

After Austin presented the proposed Texas constitution to government officials in Mexico City, he wrote a letter to the town council in San Antonio describing the political situation in Mexico. A Mexican government official got hold of this letter and claimed that Austin's desire for Texas to form its own government constituted treason. Arrested in early January 1834, Austin remained in prison until December of that year. He was not able to return to Texas until July 1835. Confinement in the harsh Mexico City prison permanently ruined his health.

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The revolution

During Austin's absence from Texas, many Anglo-Texans had come to favor a complete break with Mexico. The Texas Revolution began on October 2, 1835, with a skirmish between Anglo and Mexican troops near Gonzales, Texas. Austin was named commander of the revolutionary army, a position he held for only a few months. The Texas government then appointed him as an agent to the United States, charged with finding materials and supplies for the revolt. Austin spent much of the Texas Revolution seeking help in the United States.

Austin returned to Texas during the summer of 1836 after the Texas Revolution had ended in an Anglo-American victory. **Sam Houston** (1793–1863), the commander-in-chief of the Texas armed forces during the revolution, was elected president of the new Republic of Texas. Austin, who lost to Houston in the election, became secretary of state but served only a few months until his death on December 27, 1836.

Automobile Industry

When industrialist Henry Ford (1863–1947) introduced his now-famous Model T automobile in 1908, he changed the lives of millions of Americans.

Ford did not invent the automobile; the Model T was not Ford's first car. His contribution to the automotive industry was designing a car that was so simple and affordable that the average American could own one. The Model T was that car. In 1908, more than ten thousand of them sold for $825 (the equivalent of about $19,000 in 2007 using the Consumer Price Index), each in the first year of production. Because of innovative production techniques that eventually included the moving assembly line, the price dropped to $575 (about $12,000 in 2007) within four years, and sales skyrocketed. By 1914, Ford owned 48 percent of the automobile market. His new car-manufacturing plant was turning out one Model T every ninety-three minutes. By 1927—years after the perfection of the assembly line—Ford was producing one car every twenty-four seconds. The price dropped to $300 (about $3,500 in 2007).

Ford made more than cars. He made it possible for Americans to live in the country and work in the city. For those who did not like city life, he allowed for the development of an entirely different lifestyle: the sub-

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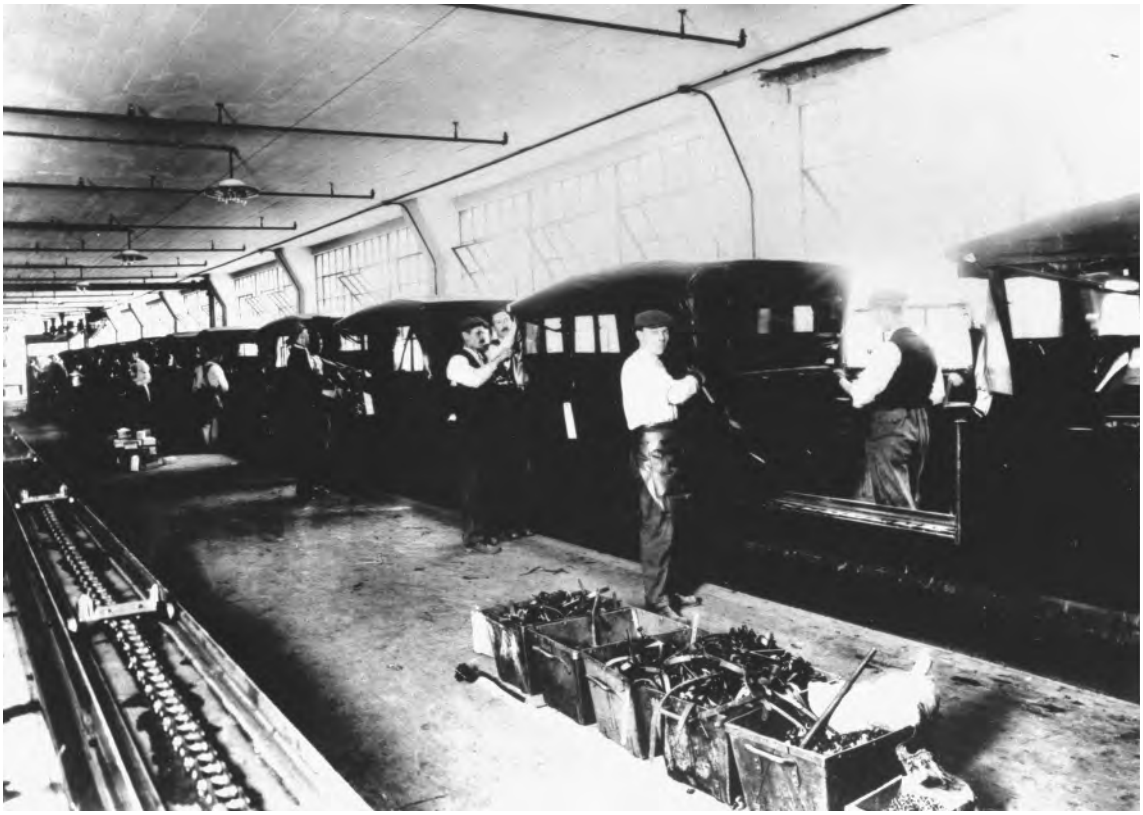


Henry Ford sits in his invention, the Quadricycle. The vehicle had four large bicyclelike wheels, was steered with a system like that in a boat, and had two forward speeds.

urbs. His innovations created jobs and allowed for mobility on a scale never before known. Suddenly, distances between loved ones did not seem so great, and families could visit relatives or take summer vacations. Tourism became a major American industry. Weekend jaunts to the country became a popular pastime, whereas before, the farthest one could hope to travel in one trip was fifteen miles or so. Horses pulling wagons or carriages could not be expected to go farther than that.

It can be argued that the introduction of Ford's economical Model T had the greatest effect on the lives of women. Where once their lives centered around the home, if for no other reason than that they had no

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This production assembly line puts together Ford's Model T, a car affordable enough for most Americans to own. AP IMAGES

means of transportation at their disposal, they now could travel conveniently. Rural women could visit their neighbors miles away without having to leave an entire afternoon open for the walk or horse ride. They could shop at their local merchants or venture farther to stores where selection and price were more consumer friendly. The car made women more visible in towns and society in general, giving them an independence and power they had never had.

Thanks to affordable cars, more people could attend colleges and universities, and hospitals were now more accessible. More cars meant the development and maintenance of new roads and **highways** that connected one region to the next. By the 1950s, interstate highways were built, connecting one end of the country to the other.

America was not the only producer of automobiles, but **World War II** (1939–45) bombs had destroyed factories in Japan. Recovery was

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Henry Ford

The world of industry was forever changed in 1913, the year Henry Ford invented the assembly line. As is often the case with inventions, one might wonder why it took so long for anyone to come up with the idea of the assembly line. It is a logical way to build something.

Henry Ford was born July 30, 1863, in Michigan. Although he was born into a farming family, he showed an early interest in all things mechanical. He left home at the age of sixteen to work as an apprentice (student assistant) for a machinist in Detroit. In 1888, he married and supported his family by running a sawmill.

Ford took a job with the Edison Illuminating Company in Detroit in 1891. He began as an engineer and was promoted to chief engineer just two years later. During this time, he began spending his free hours experimenting with internal combustion engines. In 1896, he invented the Quadricycle. This vehicle had four large bicyclelike wheels, was steered with a system like that in a boat, and had two forward speeds.

Pleased with his progress, Ford established the Ford Motor Company in 1903. He was the company's vice president and chief engineer. Ford introduced the Model T car five years later. Only two or three cars were made each day at the Ford plant. Small groups of men would work on each car using components purchased from outside manufacturers. It was not an efficient way to build vehicles.

The Model T changed the way America lived. Ford's cars were selling faster than he could build them, so he moved his factory to a bigger plant in the Detroit suburb of Highland Park in 1910.

Ford was the first industrialist to manufacture interchangeable and standardized parts. He eventually made many models of automobiles, but many of the parts in each model were the same as those in other models. By making one part to fit all cars, Ford was able to lower the cost of his autos, thus making them more affordable for more consumers.

In keeping with that efficient spirit, Ford invented the assembly line. Workers stood in one place while a moving belt carried each car along. Every worker was responsible for incorporating one part onto the automobile. Parts were delivered to each worker by a carefully timed conveyor belt so that assembly was smooth and efficient. Again, this invention allowed Ford to lower the cost of his cars because it now took less time to assemble each one. Soon, he was the largest car manufacturer in the world.

slow, but Japan produced 1,070 passenger cars in 1949. Throughout the **Korean War** (1950–53), Japan served as a supply depot for United Nations troops—just as the major U.S. automakers had done during World War II. They manufactured trucks for them, and in addition, produced 1,594 cars in 1950. In 1955, automobile production increased to 20,220, still not enough to pose a threat to America.

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Japanese automobile companies realized that most Asians could not afford vehicles, and if they wanted to stay in business, they would need to export. In 1957, Toyota sold 288 cars in the United States. The following year was better, with sales at 821. Nissan also chose to export and sold 1,131 cars and 179 trucks in 1959; another 1,294 cars and 346 trucks sold the following year. In the mid-1960s, Nissan and Toyota bought some of the smaller Japanese manufacturers, and Mitsubishi partnered with Isuzu.

Japanese autos were not the only exports to the United States; German cars, led by Volkswagen, outsold Japanese vehicles throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. In fact, Volkswagen opened the first foreign-owned U.S. auto manufacturing plant in 1978 (and closed in 1987 due to increasing Japanese presence). Regardless of where the cars were made, all the exports were compact. America, meanwhile, continued to produce larger cars. This proved to be its downfall. When gas prices skyrocketed in 1973, Americans demanded more fuel-efficient cars. In 1975, 695,000 Japanese cars were sold in the United States, and sales only increased for the remainder of the decade. In 1980, Japan manufactured 7 million automobiles compared to 6.4 million produced by the United States. Nearly 2 million of those cars were exported, and for the first time, Japanese car production exceeded that of America and became the number one manufacturer in the entire world.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, automobile companies turned to innovation in hopes of revitalizing the market. Automakers developed the sport utility vehicle (SUV), a lighter type of truck that could be driven on and off the road. As the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century approached, high gas prices forced automakers to reduce SUV and truck production in favor of smaller, less gas-guzzling cars.

In 2006, Toyota continued to be the industry leader in manufacturing, followed by General Motors (once the largest U.S. corporation), Ford, Volkswagen, and Honda.

Aviation

The **Wright Brothers**—Wilbur (1867–1912) and Orville (1871–1948)—were the first men to successfully fly an airplane. They did it in Kitty Hawk, **North Carolina**, on December 17, 1903. They flew 120 feet (37 meters) in twelve seconds. The brief flight was the re-

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sult of years of experimentation, research, and sheer determination. And it was the dawn of mechanical flight.

Before the Wright brothers took to the air in their powered airplane, the only means of air transportation was the hot air balloon. The first human flight in a balloon took place in Paris, France, in 1783. Ballooning became a favorite pastime in Europe in the late eighteenth century, but those balloons were not steerable, so passengers were at the mercy of the weather and wind. Gliders followed, and then the Wright brothers made their famous first airplane flight. They used the research and experiments of their predecessors to build the first aircraft that could sustain flight.

Military aviation

Airplanes proved a major asset in time of war. Bulgaria was the first country to use airplanes for military service, in the First Balkan War (1912–13). Both sides fighting in **World War I** (1914–18) relied heavily upon airplanes as weapons. In 1914, the French attached a machine gun to the front of one of their planes, thus allowing aircraft to shoot at one another. Pilots of such planes were known as aces, and they were publicized as modern-day knights. One German ace, Manfred von Richthofen (1892–1918), became known as the Red Baron. He shot down eighty planes in air-to-air combat.

Technological advancements led to improved aircraft for use in **World War II** (1939–45). This era of advancements is known as the Golden Age, and it was during this time that **Amelia Earhart** (1897–1937) became the first woman aviator to cross the Atlantic Ocean on a solo flight. The zeppelin, a hydrogen-filled airship, named *Hindenburg* crashed and burned in **New Jersey** in 1937, killing thirty-five people and bringing an end to the airship.

One of the most impressive achievements of the Golden Age was the development of instrument flight, for which aviator Jimmy Doolittle (1896–1993) is credited. He was the first pilot to use nothing but instruments to guide him in taking off, flying, and landing. Prior to that, aviators relied on sight.

Aircraft production increased during World War II, and a German aviator flew the first jet plane in 1939. Germany also led the way in developing the first cruise missile, ballistic missile, and manned rocket. By

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the end of the war, America had produced more than 160,000 aircraft of various types.

Commercial aviation

Once World War II ended, military aircraft were used to transport people and goods. Soon many airlines were established, with routes that crossed North America and other continents. The first American airliner took to the skies in 1949. In 1956, the Boeing 707 was introduced, raising the level of comfort, speed, and safety. As passengers began to consider flying as commonplace as driving a car, the military continued making progress in aviation technology. The sound barrier was broken in October 1947, and soon the **space race** was in full swing as America and the Soviet Union competed to be the leader in space exploration.

The space race resulted in the first men landing on the moon. American astronauts Neil Armstrong (1930–) and Buzz Aldrin (1930–) made their lunar landing in 1969, the same year Boeing announced its 747, the largest aircraft ever to fly. Even in the first decade of the twenty-first century, the 747 is one of the largest planes, and it transports millions of passengers each year.

Britain unveiled the first supersonic passenger airplane in 1976. The Concorde remained in service for twenty-seven years before it was retired. It remains an icon of success for the aviation industry.

Modern aviation

The Federal Aviation Act was passed in 1958, thereby establishing the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). The major roles of the FAA include regulating U.S. commercial space transportation and civil aviation, promoting safety, and encouraging new aviation technology. One of the FAA's first tasks was to develop an air traffic control system to prevent in-air collisions.

The industry was deregulated throughout the 1980s, which resulted in an influx of smaller airlines and the merging of larger airlines. In order to compete, airlines dropped their ticket prices in the 1990s as the number of cities served increased.

After the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**, airline security became top priority as regulations were tightened and strict airport security procedures were implemented.

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Axis

The Axis powers were the countries that unified against the Allied coalition (which included Poland, Great Britain, France, and, later, the United States and the Soviet Union) in **World War II** (1939–45). Germany, Japan, and Italy were the founding powers of the Axis alliance. Later it included Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary, among others. Military planning was led by German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), Italian dictator Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), and Prime Minister Hideki Tojo (1884–1948) of Japan.

The Axis powers concentrated efforts to conquer territory in two parts of the world. Germany led efforts in Europe while Japan led efforts in the Pacific. This strategy forced the Allied troops to split their resources between two areas of the world. At the height of their expansion, the Axis powers dominated large parts of Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Ocean. In the end, however, they were completely defeated by the **Allies**.

The Axis alliance began to evolve in 1936 when Italy and Germany signed a pact of friendship. The term *axis* stems from a statement Mussolini made at the time that all of Europe would revolve around the Rome-Berlin axis resulting from the friendship. The Tripartite Treaty that officially established the Axis powers as a military threat was signed by Germany, Italy, and Japan on September 27, 1940. The three countries wanted to build empires and establish a new world order. The treaty recognized a sphere of interest for each country and contained promises that they would help each other attain their economic, political, and military goals. Other countries later joined the Axis efforts.

The Axis powers were defeated in World War II. In a twist of politics, Italy's Mussolini was imprisoned, and Italy entered into a pact with the Allies in September 1943. Germany continued to fight intensively until it was pushed back across Europe. It surrendered unconditionally on May 7, 1945. The Allies, however, continued to fight in the Pacific arena against Japan until August 1945. Japan surrendered only after the United States dropped the **atomic bomb** on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

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B

Baby Boom Generation

After **World War II** (1939–45), American soldiers returned home from their victory ready to take advantage of a prosperous economy. Whereas the economic depression of the 1930s led to a drop in marriage and birth rates, the 1940s told a different story. There were nearly 2.3 million marriages in 1946, an increase of more than six hundred thousand over 1945. This was the first year of what became known as the baby boom, which lasted throughout most of the 1950s and into the early 1960s. Between 1948 and 1953, more babies were born than had been over the previous thirty years. Those born between 1946 and 1964 are called baby boomers.

The U.S. population increased from 150 million in 1950 to 179 million in 1960. This was the largest ten-year increase in population to date. By the middle of the next decade, baby boomers themselves reached childbearing age and birthrates again increased.

Effects

By 1958, children aged fifteen and younger comprised almost one-third of the American population. Toy sales that year capped at $1.25 billion, and diaper services were a $50-million enterprise. Many businesses profited from the baby boom, including school furniture companies, car manufacturers, home builders, even road and highway construction and paving companies. The **suburbanization** of America, in which large areas of homes were built on the outer edges of a city, developed at an amazing rate as growing families increased the demand for housing outside urban areas.

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Baby boomers were the first generation to be raised with televisions in their homes. This technology gave boomers a sense of generational identity not available to those who came before them. Boomers' lives have been defined by events such as Woodstock (a rock music festival that took place in Woodstock, **New York**, in 1969), the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) and the accompanying **antiwar movement**, the assassination of President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63), the **civil rights movement**, and experimental use of recreational drugs and alcohol.

"Overcrowding" is a term directly related to the baby boom generation. First it was the maternity wards of hospitals, which had a difficult time keeping pace with the upsurge of births. As boomers grew, schools became overcrowded. The 1950s and 1960s also saw an increase in the number of children and young adults entering the juvenile justice system. The term "juvenile delinquent" was given to those who did not fit into the societal norms, and juvenile institutions filled to overflowing. By the 1970s, colleges and universities experienced twice the number of students entering as in the previous generation. As boomers graduated, the job market became saturated, and graduates had trouble finding jobs in their fields. By the 1990s, housing prices skyrocketed as boomers reached middle age and thus began to settle down. Owning a home—a big home, if possible—was part of that goal.

The drastic increase in population placed a burden on education, healthcare, and other social service systems in the United States. Larger sums of public money were required to maintain these systems and keep them running smoothly. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 330 baby boomers turned sixty every hour throughout the year 2006.

The first baby boomer filed for early retirement in October 2007, thus becoming the first to begin collecting Social Security. Social Security is a government system into which workers pay a certain amount, depending on their income level. In return, they can collect monthly payments once they retire and until they die.

Bacon's Rebellion

In the spring of 1676, Nathaniel Bacon Jr. (1647–1676) led a revolt against the governor of **Virginia** and local Indian tribes. Over the course of months, events unfolded into a significant uprising known as Bacon's

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Rebellion. The immediate events that sparked the rebellion concerned a political disagreement between Governor William Berkeley (1606–1677) and Bacon, who was a member of Berkeley's council. It remains uncertain what other factors caused Bacon to take such drastic actions.

Unfolding of events

During the summer of 1675, there were several Indian raids against the colonists of Virginia. When a group of Virginians took revenge by murdering some Indians, the tribes increased their attacks. Governor Berkeley refrained from sending troops to counter the attacks and opted instead to build a chain of forts along the frontier.

A group of angry planters persuaded Bacon to lead a band of volunteers against the Indians, aggressive and friendly alike. Bacon petitioned the governor for a commission to organize the volunteers. Afraid of a full-scale war, the governor declined and warned Bacon that further action would define him as a rebel.

Governor Berkeley's warnings went unheeded, and in May 1676 Bacon set off with a force of three hundred men to the southern frontier. There they slaughtered and plundered a friendly tribe. Governor Berkeley declared Bacon a rebel for his actions and demanded that he be captured.

Bacon was imprisoned temporarily. He confessed his error and received a pardon from the governor. Days later, he slipped back to his home. He returned to the government in June with five hundred armed men. He forced Berkeley and the **House of Burgesses** (Virginia's legislative body) to grant him a formal commission to fight the Indians.

When Governor Berkeley attempted to raise forces to assert his own authority, Bacon turned on him. Civil war ensued. Berkeley was driven to the eastern shore of Virginia, leaving Bacon in charge of the western border. Bacon proceeded against another friendly tribe as Governor Berkeley took control of the capital, **Jamestown**. When Bacon arrived in Jamestown in September with six hundred men, he forced the governor's retreat and burned the town. A little more than a month later, Bacon suddenly fell ill and died. Governor Berkeley was able to return to confront Bacon's forces and suppress the rebellion. By February 1677, Governor Berkeley had reestablished his authority over Virginia.

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In January 1677, royal commissioners (justices conducting an investigation on behalf of England) and one thousand English troops arrived in Virginia to investigate the uprising and to restore order. They arrived with royal pardons for the rebels, but Governor Berkeley rejected them. He ordered the execution of twenty-three rebels. The commissioners viewed the governor's actions as cruel, and they removed him from his post. Berkeley returned to England in May to defend himself but died before seeing the king.

Aggravating factors

While historians argue over the exact causes of Bacon's Rebellion, a few factors are considered to be particularly important. Virginia was a rapidly growing, but unstable, society at the time. Competition for political and social positions increased in the midst of such instability.

Social instability was further complicated by a slow economy. Overproduction of inferior **tobacco** and high taxes led to financial difficulties and hardships. Governor Berkeley's leadership was ineffective, and many were generally dissatisfied with the government. The known disagreement between Berkeley and Bacon over the governor's Indian policy was probably exaggerated by each of these factors.

Banking Crisis of 1933

A nationwide panic ensued in 1933 when bank customers descended upon banks to withdraw their assets, only to be turned away because of a shortage of cash and credit. The United States was in the throes of the **Great Depression** (1929–41), a time when the economy worsened, businesses failed, and workers lost their jobs. Bank customers did not have the benefit of government protection during the panic. The crisis led to government reform to protect bank deposits.

President Hoover and the Great Depression

The Great Depression began in October 1929, when the value of stocks traded on the stock market in New York fell tremendously. In only a few weeks, investors lost a sum of money that approached the national cost of fighting **World War I** (1914–18). At the time, banks opened as they always had, five weekdays plus Saturday mornings. Despite the severity of the stock market crash, within months political leaders announced

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brightly that the country was recovering and business was healthy. Financial panics in the past had usually come and gone quickly after speculators absorbed their losses. This time, however, the economy did not recover quickly.

In 1932, President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33) took steps to improve the economy. He created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a government project for lending billions of dollars to various enterprises, including banks. The injection of money did not help enough. Shantytowns of tin and wood spread across the country and became known as **Hoovervilles**. Homeless people on park benches tried to keep warm with newspapers, known as Hoover blankets.

Bank runs

When depositors rushed to withdraw their money from a bank, the incident was called a bank run. Bank runs were spurred by fears that banks would go bankrupt, taking the savings of depositors with them. The mere hint of a bank closing often was enough to send depositors scrambling to withdraw their money. This resulted in banks, which do not keep enough cash on hand to cover all of their deposits, often collapsing.

Bank runs had serious effects because of unsound banking practices. During the 1920s, many banks had not acted in a responsible fashion. Some had lent money for poor investments. Others extended dangerously large credit to financial speculators. When the stock market crashed, many banks saw their assets evaporate. Creditors who had lent money to the banks liquidated what remained, and individual depositors were left with nothing.

Because few companies in the 1920s provided pensions for workers, many used the banks as a place to deposit a lifetime's worth of savings in anticipation of retirement. When the banks went under, many of these people, old and unable to work, lost everything. More than fourteen hundred banks collapsed in 1932, taking with them $725 million in deposits. The public scrutinized the remaining banks. At the first sign of trouble, a run on the banks occurred, and the banks usually ended up closing, many permanently.

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President Franklin D. Roosevelt had numerous "fireside chats," or radio broadcasts, with the American public to try and reassure people that banking was safe. AP IMAGES

Bank holidays

By March 1933, before President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) took office, about nine million people had lost their savings. It was clear that some action was necessary. State after state declared banking "holidays" that month, briefly closing local banks to prevent nervous depositors from creating bank failures with bank runs.

The day after his inauguration, President Roosevelt called Congress into a special session and announced a four-day nationwide banking holiday. While the banks were closed, the president introduced the Emergency Banking Act of 1933, which Congress passed the same day. During this bank closure, many people ran short of cash. In an era before credit cards, people without hard currency were unable to purchase groceries or attend public events.

These short-term and relatively minor hardships were offset by the fact that the federal banking holiday worked. In his first radio "fireside chat," broadcast three days after the banks were closed, President Roosevelt reassured the public that the banks had been made safe. The president's personal charm and his fondness for decisive action were apparent in this first **New Deal** success. The New Deal was a series of leg-

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islative and administrative programs initiated by President Roosevelt as a way to combat the effects of the Great Depression. Within the month, banking deposits had grown by more than a billion dollars.

The Pecora investigation

While the Roosevelt administration was busy restoring public confidence in banks, Congress was punishing bankers for old violations of the public trust. In 1933 and 1934, sensational hearings were held that detailed theft and fraud on the part of many bankers and other members of the business community. This introduced the term "bankster" to the cultural vocabulary.

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee, led by appointed New York legal counsel Ferdinand Pecora (1882–1971), revealed that the brokerage house of Lee, Higginson, and Company had defrauded the public of $100 million. National City Bank head Charles E. Mitchell (1877–1955), with a salary of $1.2 million, paid no income tax and had issued $25 million in Peruvian bonds that he knew to be worthless. Former secretary of the treasury Andrew Mellon (1855–1937) and banker **J. P. Morgan** (1837–1913) had also managed to avoid taxes, and twenty of Morgan's partners had paid no taxes in 1931 and 1932.

Throughout the hearings, the public was introduced to such Wall Street tactics as selling short, pooling agreements, influence peddling, insider trading, and the wash sale. By using such techniques, traders artificially inflated the worth of their stocks or gained financial advantage over other traders. National City Bank, for example, took bad loans, repackaged them as bonds, and sold them to unwary investors. Although such actions were technically legal, many viewed them as unethical and immoral, and the public reputation of bankers and financial businesspeople fell to a new low.



Senator Carter Glass sponsored the Glass-Steagall Banking Act, which regulated many of the unstable practices that led to the Great Depression. AP IMAGES

Banking regulation: the FDIC

The first reform to result from the Pecora investigation was the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933. It was a law sponsored by U.S. senator Carter Glass (1858–1946) of **Virginia** and U.S. representative Henry Steagall (1873–1943) of

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Alabama amid a rash of bank failures. The law regulated many of the unsound practices that contributed to the Great Depression, including making it illegal for banks to deal in stocks and bonds.

The act created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to insure small depositors against the loss of their savings if a bank went under. The FDIC initially guaranteed deposits to a maximum of $5,000.

Bataan Death March

During **World War II** (1939–45), the United States had to fight battles in two parts of the world. German troops were aggressively taking over Europe while Japanese troops were seizing control of the Pacific Islands and China. As a result, American troops and resources were spread between the two places. Most American attention, however, was focused first in Europe. U.S. troops in the Pacific faced battles with fewer resources and little backup.

U.S. troops trapped

Soon after the attack on the **Pearl Harbor** naval station in **Hawaii** in December 1941, American troops were fighting to defend an airfield in the Philippines. By the end of December, the American and Filipino forces were forced to retreat to the Bataan peninsula. By February, the Japanese attack had been defeated. The Japanese, however, had cornered the American troops with their backs to the sea. A large blockade isolated the Philippine Islands, preventing the Americans from escaping and receiving supplies. As a result, food, medicine, and ammunition ran dangerously low. Soldiers were starving and suffering from malaria and dysentery.

After four months of holding the Japanese back without additional resources, the American troops were seriously weakened. On April 3, 1942, the Japanese attacked again. This time they easily cut through American defenses. On April 9, more than seventy thousand American and Filipino soldiers surrendered. It was the largest American army ever to surrender.

Prosecuted for war crimes

The Japanese brutality that followed was eventually judged a war crime. The starving and sick troops were forced to walk over sixty miles to the prisoner of war camp. It is now known as the Bataan Death March, be-

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cause it is estimated that between five thousand and ten thousand men did not survive the march. Intense heat, little food or water, and random acts of violence caused their deaths. Some managed to escape, but for the fifty-four thousand who made it to Camp O'Donnell, the brutality of the march was only the beginning.

Battle of Antietam

The Battle of Antietam was an American **Civil War** (1861–65) battle that happened along Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, **Maryland**, on September 17, 1862. Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) had undertaken an invasion of the North. He hoped to gain the loyalty of people in Maryland and boost the strength of the **Confederate States of America** (or Southern) cause in the border state. He also hoped to lure federal troops away from **Virginia** to relieve the area temporarily from the ravages of war. Lee's advance north was a great threat to the **Union** and its capital, **Washington, D.C.** Union general George B. McClellan (1826–1885) learned of some of Lee's plans and pursued the Confederates.

On the night of September 13, Lee heard that McClellan had learned of his plans. Rather than retreating in the face of an army twice as big as his, Lee decided to face the federal troops, so he paused in Sharpsburg. McClellan advanced on the evening of September 16 and carefully moved his men into position.

The battle that ensued the following day marked the bloodiest single day of the war. McClellan launched a series of uncoordinated attacks on three sectors of Lee's forces. The Confederate forces were pushed back but avoided complete disaster with the arrival of troops from Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now part of **West Virginia**) under Confederate general A. P. Hill (1825–1865). Fighting only paused with the dark of night.

On the following day, Lee stood fast, but McClellan did not renew his attack. Lee recognized that a renewed attack was futile and so ordered a retreat to Virginia. His troops withdrew across the Potomac River on September 19. McClellan's forces were badly crippled as well, so he decided not to pursue Lee's forces.

The battle's dead, wounded, and missing totaled over twelve thousand for each side. The battle, however, is remembered for more than its casualties. Many historians regard it as the turning point of the war. The

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stunning victory by the Union provided U.S. president **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) with military progress for which he had been waiting.

Lincoln followed the victory with an announcement of his **Emancipation Proclamation**. The proclamation declared freedom for slaves in the rebelling states. It changed the war from a political crusade to preserve the Union into a crusade to free the slaves and end **slavery**. The addition of a moral element to the North's cause impassioned supporters, made it a difficult war to abandon, and swung foreign support to the Union's side. All of this contributed to the eventual Union victory.

Battle of Bunker Hill

The Battle of Bunker Hill was fought on June 17, 1775. It was the first major battle of the **American Revolution** (1775–83). It is also called the Battle of Breed's Hill for the actual site of the clash.

The Battle of Bunker Hill had its roots in the colonial siege of Boston, **Massachusetts**. In an effort to get British soldiers out of the area, the colonists took control of the city. When they learned of a British plan to use troops to regain control, the colonists acted to stop them. Nearly fifteen hundred troops marched to Charlestown, just across the Charles River from Boston. There they embedded themselves on Breed's Hill, just below Bunker Hill, in the dark of night.

Barriers saved colonists

When the British discovered the colonists, they set out to displace them with an army of twenty-two hundred men. The colonists, however, were well protected behind barriers they had made. The colonists successfully defended themselves during two of the three British advances. During the first two, the British suffered great losses. During the third advance, the colonists were running out of ammunition and retreated.

The colonists suffered approximately 450 soldiers captured, wounded, or killed. Though the British pushed back the rebelling colonists, they suffered nearly 1,000 casualties, about half of

War Slogans

The Battle of Bunker Hill is the source of the famous war slogan, "Don't shoot [or fire] until you see the whites of their eyes." Historians debate who was the speaker of the command. Some say it was American General Israel Putnam (1718–1790), while others say it was Putnam's second-in-command, Colonel William Prescott (1726–1795). It also could have been an unidentified person lost in history.

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their army. The British claimed victory, but the great number of casualties gave the colonists encouragement to continue fighting for their cause.

Battle of Gettysburg

The Battle of Gettysburg is one of the most famous events of the American **Civil War** (1861–65). It took place from July 1 to July 3, 1863, in Gettysburg, **Pennsylvania**. Gettysburg is about thirty miles south of the state capital of Harrisburg. The battle was part of the attempt by the army of the **Confederate States of America** to invade the northern states and discourage **Union** support. The clash at Gettysburg was the deadliest of the war. Union victory ended the Confederate march north, forcing its army to retreat.



Confederate general George E. Pickett's charge during the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863. The Union victory at Gettysburg is considered by many as a major turning point in the American Civil War. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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Remembering Gettysburg

Gettysburg has a national cemetery where President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) gave his famous **Gettysburg Address** in 1863. The battlefields of Gettysburg are now preserved at Gettysburg National Military Park.

By May 1863, the Confederate Army had defeated the Union Army in several important battles. The Northern population was growing more dissatisfied with the lack of Union progress, and a peace movement was growing. The Southern population, particularly in **Virginia** where most of the fighting occurred, was struggling to support the armies. Essential provisions like food were running low.

A bold strategy

Hoping to relieve Virginia from his armies, find provisions in the fields of Pennsylvania, and stir up antiwar sentiment in the North, Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) decided to invade the North and perhaps capture Harrisburg. His troops numbered seventy-five thousand men organized into three corps.

Union troops met the Confederate invasion at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. Nearly ninety thousand troops under the leadership of Union general George C. Meade (1815–1872) fought bitterly for three days to block the Confederate march. With great losses on both sides, General Lee retreated to Virginia on July 4. His army was severely weakened, with more than twenty thousand captured, wounded, or killed. The Union Army suffered approximately twenty-three thousand similar losses.

The Battle of Gettysburg was a major Union victory and is often considered the turning point of the Civil War. Though General Meade was criticized for not pursuing Lee's army in its retreat, Meade's army earned praise for its success in stopping the invasion.

Battle of Iwo Jima

Iwo Jima is an island in Japan's Volcano Islands, 750 miles (1,207 kilometers) south of Tokyo. During **World War II** (1939–45), its location was of strategic importance, and it became the site of a bitter battle between American and Japanese forces in February 1945.

By early 1945, the American campaign in the Pacific had pushed the Japanese back from their aggressive takeover of many islands. The Americans were close enough to begin attacking Japan itself, but the

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Japanese base on Iwo Jima was able to detect the American bombers on their way to Japan, providing warning of approaching raids. The base on Iwo Jima was also able to launch planes that harassed the American bombers.

The capture of Iwo Jima became more important to the Americans. Under Lieutenant General Holland M. "Howlin' Mad" Smith (1882–1967), American marines mounted an attack to seize the island. The Japanese, however, were very well protected. Miles of tunnels, rocky volcanic terrain, and twenty thousand soldiers made the Japanese position difficult to overcome.

On February 16, 1945, American forces assaulted the island defenses from the air and the sea. Three days later, marines landed on the beaches. After four days, the American marines held the most terrain, but the Japanese were well entrenched and fought strongly. American forces secured the island on March 17, but resistance did not end for another nine days.

The battle left nearly five thousand Americans and twenty thousand Japanese dead. Many more were wounded. American control of Iwo Jima proved to be immensely important in the American push to end the war with Japan. Controlling a safe place for airplanes and troops so close to Japan allowed the Americans to be more aggressive and helped to force a Japanese surrender by August.

The Photograph and the Monument

The Battle of Iwo Jima quickly became symbolic of the strength and determination that the soldiers possessed to protect American liberty and freedom, regardless of the cost. Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal (1911–2006) captured the moment in an unforgettable picture that showed the emotion of the hard-fought victory. On February 23, 1945, after days of bitter fighting, thousands of American soldiers paused to watch forty marines scale Mount Suribachi to plunge an **American flag** into the volcanic rim. To protect the first-raised flag from souvenir hunters, it was replaced three hours later during a second flag raising. Rosenthal's memorable moment captured this raising as six soldiers, five marines, and a naval corpsman planted an immense, 8 x 4.5-foot flag. More than sixty years later, the photograph remains inspirational and meaningful to the American public.

On November 10, 1954, the Marine Corps Memorial was unveiled near Arlington, **Virginia**. At its heart is an immense bronze sculpture inspired by Rosenthal's photograph. Designed by Felix de Weldon (1907–2003), the Iwo Jima Monument rises 110 feet from the ground and weighs one hundred tons.

Battle of Lexington and Concord

The Battle of Lexington and Concord was the first battle of the **American Revolution** (1775–83). It was fought in the towns of Lexington and Concord, **Massachusetts**, and the roads in between on April 19, 1775.

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The Battle of Lexington and Concord was the first battle of the American Revolution and considered a victory for American colonists. AP IMAGES

In the years leading up to the war, Great Britain had imposed a series of laws that displeased the colonists. In 1774, the colonists gathered in the First Continental Congress to explore how to react to Britain's colonial policies. (See **Continental Congress, First**.) The Congress and various colonial communities passed resolutions telling Great Britain that they would not continue to accept British policies unchallenged.

In 1775, Great Britain prepared to respond to possible rebellion in America. Ministers in London imposed embargoes on (blocked) the shipment of arms and ammunition to America. General Thomas Gage (1721–1787), who was governor of Massachusetts and commander-in-chief of British forces in America, made plans to seize gunpowder supplies held by the colonists.

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Midnight rides

After nightfall on April 18, 1775, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith (1723–1791) and Major John Pitcairn (1722–1775) assembled British troops in boats at their fort in Boston to cross Boston Harbor. Their destination was a colonial gunpowder storage in Concord. Colonists monitoring British movements saw the British troops, triggering the famous midnight warning rides of men like **Paul Revere** (1735–1818) and William Dawes (1745–1799) to assemble colonial forces.

As Smith's men marched on a road toward Lexington, Smith realized the colonists were aware of their movements. He sent a message back to Gage asking for reinforcements while sending Pitcairn ahead with a small force of men to take control of a bridge over the Concord River.

Pitcairn and his men reached Lexington in the early morning hours of April 19, 1775. A group of colonial militia men led by Captain John Parker (1729–1775) was assembled on the village green, off the main road. Pitcairn diverted his men to the green, where they fired on the colonists, killing eight and wounding ten more. According to an account by American printer Isaiah Thomas (1770–1802) published on May 3, 1775, the colonists were dispersing as ordered by the British when the British fired on them.

The British troops continued to Concord to destroy the gunpowder supplies. They arrived around eight o'clock in the morning. The colonists had managed to remove some of their supplies to safety. After destroying some supplies, flour stores, and buildings, the British retreated toward Lexington around noon as a crowd of four hundred militiamen approached. The British suffered many casualties throughout the day as they marched through Lexington back to Charleston, Massachusetts, where they crossed the bay back to Boston. Colonial militiamen hiding along the road fired upon the British during the retreat.

At the end of the day, the British had 273 casualties out of 1,800 men who had been involved in the day's activities. American casualties totaled 95 men. Americans considered it an early victory in what became a war for independence.

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Battle of Midway

The Battle of Midway was a naval battle between Japan and the United States during **World War II** (1939–45). It occurred around the atoll (island) of Midway, in the central Pacific Ocean, from June 3 to 6, 1942. It is remembered as an astonishing American victory that marked a turning point in the war in the Pacific.

Until the Battle of Midway, the Japanese fleet had great successes. It caused great damage to the American naval force and conquered islands across the Pacific with little challenge. When the Japanese decided to take Midway from American occupation, they were confident of another victory.

Japanese admiral Isoroku Yamamoto (1884–1943) assembled the largest fleet ever put together by the Japanese navy. There were 185 warships, including 4 aircraft carriers. Part of the fleet was deployed to the Aleutian Islands, southwest of the **Alaska** mainland, to strike American forces there. The bulk of the fleet spread out to move with stealth toward Midway.

The Japanese intended to make a surprise attack, but American intelligence learned of the plans. Because they had cracked certain Japanese codes, the Americans were able to learn where, when, and in what strength the Japanese forces would appear. With little notice and immense effort, the American fleet prepared to meet the greater Japanese fleet. Although they were outnumbered, the Americans carried the advantage of surprise.

The battle began on June 3 when American bombers took off from Midway and attacked the approaching Japanese. They caused no significant damage. The following morning, unaware that the American fleet was present, the Japanese admiral sent only half of his planes out to attack. The Americans launched all of their planes and, while suffering significant losses, managed to slow the Japanese attack considerably.

Before Japan could launch a second air attack, the Americans countered with an air attack on the Japanese carriers. No direct hits were made, but they managed to force the carriers to scatter to avoid the attacks.

During the raids, the Japanese learned of the American fleet's presence. Admiral Yamamoto called all planes to return for refueling and rearming. In the process, the carriers' decks were littered with fuel and

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bombs. Another wave of American planes arrived when the ships were highly flammable, and the Americans easily sank three Japanese carriers. The fourth Japanese carrier escaped to inflict crippling damage to a U.S. carrier, but it also was disabled and sunk the following day.

On June 5, the Japanese began to retreat. Further scuffles brought more losses to both sides over the next two days, but most of the damage was complete. The Japanese fleet had lost four carriers and its aircraft. Unlike the industrially prepared United States, Japan could not recover quickly from the losses. As a result, the superior Japanese fleet was severely weakened and lost the advantage in the Pacific Ocean. The Battle of Midway was an important victory that enabled the American forces to begin pushing the Japanese back from their aggressive occupations.

Battle of the Bulge

On December 16, 1944, the German army mounted a surprise attack on Allied forces in **World War II** (1939–45). Now known as the Battle of the Bulge, it was the last desperate offensive made by the Germans. Though the element of surprise initially gave the advantage to the German army, the Allied troops managed to regain ground and force a German retreat by the end of January 1945.

Nazis hoped to divide Allies

By December 1944, the plan to conquer Europe launched five years earlier by Nazi German leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was losing on all fronts. From Italy, France, and the Soviet Union, Hitler's armies were being forced back to Germany. To prevent an Allied invasion of the homeland along the western border, Hitler organized a surprise attack. Hoping to split the **Allies**, he planned to push them back, capture Antwerp, and thus be in a position to negotiate peace. With few men available for such an attack, Hitler assembled his remaining reserves and relied on surprise to accomplish his goals. They secretly gathered more than two hundred thousand men and twelve hundred tanks near the Ardennes region of Belgium and Luxembourg, where the Allied presence was weakest.

The German forces waited for the weather to worsen to prevent Allied air support. On December 16, snow and fog presented the ideal

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opportunity to strike. German armies attacked along a sixty-mile front of the Allied lines. They drove forward hoping to separate the Allied armies. With the Allied armies being pushed back in this region, a bulge of German pressure formed in the Allied front. This bulge of German presence into the Ardennes region gives the battle its name.

December skies cleared

The German army had some success, including the capture of Bastogne and the isolation of some American troops. The weather cleared on December 23, however, enabling Allied planes to attack the Germans and to drop supplies to Allied ground forces. Though the battle began to turn at this point to favor the Allied counteroffensive, it would not end quickly. Bitter fighting continued until January 28, when the last of the bulge was eliminated and the Allied forces had recovered all the ground lost.

The Battle of the Bulge is remembered as the last major German offensive. It was a large-scale attack that left many casualties on all sides. Over six hundred thousand Americans were involved in the fighting, and nearly ninety thousand were captured, wounded, or killed. The Germans had nearly eighty-five thousand similar casualties. Hitler used the very last of his reserves in the offensive. Germany was severely weakened and fell to Allied forces just a few months later.

Battle of Little Bighorn

See **Custer's Last Stand**

Battles of Bull Run

During the American **Civil War** (1861–65), only one hundred miles separated the Confederate capital of Richmond, **Virginia**, from the **Union** capital of **Washington, D.C.** There were many violent encounters between the two sides within this stretch of land during the war, including two Battles of Bull Run. Bull Run is the name of a small stream near the site of the battles. Manassas, Virginia, was the closest town, so the battles are also called the Battles of Manassas.

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The First Battle of Bull Run

The First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas) took place on July 21, 1861. It was the first major battle of the Civil War. Although the war had started in **South Carolina** in April, the two sides had only engaged in small skirmishes before Bull Run. Public opinion, however, called for greater action. The Union army was still gathering volunteers and trying to train its men, but President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) faced pressure to suppress the rebellion. Under orders from Lincoln, Union general Irvin McDowell (1818–1885), who was posted near the nation's capital with thirty-five thousand men, advanced southward.

Two forces from the **Confederate States of America** waited to the south in Virginia. General Pierre Beauregard (1818–1893) had nearly twenty-two thousand men in his command along the line of Bull Run Creek, across the main highways to Washington. General Joseph E. Johnston (1807–1891) had nearly twelve thousand posted nearby in the Shenandoah Valley. When the Confederates became aware of the attack, they gathered along Bull Run Creek. General Johnston and his forces arrived to support General Beauregard on July 20, 1861, despite Union attempts to interfere with Beauregard's movement.

Union general McDowell attacked the Confederate forces on the morning of July 21. At first, his well-planned assault drove the Confederates back. The continuing arrival of fresh men from General Johnston's troops, however, gave the Confederates an advantage. The Union began a retreat. Though orderly at first, the retreat gave way to confusion when a bridge was destroyed. As Union troops continued to retreat to Washington, the Confederates abandoned their pursuit at Centreville, Virginia. They were too exhausted and disorganized to persist.

While the Confederates seemed to win the battle, it proved to be indecisive, like so many Civil War clashes. Neither the North nor the South won a great advantage, but many men lost their lives. A total of nearly 900 were killed (481 Union, 387 Confederate) and 2,500 wounded (1,011 Union, 1,582 Confederate). Over 1,000 were reported missing (1,216 Union, 12 Confederate). The battle foreshadowed the brutal toll that the Civil War would take.

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The Second Battle of Bull Run

The Second Battle of Bull Run occurred in the same area as the first one, near Manassas, Virginia. The battle took place from August 29 to August 30, 1862, following the siege of Richmond by the Union. Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) intended to shift the battles to the north towards Washington, D.C., to relieve pressure on Richmond.

Confederate soldiers launched a successful series of attacks on the Union troops, who were under the direction of Major General John Pope (1822–1892) of Virginia. Forcing a retreat back to Washington, the Confederates improved their position for an invasion into **Maryland**. The cost was high for both sides. The Union army had 1,747 killed, 8,452 wounded, and 4,263 missing or captured. The Confederates had 1,553 killed, 7,812 wounded, and 109 missing. General Pope was relieved of his command to hold him responsible for the defeat.

Bay of Pigs

See **Cuban Missile Crisis**

Beat Movement

The Beats were writers who formed an artistic protest movement from 1950 to 1959. Declaring themselves nonconformists, this small group of poets and novelists had a great deal of influence on the culture of their day. They became American antiheroes.

Who they were and what they did

The term "beat" has never been clearly defined. **Jack Kerouac** (1922–1969), largely considered the leader of the Beat Movement, is said to have coined the term Beat Generation when he said that he and his friends were beaten down in frustration at the difficulty of individual expression at a time when most artists were conforming to society. On another occasion, Kerouac said "beat" was derived from "beatific," suggesting the Beats had earned intellectual grace through the purity of their lives.

Other prominent members of the movement were Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997), William S. Burroughs (1914–1997), and Neal Cassady (1926–1968). They inspired each other to turn away from materialism

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to lead lives of adventure in search of meaning, and proposed that others follow their lead. In reality, the movement was very much an experiment with controlled substances, characterized by rampant drug and alcohol abuse and a fascination with the criminal world, especially drug dealers. A drunken Burroughs accidentally killed his second wife while trying to shoot a glass off her head. In another incident, Kerouac and Burroughs were charged as criminal accessories after Lucien Carr, a member of the Beat circle, killed a man, possibly in self-defense, who was obsessed with him.



Prominent member of the Beat movement Allen Ginsberg reads poetry to a crowd. Ginsberg's book Howl *became one of the top-selling volumes of American poetry ever published.* AP IMAGES

Media attention

Life magazine covered the Beat Movement closely, describing the Beats in 1959 as "sick little bums" who were unwashed, uneducated, unmotivated, and unprincipled. The magazine helped establish the stereotype of the beatnik as a character who wears a goatee, sandals, blue jeans, and a dirty sweatshirt and answers to the name "Daddy-o." Beat women, called chicks, were depicted wearing black leotards, short skirts, heavy black eyeliner, and pale lipstick. As depicted in the media, beatniks hung around in coffeehouses, listening to jazz, and "hip" and "far out" were the catchphrases of the day. Many Americans saw the Beat influence as a threat, fearing it would spread from the East Coast and San Francisco into the heartland.

Beat writing

The literary establishment was as critical of the Beats' writing as the popular media was of their attitudes. Many dismissed Beat writing as immature and uninteresting. Literary historians generally regard poet Ginsberg as the most credible figure of the movement. Unlike other Beats, he graduated from college and therefore had a literary tradition on which to draw. He wrote just one book during the Beat heyday, but it became the cornerstone of the movement. *Howl*, with its famous first line, "I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical

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naked, " was published in 1956 by Lawrence Ferlinghetti (1919–), a San Francisco publisher.

The book was soon banned for obscenity, and Ferlinghetti was arrested for printing obscene material. The media pounced on the trial, bringing Ginsberg's lament over the state of American culture into the spotlight. By the time Ferlinghetti was acquitted and the ban lifted, ten thousand copies of Ginsberg's book had sold. By 1980, more than a quarter million had sold. *Howl* remains one of the top-selling volumes of American poetry ever published and a major influence on American poetry.

Kerouac is arguably the most popular of the Beat writers. His novel *On the Road* (1957) became the definitive statement of Beat principles. Published just one month after the *Howl* obscenity trial, *On the Road* gained popularity through incessant media coverage of the Beat Movement. In the novel, characters based on the author, Ginsberg, and Cassady take a road trip in search of the meaning of life. It struck a chord with students of the era who wondered what life after college would hold.

Cassady was a key figure not for his own writing but for the influence he had on other Beats, who admired his wildness and spontaneity. Raised in the slums of Denver, **Colorado**, by fifteen a prostitute and petty thief, he met Kerouac in 1945 and began traveling with him. Their travels were the basis of Kerouac's *On the Road*, which turned Cassady into a symbol of Beat virtue.

Burroughs was considered by the others as more of a father figure. He published his first novel, *Junkie,* in 1953, at a time when he felt his life unraveling. His drug abuse problem, in fact, turned into a lifelong heroin addiction. The novel that brought him fame was published in 1959 in France. *Naked Lunch*, written in experimental style, was not published in America until 1962. The work was highly controversial for its use of sensitive material and obscene language. The book was banned in many regions; in a censorship trial in 1966, the book was found not to violate any obscenity statutes.

End of an era

By the late 1950s, the Beats had done and said what they had set out to do. Kerouac eventually faded from the literary scene. He died in 1969, at the age of forty-seven, from internal bleeding brought on by cirrhosis

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of the liver, a disease associated with alcoholism. Ginsberg broadened his horizons and remained a key figure in the avant-garde movement of the 1960s and 1970s. He died in 1997, at age seventy, of liver cancer brought on by hepatitis, a disease usually caused by drug and alcohol use. Burroughs continued to write and died at the age of eighty-three from a heart attack. Cassady became the unofficial mascot of the hippie movement of the 1960s. He died in Mexico at the age of forty-one of mysterious causes.

Beatlemania

The most influential and famous musical group to emerge in the 1960s was a quartet from Liverpool, England, known as the Beatles. Members included John Lennon (1940–1980), Paul McCartney (1942–), George Harrison (1943–2001), and Ringo Starr (1940–). The band's first recording was the tune "Love Me Do," and it was released in Britain in October 1962. By 1963, the Beatles were a sensation in England and adoring fans followed them everywhere. In early 1964, all of their one-night performances had to be cancelled due to rioting.

The Beatles first visited America on February 8, 1964, to appear on the popular television variety program *The Ed Sullivan Show.* Seventy million viewers tuned in, and a new record was set for the most-watched television appearance. It helped that America's media publicized the event. Magazines and newspapers carried photographs, reports, and in-depth articles chronicling the lives of the band nicknamed the Fab Four.

The Beatles took America by storm. Seemingly overnight, teenage boys were sporting long hair just like the Beatles, and teenage girls plastered their bedroom walls with posters and magazine pages of their favorite Beatle. Concerts sold out in record time, and police were required to keep the frenzy of female fans under control; it was not uncommon for hysterical teens to faint during a concert. In both Britain and America, Beatles tunes such as "I Want to Hold Your Hand" sold millions of copies, and the sound of the group could be heard in nearly every household that included teenagers.

While teens across the country raised the Beatles to a godlike status, parents and other adults feared the influence the Fab Four wielded over the younger generation. John Lennon did not help dispel the idea that his band's music was an evil influence when he made the comment that

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the Beatles were more popular than Jesus. That one statement led to record-burning throughout the nation, and adults were more determined than ever to squash Beatlemania.

The Beatles were an unstoppable force throughout the 1960s, however. Their cross-country tour in 1964 only cemented their place in American culture, as did the five movies they made, the most popular of which were *A Hard Day's Night* and *Help!* Their appeal lay in more than just their music. For millions of young people, the Beatles represented freedom from authority and convention. Each member was charismatic, and together, they were irresistible to a young America that was embroiled in the unpopular **Vietnam War** (1954–75). The Beatles, their music, and their charm provided American youth a much-needed escape from the harsh realities of the era.

The Beatles stopped touring in August of 1966. They focused exclusively on recording in the studio. In 1970, the Beatles broke up, and members began to pursue solo projects and careers.

Alexander Graham Bell

Alexander Graham Bell is remembered as the inventor of the telephone. He was also an outstanding teacher of the deaf, an inventor of many other devices, and a leading figure in the scientific community. Bell invented the graphophone, the first sound recorder, as well as the photophone, which transmitted speech by light rays. Among his other innovations were the audiometer, a device used to measure hearing; the induction balance, used to locate metallic objects in the human body; and disc and cylindrical wax recorders for phonographs.

Early life

Bell was born in 1847 in Edinburgh, Scotland, to a family of eminent speech educators and musicians. His father, Alexander Melville Bell, taught speech to the hearing and speech impaired and wrote textbooks on correct speech. Bell's mother was a portrait painter and an accomplished musician.

Bell received his early education at home. He graduated at age fourteen from the Royal High School in Edinburgh. Bell then enrolled as a student teacher at Weston House, a nearby boys' school, where he taught music and speech and, in return, received instruction in other subjects.

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Experiments with harmonic telegraph

Bell's father had invented "visible" speech, a code of symbols for all spoken sounds that was used to teach deaf people to speak. Bell studied at Edinburgh University in 1864 and assisted his father at University College, London, from 1868 to 1870. During these years, he became deeply interested in the study of sound, especially as it affects hearing and speech. Bell followed this interest throughout his life, inspired in part by the acoustic experiments of German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894), which gave Bell the idea of telegraphing speech.



Inventor Alexander Graham Bell was a prominent figure in the scientific community. U.S. NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

Bell's interest in speech and communication led him to investigate the transmission of sound over wires. With financial assistance from Gardiner Hubbard and Thomas Sanders, grateful fathers of two of his deaf pupils, Bell experimented with developing the harmonic telegraph, a device that could send multiple messages at the same time over a single wire. Using vibrating membranes and an actual human ear in his tests, Bell also investigated the possibility of transmitting the human voice by wire.

Invention of the telephone

Early in 1874, after having emigrated to the United States a few years earlier, Bell met Thomas A. Watson (1854–1934), a young machinist and technician with expertise in electrical engineering. Watson became Bell's indispensable assistant and the two spent substantial time together experimenting with transmitting sound.

In the summer of 1874, Bell developed the basic concept of the telephone using a varying but unbroken electric current to transmit the sound waves of human speech over a wire. At the urging of his financial backers, however, who were more interested in the potential of the harmonic telegraph, Bell did not pursue the telephone idea for several months. He resumed work on it in 1875 and, by September, began to write the required patent specifications.

Bell received his patent on March 7, 1876, and on March 10, the first official message transmitted by telephone passed from Bell to Watson in their workshop: "Mr. Watson, come here, I want you!"

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Founds Bell Telephone

After a year of refining the new device, Watson and Bell, along with Hubbard and Sanders, formed the Bell Telephone Company in 1877. The Bell Company built the first long-distance line in 1884, connecting Boston and New York. Bell and others organized the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in 1885 to operate other long-distance lines. By 1889, when insulation was perfected, 11,000 miles of underground wires travelled through New York City.

Bell's claim to the invention of the telephone was challenged in more than six hundred lawsuits. The courts eventually approved Bell's patent, and the Bell Company's principal competitor, Western Union Telegraph, agreed to stay out of the telephone business. The Bell Company, in turn, ceased work on the telegraph. In 1899, with the sale of the Bell Company to a group of investors, Bell's financial future was secure and he could devote the rest of his life to working as an inventor.

Bell's later interests

The magazine *Science* (later the official organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science) was founded in 1880 because of Bell's efforts. As National Geographic Society president from 1896 to 1904, Bell fostered the success of the society and its publications. In 1898, he became a regent of the Smithsonian Institution in **Washington, D.C.** He was also involved in sheep breeding, hydrodynamics (the dynamics of fluids in motion), and aviation projects.

Bell died in Nova Scotia, Canada, in 1922.

Irving Berlin

Irving Berlin was born Israel Baline in Temun, Siberia, on May 11, 1888. He fled with his family to **New York** in 1893 to escape the Russian persecution of Jews. Berlin's family settled in Manhattan's Lower East Side, a section of the city in which most Jewish immigrants resided.

Because his family was so poor, Berlin did not go to school but worked instead. He made money singing on street corners, and later he held a job as a singing waiter. It was during this period that he began writing songs. In 1907, he published "Marie from Sunny Italy" and signed his work I. Berlin. He would become famous with that last name.

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The road to fame

Berlin held various odd jobs in the music industry in a neighborhood known as Tin Pan Alley. He eventually worked as a lyricist for music publisher Waterson & Snyder. His tune "Alexander's Ragtime Band" became an instant hit in 1911 and earned him the title King of Tin Pan Alley.

Berlin's musical talent was natural; he never received any formal training. He developed his style by playing only the black keys on the piano, so most of his early songs were written in the key of F-sharp.

Berlin was one of America's most successful songwriters by the 1920s. He began to stage his own music revues and comedies. Although he suffered through the **Great Depression** (1929–41) and lost his fortune like so many others, he managed to rebuild his career.

Although **Broadway** had been good to Berlin, he wanted to try his talents in Hollywood. He wrote the scores for many hit musical **movies**, including the 1942 musical *Holiday Inn*. One of his songs from that musical, "White Christmas," remains the best-selling song ever recorded, even in the twenty-first century.

Sound of a nation

Berlin's musical abilities bolstered the nation through two world wars. He wrote patriotic songs that kept hope alive during some of the most frightening and difficult times America had known. His most famous patriotic song, "God Bless America," was written during **World War I** (1914–18) but was sung in public for the first time in 1938.

Berlin was responsible for some of the most popular love songs of the twentieth century. By the time of his death on September 22, 1989, he had received numerous awards and become an icon of American popular music. His tunes helped shape the genre of pop music as he experimented with a variety of styles. More than that, however, Berlin became America's voice. Whether hopeful or fearful, he embodied a nation's collective soul and put its thoughts to music.

Bilingual Education

The United States has always been home to significant numbers of non-English speakers. Sometimes the language differences have been tolerated by English-speaking Americans, but not always. In the first half of

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A little girl reads a book in Spanish in a dual language first grade classroom in Dodge City, Kansas. The city has the highest bilingual enrollment in the state. AP IMAGES

the nineteenth century, for example, the most prevalent language next to English was German. In the 1850s, bilingual schools (schools in which two languages were taught) teaching in German and English were operating in Baltimore, **Maryland**; Cincinnati and Cleveland, **Ohio**;

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Indianapolis, **Indiana**; Milwaukee, **Wisconsin**; and St. Louis, **Missouri**. Similarly, **Louisiana**, with its large French-speaking population, allowed bilingual instruction in its schools. (See **New France**.) Several states in the Southwest had Spanish as well as English instruction. Hundreds of thousands of children in the United States were educated in a language other than English.

Anti-immigrant movement

Around 1900, anti-immigrant sentiments in the country increased. Several states passed laws against teaching in other languages. Immigrant children who did not speak English began to have a hard time in the public schools. In 1908, only 13 percent of the immigrant children enrolled in New York City schools at age twelve were likely to go on to high school, as opposed to 32 percent of native-born students. This trend was mirrored across the country as non-English-speaking immigrant children, not understanding the language spoken in their classrooms, fell further and further behind.

During **World War I** (1914–18), an intense wave of nationalism (pride and loyalty to one's own country, sometimes in an excessive way) swept the country. It reinforced the negative reaction of many Americans to the large number of immigrants entering the country. By 1925, thirty-seven states had passed laws requiring instruction in English regardless of the dominant language of the region. This opposition to bilingual education continued into the 1950s. Many children whose native language was not English received a very poor education in the public school system.

Federal government support

After the Cuban revolution of 1959, waves of Cubans fled to South **Florida**. Florida's Coral Way school district established the first state-supported program in decades to instruct students in Spanish, their native language, thereby easing their transition to English. The bilingual program provided all students, Anglo and Cuban, instruction in both Spanish and English with excellent results. With the success of the Coral Way project, state and local government involvement in language education became accepted.

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The federal government soon took up the cause, starting with the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which prohibited discrimination in education, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which funded schools and provided help for disadvantaged students. In 1968, after considerable debate, Congress passed a bill that amended (modified) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Under the amendment, the federal government would provide funding for bilingual education to school districts with a large proportion of non-English-speaking students who lived in poor neighborhoods. To receive funding, districts would be required to provide instruction in a student's native language until the child could demonstrate competence in English. The federal government put hundreds of millions of dollars into bilingual education programs nationwide by the mid-1970s.

Supreme Court support

In 1974, the **Supreme Court** gave its support to bilingual education in *Lau v. Nichols*. The ruling states that school districts with a substantial number of non-English-speaking students must take steps to overcome the students' language differences. After that ruling, the federal government was able to force school districts to initiate bilingual education plans. These *Lau* plans greatly expanded the number of bilingual programs across the country. They set standards to determine which students qualified for inclusion in a program and when they could be allowed (or forced) to exit. During this period, test scores repeatedly showed that non-English-speaking students who participated in well-designed bilingual programs consistently performed at the same level as their English-speaking classmates.

English immersion

None of the new acts or policies clearly addressed the goals of bilingual programs. Should the programs aim to send the student quickly back to regular English-language classes, or should they take a slower approach, allowing the student to maintain good grades and stay up to standard with his or her age level in school? Different programs addressed these questions in their own ways, and the lack of clarity contributed to a conflict that lasted into the 2000s. By the 1980s, a growing number of opponents of bilingual education believed that, rather than speeding immigrants into the English-speaking mainstream, bilingual education

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was causing them to hold onto their native languages and cultures. The critics considered this undesirable. Studies showed that some bilingual programs were allowing students to remain in bilingual classes longer than three years and were not teaching them sufficient English to function in mainstream classrooms. In the early 1980s, the federal government quietly withdrew its support for native-language instruction programs.

In 1984, the government began providing funding for English immersion programs—programs that placed non-English-speaking students in all-English classes, forcing them to learn English in a hurry or be left behind. Several studies in the mid-1980s showed that the performance of the limited-English students in the English immersion programs declined. Meanwhile, public attitudes in **California**, with its rapidly growing foreign-born population, became increasingly hostile to bilingual programs. In 1998, California adopted an English-only requirement for instruction in all its schools. **Arizona** and several other states followed.

Bilingual education remained controversial in the 2000s. Advocates contended that non-English-speaking children will receive little or no education unless they are taught in their own language during the years when they are first learning English. With a poor start due to language difference, students are much more likely to drop out of school and consequently face low-paying jobs and poverty in the future. Opponents argue that students in bilingual programs may not be motivated to learn English as well as they should and will therefore not be able to secure good jobs later in life. They argue that the government should not use its funds to help non-native people preserve their cultures in the United States.

Bill of Rights

The **Constitution** of the United States of America is the document that created the federal government. The first ten amendments, or changes, to the Constitution are known as the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights was inspired by suggestions from members of the state legislatures that approved the Constitution in 1788.

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Congress of the United States
begun and held at the City of New-York, on
Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.
THE
RESOLVED
ARTICLES
Article the first:
Article the second
Article the third
Article the fourth
Article the fifth
Article the sixth
Article the seventh
Article the eighth
Article the ninth
Article the tenth
Article the eleventh
Article the twelfth
Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg Speaker of the House of Representatives.
John Adams Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, contain rights and freedoms that the U.S. government must not violate. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Concerns about the Constitution

The Constitution was written by the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, in 1787. The Convention contained delegates from twelve of the original **thirteen colonies**, later states. The delegates gathered at the Convention to improve the national government that existed under an agreement called the **Articles of Confederation**, which had been adopted in 1781.

After writing the Constitution through the summer of 1787, the Convention delegates sent it to the thirteen states for ratification, or approval. The Constitution stated that it would become effective upon ratification by at least nine states. The Constitution had strong support from influential politicians who wanted the United States to have a powerful central government. These people were known as Federalists; they were members of the **Federalist Party**.

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Many Americans had great concerns about creating a strong federal government. Called **Anti-Federalists**, these people preferred that state governments have more power than the national government. While the Anti-Federalists objected to several parts of the Constitution, they focused their opposition on the absence of a bill of rights. In doing so, they hoped to gather enough popular opposition to prevent the Constitution from being ratified by the states.

A bill of rights is a document that specifies the rights of citizens that cannot be violated by a government. A bill of rights was not a new idea in 1787. Several states had a bill of rights in their state constitutions, including the **Virginia** Declaration of Rights and the **Massachusetts** Bill of Rights. There were older examples from English history: the **Magna Carta** (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), and the Bill of Rights (1689). Supporters of the idea found inspiration in the writings of philosophers John Locke (1632–1704), John Milton (1608–1674), and Thomas Paine (1737–1809).

Most Federalists either did not believe or were not too concerned that basic rights could be violated by the government set forth in the Constitution. They pursued the ratification of the Constitution as written by the Constitutional Convention, without a bill of rights. As the state conventions met to discuss ratification after the summer of 1787, however, it became apparent that the Anti-Federalists had mustered support for the notion of a bill of rights.

To convince the Anti-Federalist delegates to vote for ratification, the Federalists agreed to seek a federal bill of rights. As the state conventions began to approve the Constitution, they proposed more than one hundred amendments for the protection of individual liberties. By the time the Constitution was ratified by the required nine states in 1788, it was obvious that a bill of rights would have to be adopted.

Writing a bill of rights

The first U.S. House of Representatives assembled early in April 1789 with the Federalists in control of the government. (See **Legislative Branch**.) **James Madison** (1751–1836), a Federalist and the primary author of the Constitution, assumed leadership for creating a bill of rights. His personal plan was to write a bill of rights that would appease the Anti-Federalists without detracting from the powers of the federal government.

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On June 8, 1789, Madison proposed that the House begin consideration of eight resolutions on amendments to the Constitution. The amendments were sent to a committee of ten members, including Madison, on July 21. Eventually the committee recommended a total of fourteen amendments to be considered by the full House of Representatives. After lengthy debate, the House voted that the amendments should not be written into the existing Constitution but should be added as a supplement. On August 24, the House proposed seventeen amendments to be sent to the Senate for its consideration.

The Senate began its debate the following week. Senate concerns prevented the passage of the amendments, so a committee of three U.S. senators and three U.S. congressmen gathered in September. They worked out a compromise agreement consisting of twelve amendments. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed the amendments and forwarded them to President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) to be sent to the states for ratification.

The original Constitution provides that amendments do not become effective unless ratified by at least three-fourths of the states. Two of the twelve amendments proposed by Congress in 1789 failed to be ratified, but the required number of states approved the other ten amendments by December 15, 1791.

The Bill of Rights

The Bill of Rights contains rights and freedoms that the government of the United States is not supposed to violate. The freedoms of religion, speech, the press, and assembly (the right to gather in a group) are set forth in the **First Amendment**. The **Second Amendment** protects the right to bear arms. The **Third Amendment** prevents the government from forcing a homeowner to house a soldier during peacetime against the owner's consent. The **Fourth Amendment** prohibits the government from conducting unreasonable searches and seizures of people and their property. The protection of life, liberty, and property also appears in the **Fifth Amendment**.

The right to fair treatment in legal cases against a citizen appears in the **Fifth Amendment**, **Sixth Amendment**, **Seventh Amendment**, and **Eighth Amendment**. The **Ninth Amendment** says the provision of specific rights in the Constitution does not imply the denial of other rights. Finally, the **Tenth Amendment** says governmental power not given to

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the federal government by the Constitution is retained by the states and the people.

The Bill of Rights is a popular and controversial part of the Constitution. Many citizens celebrate it as the bedrock of freedom in America. Other citizens believe federal power has grown stronger than the rights and freedoms that the Bill of Rights is supposed to protect. Important **Supreme Court** decisions often depend on the interpretation of the Bill of Rights. More than two centuries after its adoption, the Bill of Rights retains an important role in drawing the line between fair and unfair government actions and between the rights of citizens as individuals and as collective members of a society.

Birmingham Baptist Church Bombing

During the **civil rights movement** of the 1950s and 1960s, the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, **Alabama**, served as an organizing center for rallies and marches for racial desegregation, the process of ending the enforced separation of blacks and whites in public places. Many renowned civil rights leaders, such as Fred L. Shuttlesworth (1922–), Dick Gregory (1932–), **Ralph Abernathy** (1926–1990), and **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968), used the church as their headquarters at one time or another.

Birmingham was a seat of white resistance to desegregation. The city's public safety commissioner, T. Eugene "Bull" Connor (1897–1973), was extremely hostile to the civil rights movement and scorned federal orders to integrate his city. Governor George Wallace (1919–1998) of Alabama was a strong segregationist as well and had vowed to disobey federal court orders to desegregate the schools. The **Ku Klux Klan**, a national white supremacy organization known for its use of violence, intimidation, and terrorism, was very strong in Birmingham.

Birmingham Sunday

On September 15, 1963, four hundred African Americans gathered to worship at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Just a few days earlier, the courts had ordered the Birmingham schools to be desegregated, and tensions between white segregationists and blacks were high. (See

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Desegregation of Public Schools.) Four girls—Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson, and Addie Mae Collins, each of them age fourteen, and Denise McNair, age eleven—were in the basement of the church when a bomb exploded, killing them instantly. Others in the church were seriously injured. That same day, two white Eagle Scouts shot at two black boys on a bicycle, killing the thirteen-year-old riding on the handlebars. Worried about black reprisals for the bombing, Governor Wallace ordered three hundred state troopers to patrol Birmingham. That evening, an officer shot and killed a fleeing black man.

King spoke at a joint funeral for three of the girls, urging African Americans to keep up their struggle for equality despite the murders. Eight thousand people gathered for the funeral, some of whom were white. No Birmingham city officials attended.

Slow justice

The **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) quickly began to examine four suspects in the bombing, Robert Chambliss (1904–1985), Bobby Frank Cherry (1930–2004), Thomas Blanton, and Herman Cash. All were white supremacists (people who believe that white people are superior to other races). Cherry was an expert with explosives and had been seen placing the bomb in the church. Chambliss was charged with murder and possessing dynamite without a permit. He was found not guilty of murder and received a six-month jail sentence for having the dynamite. The FBI did not bother to provide the prosecution with the ample evidence it had uncovered of the four men's connection to the bombing. FBI director **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972), explained that he did not believe it was a worthwhile pursuit because a local jury would never convict these men of murder. The FBI dropped its own investigation.

The case was reopened in the 1970s. Using the evidence on hand, Chambliss, at the age of seventy-three, was tried and convicted of first-degree murder in the bombing. He went to prison in 1977 and died there in 1985. Another of the suspects, Cash, died in 1994. In 2000, thirty-seven years after the bombing, Blanton and Cherry were finally brought to trial for their part in the murders. Cherry had been bragging about it for years. Both men were convicted of murder and sentenced to life in prison. Cherry died in prison in 2004.

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Birmingham Protests

In the early 1960s, Birmingham, **Alabama**, had a rocky history concerning race relations. The city had a population of 340,000 people, 40 percent of whom were African American, and it was reputed to be the most



The Birmingham protests were among the largest ever launched during the civil rights movement. AP IMAGES

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segregated city in the United States. (Segregation is the enforced separation of blacks and whites in public places.) In 1961, the freedom riders, a group of activists bent on achieving desegregation on buses and in bus stations across the South, had been violently attacked there. (See **Freedom Rides**.) More than fifty unsolved bombings had earned the city the nickname of "Bombingham" among southern blacks. Despite the danger, in 1963 civil rights leaders decided to fight the city's racist policies.

One of the great leaders of the **civil rights movement** in Birmingham was the outspoken Baptist minister Fred L. Shuttlesworth (1922–). When the Alabama legislature outlawed the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) in the state in 1956, Shuttlesworth organized the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR). It had grown to be the largest civil rights organization in the state. Realizing that local activism was not strong enough to overcome Birmingham's racial problems, in late 1962 Shuttlesworth invited the renowned nonviolent civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) to come to Birmingham to lead an all-out campaign to confront the city's segregation and economic discrimination.

King knew that segregation was unlikely to be defeated in the South without a greater degree of involvement by the federal government. He believed a well-publicized campaign in Birmingham could be the means to force President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) and his administration to take an active role in protecting the rights of African Americans. King and Shuttlesworth began planning.

"Bull" Connor

Politics in the city of Birmingham delayed the protest. Birmingham's commissioner of public safety, the staunchly segregationist T. Eugene "Bull" Connor (1897–1973), controlled Birmingham's fire and police departments and dominated the city government. He had embarrassed many prominent citizens of the city with his refusal to go along with court-ordered desegregation. Connor was running for mayor in March 1963, and many hoped he would lose. King decided to postpone the Birmingham protests until the elections were over, not wanting to provoke racial tensions that could strengthen Connor's campaign. Connor lost the election.

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Rev. Ralph Abernathy, left, and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. being arrested in Birmingham, Alabama, on April 12, 1963. AP IMAGES

Demonstrations begin

On April 3, King's **Southern Christian Leadership Council** (SCLC) and the ACMHR began a large-scale, nonviolent campaign of protest marked by a **sit-in movement** (demonstrations in which protestors would sit down and refuse to move), marches, and a well-organized economic boycott (refusal to do business) against downtown businesses. But even though he was voted out of office, Connor would not step down as public safety commissioner without a fight; as the protests began, he filed a lawsuit to remain in his job. Although the Alabama Supreme Court eventually ruled against Connor (on May 22, 1963), the short-term result was a confusing situation in which Connor was left in control of Birmingham's law enforcement.

The Birmingham protests were among the largest ever launched during the civil rights movement; they continued for sixty-five days and nights. One week after they began, Connor obtained an injunction, or order, from the state court against further demonstrations. King openly defied the injunction.

"Letter from a Birmingham Jail"

On April 12, police arrested King and a number of other demonstrators. While he was in jail, a newspaper published a letter from clergymen that

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questioned his timing for the protest and his defiance of the injunction. In response, King wrote his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." Originally penciled in the margin of a newspaper, the letter became a classic expression of the moral injustice of segregation and the urgency of the civil rights movement.

King was released after eight days, but more demonstrators went to jail. In early May, running short of adult protesters, King encouraged children from the public schools to demonstrate. Up until this time, Connor had been fairly restrained in his handling of the protests. Infuriated by the continuation of the protests, he attempted to shut down the demonstrations by using greater force, including police dogs and fire hoses. At the peak of the demonstration on May 6 and 7, approximately two thousand protesters had been arrested, and the state fairgrounds had been pressed into service as a temporary jail.

Growing concern

By this time, Birmingham was the nation's leading news story. Photographs and films of protesters being attacked by dogs and blasted by fire hoses were being seen around the country and overseas. On May 7, some young blacks had vented their anger and frustration by battling with police and other whites in the downtown area. Many began to fear a major riot would erupt.

Birmingham's white and black leaders began serious talks. The Kennedy administration sent Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall (1922–2003) to the city to pressure both sides to come to terms. During the final stages of negotiations, both the president and his brother, U.S. attorney general **Robert F. Kennedy** (1925–1968), kept in frequent contact with Marshall.

Finding agreement

On May 8, the demonstrations were suspended, and two days later a formal agreement was signed. Downtown merchants agreed to desegregate lunch counters, drinking fountains, and other facilities, and to hire at least some African Americans in clerical jobs. In addition, a permanent biracial committee (one with both black and white members) was to be established. Any demonstrators still in jail were to be released. The agreement occasioned a heated argument between King, who supported the

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terms, and Shuttlesworth, who thought the terms were too open to evasion. Segregationist extremists made a last-ditch attempt to disrupt the agreement by bombing the Gaston Motel, which had served as the protest's command center. Despite a night of rioting, the agreement held.

Impact

The "Battle of Birmingham" was one of the most dramatic confrontations of the civil rights movement. The newspaper and television pictures of nonviolent protesters—some of them no more than six years old—being bitten by police dogs or swept off their feet by high-pressure fire hoses provided the movement with some of its most powerful images. The violent images made thousands of Americans aware of the injustices African Americans faced in the Deep South. This made it easier for civil rights organizations to raise funds. The protests also inspired African Americans across the South; about two hundred communities organized similar campaigns in 1963.

Events in Birmingham also succeeded in achieving King's goal of promoting a greater federal role in eliminating segregation in the South. In an address in June 1963, President Kennedy called for a new civil rights bill. The landmark **Civil Rights Act of 1964** would not pass for another year, but much of its groundwork was laid by the events of 1963.

The agreement in Birmingham was a milestone, but within the city racial tension remained strong. Hostility to desegregation ended in tragedy on September 15, 1963, when a bomb was detonated by white supremacists at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing four African American girls (see **Birmingham Baptist Church Bombing**).

Black Codes

Black codes were laws passed immediately following the American **Civil War** (1861–65) by the former **Confederate States of America**. They were designed to prevent blacks from having the full rights of citizens and to restore, as much as possible, the labor and racial controls of **slavery**. The first black codes were passed in **South Carolina** and **Mississippi** in 1865, and they quickly appeared in other states throughout the South. Although they differed in form from each other, their aims were the same.

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Before the Civil War, many states throughout the United States had laws that prevented blacks from enjoying the same rights as whites. By the end of the Civil War, much of that had changed in the North. This became increasingly true with America's adoption of the **Fourteenth Amendment** and **Fifteenth Amendments** of the **Constitution** in 1868 and 1870, which require equal protection under state laws and the right to vote, respectively.

The situation was quite different in the South. The emancipation of four million slaves dramatically affected southern white society. The system of slavery had empowered whites to keep blacks subordinate and had allowed the southern economy to thrive on the cheap labor of slavery. The system had been legalized by slave codes that defined the limited rights of blacks in the South.

With slavery abolished under the **Thirteenth Amendment** in 1865, the legal status of blacks became uncertain. Southern legislatures began to enact black codes based largely on the pre-existing slave codes. In many instances the black codes seemed to provide legal rights for newly freed slaves. They allowed blacks to marry, own property, negotiate contracts, and have limited participation in court proceedings against other blacks.

In reality, however, the black codes provided inferior rights and thereby ensured that southern blacks would remain subordinate to whites. The laws restricted where blacks could live and which trades they could practice. Many laws put limitations on labor contracts and property ownership, so blacks found themselves effectively slaves again to their employers or landlords. The punishments for breaking many of the laws were extremely harsh. Although many of the black codes attempted to mask racial intentions by avoiding the specific mention of race, they were obviously aimed at black southerners.

The black codes shocked many northerners and sparked concern about the effectiveness of reintegrating the southern states into the **Union**. The requirements for reintegration in the **Reconstruction** plan of President **Andrew Johnson** (1808–1875; served 1865–69) were easily met and demanded little change from the southern state governments. As a result, the enactment of black codes provoked conflict between the **executive branch** and **legislative branch** of the federal government for control of the process of Reconstruction.

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The Republican Congress seized control of Reconstruction efforts and forced changes in policy. By requiring new constitutions and governments in the southern states, Congress managed to abolish some black codes. Congress passed legislation to protect the rights of freed slaves, including the **Civil Rights Act of 1866** and proposals for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Such legislation attempted to guarantee full citizenship and rights for blacks.

After Reconstruction, however, many of the racially discriminatory policies that shaped the black codes began to reappear. So-called **Jim Crow laws**, named for a character in a popular minstrel show, reintroduced similar inequality that resulted in black segregation and subordination until passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**.

Black Friday

Black Friday is the nickname given to September 24, 1869. On that day, thousands of American investors lost their fortunes.

During the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the government attempted to keep the economy steady by issuing a large sum of money backed by nothing but credit. The American public understood that the plan after the war was to have the government buy back the "greenbacks," as they were called, with gold. The greenbacks that the government would buy back would be replaced with currency backed by gold.

Two men—stockbroker James Fisk (1834–1872) and financier **Jay Gould** (1836–1892)—did not want the government to rid itself of the gold. They hoped to buy up as much gold as possible and hold onto it while its value rose. When they could sell it at a profit, they would. The government's plan would ruin their scheme because it would put more gold on the market, which would force the value down.

Gould was smart enough to know he could not convince President **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885; served 1869–77) to do what he wanted on his own, so he and Fisk befriended financier Abel Rathbone Corbin (1808–1881), Grant's brother-in-law. Together, the three men approached the president, who gave no clear response to their proposal. Gould and Fisk were encouraged that the president even took the time to speak with them, so they kept at their plan. Corbin knew the assistant treasurer of the United States, Daniel Butterfield (1831–1901), who

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agreed to let Fisk and Gould know when the government was ready to sell gold.

All seemed to be going according to plan, but Grant became suspicious of his brother-in-law's unusual interest in the gold market. He happened upon a letter written by his sister to his wife, and in the letter was an explanation of Gould's scheme. Grant, furious that he had been conned by family, contacted Corbin and ordered him to stop the plan. He then ordered the sale of $4 million in government gold.

Gould and Fisk began buying as much gold as they could on September 20, 1869. They watched gleefully as the value soared. On September 24, the price of an ounce of gold peaked at $162.50. But when the $4 million worth of government gold hit the market, people panicked at the prospect of their own gold losing value, and they attempted to sell their gold while the price remained high. Within fifteen minutes the price of gold dropped to $133 per ounce. Investors could not get rid of their gold fast enough, and many men lost their fortunes in what became known as Black Friday. Railway stocks lost nearly all their value, and businesses across the nation were left paralyzed.

Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party, originally called the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, was founded by Bobby Seale (1937–) and Huey P. Newton (1942–1989) in October 1966 in Oakland, **California**. Seale and Newton began working together as students at Merritt Community College, where they successfully fought for a black studies curriculum. Having carefully researched California gun laws, they established armed Black Panther patrols to curb police brutality.

On April 1, 1967, police killed an unarmed black man in a town near Oakland. The man's family came to the Black Panther Party for assistance. Organizing armed street rallies and confronting the local sheriff, the Panthers mobilized massive support. When a bill was introduced to the state legislature that would make it illegal for the Panthers to carry their arms in public, the group took its protest right into the capitol building in Sacramento. Images of members of the Black Panther Party at the capitol with their black berets, powder-blue shirts, black leather jackets, and large guns shocked Americans across the nation.

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Stokely Carmichael, a Black Panther prime minister, gives a rousing speech to an attentive university campus crowd. AP IMAGES

Growing membership

The strategy of armed self-defense attracted many frustrated blacks to the party, particularly impoverished African Americans living in cities. Many were followers of **Malcolm X** (1925–1965), who had strongly questioned the nonviolent tactics of the **civil rights movement**. Malcolm X called for black nationalism, or the promotion of a distinct black identity, as opposed to integration into white society.

Eldridge Cleaver (1935–1998), the author of a widely read book of prison essays called *Soul on Ice* (1967), joined the group in its early days. He was soon followed by **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC) activist Kathleen Neal Cleaver (1945–), whom he married in 1967. When Newton was arrested in October 1967 following a confrontation in which a police officer was killed, the Cleavers stepped into leadership positions in the party, traveling coast to coast to

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gather support for the "Free Huey" campaign. (Newton was convicted of murder in 1968 but acquitted on a technicality in 1970.) Eldridge Cleaver, who had spent nine years in prison for attempted murder, had a gift for attracting media attention and was largely responsible for the growth of the party over the next several years. About forty chapter offices opened throughout the United States, and the Black Panther Party grew to more than five thousand full-time members.

Black Panther philosophy

The Black Panthers identified themselves as part of an international struggle to overthrow capitalism (free-market economic systems, such as those in the United States and most of Europe, in which individuals and companies compete for their own economic gain with little governmental interference). They were self-proclaimed Marxists, people who professed the ideas of nineteenth-century socialist philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883), who believed that all of history was a struggle between the working classes and the wealthy.

An extremely powerful influence on the Panthers was the writing of black Caribbean revolutionary psychologist Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), who had played an important role in the struggle for Algerian independence from France. From Fanon, the Panthers derived their belief that black Americans' history and culture had been dominated, distorted, and nearly destroyed by whites. They believed the white "colonizers" imposed their own culture and system of values on blacks, a conquered people. The Panthers believed that the solution was to reeducate blacks to their true cultural identity—a process of empowerment best undertaken by separating from white society.

From the start, the Black Panther program emphasized social needs. The party provided free direct services to the poor and disabled, including breakfast for children, testing for disease, ambulance services, shoes, escorts for senior citizens, and legal aid. The Black Panthers' Intercommunal Youth Institute, a school, was honored by the governor of California for providing the highest level of elementary education in the state.

Because their revolutionary goals went beyond the interests of African Americans, the Panthers built coalitions with many nonblack or-

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ganizations. They were the only major black organization to endorse gay and lesbian rights in the early 1970s. Further, they established official diplomatic relations with a number of revolutionary governments internationally, including Algeria, China, Cuba, and Vietnam.

SNCC merges with the Panthers

By 1967, many SNCC members were frustrated with the slow pace of the well-known group's nonviolent protest methods. In February 1968, the Black Panthers and SNCC announced that the two groups would merge. **Stokely Carmichael** (1941–1998), a leader of SNCC, was named Black Panther prime minister. The union was brief and controversial. Cleaver and Carmichael were soon arguing about the place of whites in the movement; Cleaver criticized Carmichael's "paranoid fear" of whites. In August, SNCC officially disassociated itself from the Black Panthers.

FBI targets the Panthers

The U.S. government saw the activities of the Black Panthers as a serious threat. **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972), the director of the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI), ranked the Black Panther Party as the number-one threat to American security and made the group a target of COINTELPRO (the Counter Intelligence Program), an FBI program that investigated and, if possible, disrupted radical political organizations within the United States. FBI agents went undercover, joining the Panthers for the purpose of causing as much trouble as they could from within the group. Police also raided Panther offices. The FBI operation leveled against the Panthers resulted in divisions within the party, shootouts between Panthers and police, arrests, and killings of key Panther leaders.

Ultimately, internal division and constant police raids brought about the end of the Black Panther Party. The group had played a dramatic role in the struggle for racial equality and justice at a time when the tactics of nonviolent civil disobedience were faltering. By organizing poor and alienated blacks into a powerful political movement, the Black Panther Party transformed the face of urban politics.

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Black Power Movement

The black power movement became a force among African Americans around 1965. It was so diverse and loosely coordinated, it is almost impossible to define. Although white Americans tended to interpret the "black power" slogan as a call to racial violence, blacks most often understood it as a call for racial pride and the achievement of political and economic power.

Frustrations in the mid-1960s

In the mid-1960s, the African American **civil rights movement** had seen many successes. Nonetheless, some activists were frustrated with the slow pace of change. They heard the call of the revered civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) to remain nonviolent in the face of brutality, but they were not convinced that sit-ins (see **Sit-in Movement**), marches, and **Freedom Rides** were the answer.

The nonviolent civil rights movement of 1954–65 had produced expectations that were difficult to fulfill. Blacks could enter restaurants, but many lacked the money to pay for a meal. Blacks could vote, but they had not gained the power to improve their lives through the political system. Many civil rights activists began to respond to the words of African American leader **Malcolm X** (1925–1965), who believed that African Americans should remain separate from the white population because, in his view, American society was—and always would be—racist.

SNCC and black power

The **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC; pronounced "snick") was founded upon nonviolent principles in 1960 by student activists who were committed to confronting American racism and segregation. Operating in the most oppressive areas of the South and facing constant danger, dedicated SNCC workers were celebrated for their courage in the face of white intimidation in the early 1960s. By 1965, they were frustrated with the federal government's failure to protect their rights, and they faced continuing racism and economic and political inequality. That year, the SNCC gave up its nonviolent methods and its goals of organizing southern communities. It adopted instead the philosophy of black power promoted by SNCC leaders **Stokely**

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Stokely Carmichael was an influential figure in the black power movement, which promoted racial pride as well as political and economic success within the black community. AP IMAGES

Carmichael (also known as Kwame Turé; 1941–1998) and H. Rap Brown (later known as Jamal Al-Amin; 1943–).

At that point, the SNCC voted to exclude whites from important positions. The organization increasingly pushed for withdrawing from the American mainstream and forming a separate black society. From its offices in Atlanta, the organization churned out "black power" bumper stickers depicting a lunging black panther and history pamphlets that stressed the teachings of Malcolm X. This turn toward militancy created tension between the SNCC and some of the veteran civil rights leaders.

The Black Panthers and beyond

The most aggressive wing of the black power movement was the **Black Panther Party** for Self-Defense, organized in 1966. The Panthers carried loaded firearms to public appearances and considered themselves at war

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with the white power structure. By the end of the decade, the militant party had considerable support, especially among young African Americans. For a short time, the Black Panthers and the SNCC merged.

The Panthers were only one among many activist groups. While some black power groups called for their own black nation in Africa, others wanted to establish a new homeland in the United States. The majority of black power groups tried to create black communities in which African Americans controlled their own economic and political destinies and took pride in their own history and culture.

What is "black power"?

Carmichael popularized the term "black power" in 1965. He defined black power many times, and not always in the same way, but the general idea was that African Americans had the right to define and organize themselves as they saw fit and to protect themselves from racial violence. The term was disconcerting to moderate African American leaders, who feared it would provoke hostility among whites and undo their progress in civil rights. The term did, in fact, terrify many mainstream whites, who interpreted the term to mean African American domination and possibly even race war rather than simply black empowerment.

"Black power" was a political slogan, but it also denoted a cultural movement. African Americans emphasized their enhanced sense of pride through art and literature. Playwright and poet LeRoi Jones (1934–), who changed his name to Amiri Baraka, became a leader of the black arts movement, which sought to create positive images for blacks. Popular black singers such as James Brown (1933–2006) and Aretha Franklin (1942–) expressed the spirit of "soul." Sports figures such as boxer Cassius Clay (1942–), who changed his name to Muhammad Ali, also identified with black power sentiments. At the 1968 Olympics, two African American athletes raised clenched fists in a "black power salute" on the victory stand after their event. At numerous colleges and universities, black students demanded black studies programs that would emphasize the contributions of African and African American people.

The influence of black power groups like the Black Panthers dwindled during the 1970s, but the commitment to black power within the African American community remained strong.

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Black Tuesday

Tuesday, October 29, 1929, is remembered as Black Tuesday in the United States. That day, the value of stocks on the **New York Stock Exchange** (NYSE) plummeted, and many Americans lost their savings. Black Tuesday is commonly regarded as the beginning of the **Great Depression**, an economic recession in which much of the country struggled to keep food on the table and a roof overhead.

Economic prosperity

The United States had a great sense of prosperity during the 1920s. A strong economy and technological advancement brought luxury items like radios, vacuum cleaners, and automobiles into the lives of average Americans. Many such items could be bought on credit by paying in monthly installments. The growing sense of optimism and prosperity in the country led many people to acquire heavy loads of debt, or borrowed money that they had to repay.

The dream of making a fast fortune and the ability to buy stocks on credit prompted ordinary Americans to invest their small savings in the stock market. Stocks, or shares, represent part ownership in a company. An investor chooses to buy stocks in hopes that the value of the stock will go up, so they can sell the stocks for more than they paid. Stock prices can rise as more people become interested in the stock or if the company performs well. Likewise, the value will fall if few people buy the stock or if the company is not successful. When that happens, investors lose money. Stocks are bought and sold at stock exchanges, and in 1929 the NYSE was the primary exchange in the country.

Buying on credit

Buying stocks in the 1920s was made easy by brokerage firms. Investors were encouraged to buy stocks "on margin." This meant the investor paid a small percentage of the total cost of the stocks and borrowed the rest from the broker. If the value of the stock rose, then the investor still made money. If the value of the stock dropped, however, then the broker could demand more money to cover some of the loss, an act known as a "margin call." If the money was not paid, the broker could choose to sell the stock at current market prices. This meant that the investor

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would not only lose the investment but also often end up owing more money to the broker. As stock prices were rising steadily through the 1920s, many investors thought buying on margin was safe.

During the 1920s, there was little regulation of the stock market. Certain unregulated practices inflated the value of stocks. Often the value of stocks reflected investor interest in a company rather than the performance of the company. Some powerful investors took advantage of inside information to manipulate stock prices and make immense profits. With stocks performing so well, few people recognized the subtle signs that companies were actually struggling.

The crash

Stock prices reached a record high on September 3, 1929, then began a slow but steady decline. Although there were small rallies of increased value, the decline continued through September and October. By the end of October, fear and apprehension began to mount among all investors. As more and more brokers demanded their money with margin calls, values continued to drop.

Stock prices began to plummet on Thursday, October 24, when thousands of brokers placed margin calls to their investors. Bankers prevented a complete collapse of the market on that day, but only temporarily. By Tuesday, October 29, the continued loss of stock values created panic among investors. Selling occurred at such a rate that the market crashed. Many investors, large and small, not only lost their savings but also found themselves in great debt.

Stock market prices continued to decline for the next two and a half years. The stock market crash of Black Tuesday developed into a long-lasting depression that affected every aspect of American life for a decade.

Blacklisting

See **Hollywood Blacklisting**

Elizabeth Blackwell

The first woman in America to receive a medical degree, Elizabeth Blackwell crusaded for the admission of women to medical schools in the United States and Europe.

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Elizabeth Blackwell was born in England on February 3, 1821, and when she was twelve her parents emigrated with their nine children to New York City. Her father became an ardent supporter of the **abolition movement** (someone who wants to eliminate **slavery**). In 1838, the Blackwells moved to Cincinnati, **Ohio**, but within a few months Blackwell's father died. The three oldest girls supported the family for several years by operating a boarding school for young women.

Medical school

In 1842, Blackwell accepted a teaching position in Henderson, **Kentucky**. Local racial attitudes offended her strong abolitionist convictions, and she resigned at the end of the year. On her return to Cincinnati, a friend urged her to study medicine. The following year, Blackwell moved to Asheville, **North Carolina**, and later to Charleston, **South Carolina**, where she taught school and studied medicine in her spare time.

When her attempts to enroll in the medical schools of Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, and New York City were rejected, she wrote to a number of small northern colleges. In 1847, she was admitted to the Geneva Medical College in **New York**. Because women had never gone to medical school, all eyes were upon her, and Blackwell proved to be an outstanding student. In 1849, at the top of her class, she became the first woman to graduate from medical school; the event was highly publicized in the United States and Europe. Because no hospitals in the United States would hire her, she went to Paris, France, to work at a women's and children's hospital for further study and practical experience. While working with the children, she contracted a severe eye infection that left her blind in one eye.

Practice in the United States

Handicapped by partial blindness, Blackwell gave up her ambition to become a surgeon and began practice at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London. In 1851, she returned to New York, where she applied for several positions as a physician but was rejected because of her sex. She established a private practice in a rented room, where her sister Emily, who had also pursued a medical career, soon joined her. Their modest practice later became the New York Infirmary and College for Women, operated by and for women. The Women's Medical College opened in

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November 1868, adjacent to the New York Infirmary, with Blackwell as professor of hygiene. It was the first school devoted entirely to the medical education of women.

During the **Civil War** (1861–65), she organized a unit of women nurses for field service. The army at this time had no hospital units. This association soon became the U.S. Sanitary Aid Commission, officially appointed by President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65).

In 1869, Blackwell set up practice in London and continued her efforts to open the medical profession to women. Her articles and her autobiography attracted widespread attention. From 1875 to 1907, she was a professor at the London School of Medicine for Women. She died at her home in Hastings in 1910.

Bleeding Kansas

See **Kansas-Nebraska Act**

Bluegrass Music

See **Country Music**

Bomb

See **Atomic Bomb; *Enola Gay*; Manhattan Project**

Daniel Boone

Daniel Boone's life spanned the final days of the original **thirteen colonies** and the birth of the United States as a nation-state. His adventures included wartime service as a soldier, exploration west of the Appalachian Mountains, and political service with Americans such as **Patrick Henry** (1736–1799) and **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826).

Early life

Boone was born on November 2, 1734, in a rural township near Reading, **Pennsylvania**. He was the sixth child of eleven born to Squire and Sarah Boone. The Boone family farmed their homestead and operated a blacksmith shop. Boone learned reading, writing, and math at home.

Boone received his first rifle at age twelve. He spent much time learning to hunt and explore in his wooded surroundings. His family left

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Pennsylvania in 1747 when they were rejected from their **Quaker** church because Boone's older brother, Israel, married a woman who was not a Quaker. They settled in **Virginia** and then in western **North Carolina**.



Explorer, politician, and soldier Daniel Boone.

War and love

From 1754 to 1763, the British colonies fought in the **French and Indian War** against France and its Native American allies. Boone served for the British as a teamster (wagon driver) and blacksmith in a campaign against Fort Duquesne led by General Edward Braddock (c. 1695–1755), who died in the attack. During the campaign, Boone met John Finley, with whom he would work as an explorer.

Boone was back in North Carolina when he wed Rebecca Bryan in August 1756. They had met in 1754 when Boone's sister Mary married William Bryan. Together, the Boones had ten children. Rebecca birthed another child whom she had with Daniel's brother, Edward, during Daniel's absence in another battle of the French and Indian War. Rebecca told Daniel that she thought he had died, and that Edward had comforted her through the difficult time.

The pioneer

Frontier hostilities between Britain and France ceased around 1760. In November of that year, Boone and other explorers crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains to explore what became **Tennessee**. Boone made land claims in his travels, but had trouble throughout his life enforcing them.

In 1769, a judge hired Boone to lead an expedition into **Kentucky**. Along with Finley and others, Boone traveled through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky. Boone helped cut a trail that would be used for decades by pioneers headed west.

In 1775, Boone became head of a colony in Kentucky called Boonesborough. He was captured in 1778 by Shawnee Indians and lived with them for four months. When he learned of their plan to attack

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Boonesborough, he escaped to warn the colony. The colony survived the attack, but Boone, then a colonel in the American army's efforts to end British control of the colonies, was court-martialed for his time with the Shawnees, who were friends of the British. Boone won the trial and was promoted to the rank of major.

Politics, wanderlust, and final years

Boone was elected to the Virginia legislature twice in his life, in 1771 and 1781. He disliked politics, however, and moved his family a number of times in the ensuing years, including to **Ohio** and to what became **West Virginia**.

By 1799, Boone had lost most of his land holdings to lawsuits and creditors. At age sixty-five he moved his family to Alta Luisiana, or Upper **Louisiana**, which was still controlled by Spain. The Spanish gave Boone 850 acres of land plus more for family members to attract him to their colony. After the United States took control of the territory in the **Louisiana Purchase** of 1803, U.S. land commissioners ruled that Boone's land claims were invalid. Congress, however, later confirmed some of the grant.

Boone's wife Rebecca died in 1813. Boone spent his remaining years wandering and living with some of his many children. He died at his son Nathan's house in **Missouri** on September 26, 1820. In 1845, the Kentucky legislature arranged to have his remains moved to a burial site in Kentucky in honor of his pioneer work there. The Daughters of the **American Revolution** erected a memorial at the original gravesite in Missouri in 1915.

Boone's legendary status took root while he was alive. In 1784, John Filson published a biography called *The Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone*. Three years after Boone's death, Lord Byron wrote the poem "Don Juan" with seven stanzas on Boone.

Boston Massacre

On the evening of March 5, 1770, tensions between English soldiers and the civilians of Boston, **Massachusetts**, erupted into a violent encounter now known as the Boston Massacre. An incident that began with the harassment of one English soldier ended with the deaths of five colonists and injuries to six others. The incident was an indication of colonial dis-

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satisfaction with English rule. Later it would be depicted as a fight in the battle for colonial liberty.

Tensions rising

The roots of the Boston massacre lay in the deep colonial resentment of measures taken by the English Parliament. The **Townshend Acts** of 1767, in particular, had imposed taxes that affected businesses employing the working poor. As colonial resistance to the acts increased, England sent soldiers to America in 1768 to maintain order.

Tensions rose as the colonists began to suspect that the English soldiers were permanently stationed within the colonies. Soldiers began to bear the brunt of the citizens' anger and frustrations and were subjected to harassment and acts of violence. The culmination of this tension was the Boston Massacre.

The incident

On March 2, an English soldier approached a rope maker in hopes of finding extra work during his off-duty hours. The rope maker insulted the soldier. Eventually the argument turned into a fight that involved other citizens and soldiers and lasted into the next day.

On March 5, angry townspeople confronted another soldier who was on duty and began to harass him. Several other soldiers came to his defense. Captain Thomas Preston ordered them not to fire, but the crowd began pelting the soldiers with mud, ice, and snow. Although Preston attempted to maintain order, the soldiers fired. One soldier later claimed he had received an order to do so. Three colonists died immediately, two others died later, and six others were injured.

Preston and his soldiers were arrested and taken into custody. Most Bostonians believed that the soldiers deliberately fired into the crowd. A trial did not come until October 1770. **John Adams** (1735–1826), who later became the second president of the United States, served as the defense lawyer for the accused. Preston and six of his men were acquitted (found not guilty). Two soldiers were convicted of manslaughter, but they received the small punishment of branding on their thumbs before returning to their regiments. The Boston Massacre added to growing colonial resentment of England, which resulted in the start of the **American Revolution** in 1775.

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Boston Tea Party

On the evening of December 16, 1773, a group of angry Boston citizens boarded three ships belonging to the East India Company docked in Boston Harbor. In protest of the British Parliament's **Tea Act** (1773), the group quietly dumped more than ninety thousand pounds of tea into the harbor. The incident has become known as the Boston Tea Party. It triggered a series of events that led directly to war and eventually to independence for America.

Parliamentary acts

The Boston Tea Party represents the difficult relationship between England and the **thirteen colonies** following the **French and Indian War** (1754–63). The French and Indian War was the last and most expensive of the colonial wars between France and England. The cost of defending the American colonists throughout the war had wiped out the British treasury.

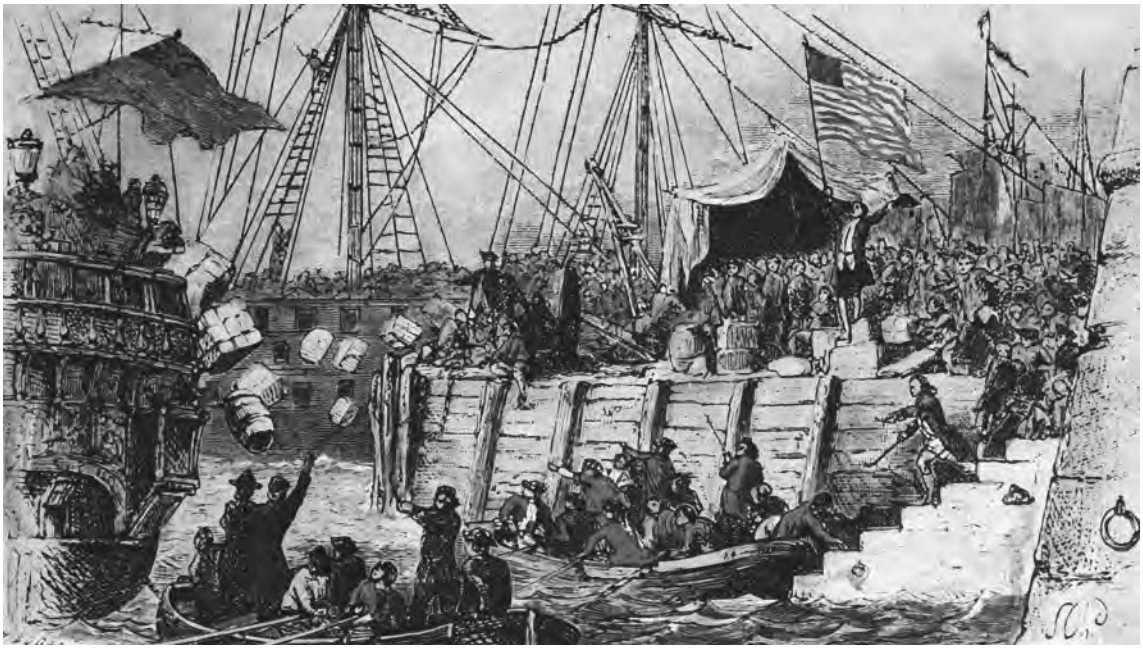
Thinking that the colonies should help pay for past war debts and for the future cost of keeping English soldiers for their defense, Parliament passed a series of acts to raise money from the colonies. Among the measures passed by Parliament, the **Townshend Acts** (1767) were most unpopular. Instead of placing a direct tax on materials the colonists bought and sold, these acts imposed duties on items imported into the colonies. This made certain important items such as lead, glass, paint, paper, and tea more expensive.

Citizens protested by refusing to buy the taxed products and by signing nonimportation agreements throughout the colonies. Faced with such widespread opposition, the British government repealed the Townshend duties (taxes) in March 1770. To prove that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies, however, it preserved a three-penny duty on tea.

Corporate affairs

Between 1771 and 1773, the relationship between the colonies and England seemed fairly calm. However, Parliament's passage of the Tea Act in 1773 brought the period of peace to an abrupt end. The Tea Act was not passed with the intention of disciplining the American colonies. It was instead an attempt to revive the struggling East India Company.

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The tension between the original thirteen colonies and England boiled over with the Boston Tea Party, when colonists snuck onboard English ships and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor. TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

The legislation effectively cut wholesalers out of the tea trade by allowing the East India Company to sell tea directly to its own agents in America.

By avoiding the cost of using wholesalers, the East India Company was able to sell tea more cheaply than other tea companies could. This allowed the company to monopolize, or dominate, tea sales in the colonies. The monopoly angered colonists at all levels of society. Business for wholesalers and local merchants decreased. Tea smugglers were hurt by the competition of more affordable tea on the market.

In November of 1773, the first shipments of East India Company tea since the passage of the Tea Act began to arrive in ports throughout the colonies. They were met with hostile receptions. In New York and Philadelphia, angry crowds forced officials to send the tea ships back to England without unloading their cargoes. A tea ship was burned in Annapolis, **Maryland**, and arsonists in **New Jersey** burned a warehouse where unloaded tea was stored. The governor of Massachusetts, Thomas

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Hutchinson (1711–1780), decided to face down the demonstrators in his colony.

Boston's tea

Three ships from the East India Company attempted to unload tea in Boston. A group of Boston citizens, led by revolutionary statesman Samuel Adams (1722–1803), refused to allow the tea to be taken off the ships. Governor Hutchinson called on the Royal Navy to blockade the harbor so the ships could not leave the port. Knowing that British law required ships to unload cargo after twenty days in port, the governor hoped to sidestep the demonstrators.

On December 16, the twenty-day period came to an end. Although Adams and others tried to convince Governor Hutchinson to allow the ships to return to England, he refused. Later that evening, a group of about seventy colonists disguised as American Indians silently boarded the ships. They broke open and dumped 342 chests of tea into the harbor.

In response to the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passed a series of measures, known as the Intolerable Acts, to punish the citizens of Massachusetts. The punitive laws, however, served to unite the colonists, who soon organized the First Continental Congress to plan a strategy for dealing with England. (See **Continental Congress, First**.) The conflicts between England and the colonies soon escalated into violence and the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

William Bradford

William Bradford was an Englishman who settled **Plymouth Colony** with the **Pilgrims** in 1620. The Pilgrims traveled to the New World to find a place where they could practice religion and community life without interference from the Church of England. As governor of the colony for most of his adult life, Bradford helped it survive hardships to become a permanent settlement.

Early life

Bradford was born in Austerfield, Yorkshire, England, in March 1590. His father, a farmer named William, died when Bradford was one. His mother, Alice, died six years later in 1597. Relatives cared for Bradford after that.

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Bradford began attending a Puritan church when he was twelve. **Puritans** were Christians who wanted to reform the Church of England, which Puritans felt had too many fancy rituals. Around age sixteen, Bradford joined a church of Separatists in Scrooby, England, led by John Robinson (1575–1625) and William Brewster (c. 1566–1644). Separatists were Puritans who wanted to separate from the Church of England.

The Church of England considered Puritanism a threat to its power, so Puritans were often harassed in England. In 1608, the Scrooby congregation moved to Holland to practice religion freely. For twelve years, first in Amsterdam and then in Leyden, the Scrooby congregation experimented with living as an English community in a foreign land. Bradford worked in the textile industry during this time and married Dorothy May. He had a son with Dorothy and three children with Alice Carpenter Southworth, whom he married in 1623 after Dorothy's death years earlier.

The Pilgrims

The Scrooby congregation eventually decided to leave Holland. Living in Dutch country made it hard for the community to retain its English character and customs. The congregation did not wish, however, to return to persecution in England.

In London, the Scrooby congregation found investors from the Virginia Company who wanted to send settlers to the New World for harvesting its resources for a profit. In 1620, Bradford and about one hundred others sailed on the ***Mayflower*** with plans to settle in the area that would become **Virginia**. In November they arrived around present-day Cape Cod, **Massachusetts**, and by December they landed at Plymouth Bay and settled for the winter.

At Plymouth Bay, the Pilgrims were outside the area where the Virginia Company had power to establish colonies. (See **Colonization**.) This forced the Pilgrims to create their own government, which they did under a legal agreement called the Mayflower Compact.

Settling into colonial life

Half of the colonists at Plymouth died during the winter of 1620, including Governor John Carver (c. 1576–1621). The colonists elected

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Bradford to be their new governor. Bradford organized the colonists to build a community, find food, and negotiate with Native Americans as necessary. He also had responsibility for overseeing justice and managing the colony's business affairs.

Bradford and the colonists met a Native American named Squanto, who had spent some time in England and spoke English. Squanto (1600?–1623) taught the colonists how to plant corn and preserve fish. Bradford negotiated with the chief of the local Wampanoag tribe for a peace treaty that lasted four decades.

Over the years under Bradford's guidance, Plymouth Colony survived early hardships and became a permanent settlement. The investors did not find it as profitable as other New World colonies. Still Plymouth Colony managed to pay off its initial debt by 1648.

Later years

In his later years, Bradford taught himself how to read the Bible in Hebrew, and he studied Greek, classical poetry, and philosophy.

From 1630 until 1650, Bradford wrote a book about the Pilgrims, called *Of Plymouth Plantation.* The book reflects Bradford's transition from viewing Native Americans as savages to respecting them. Toward the end of his life, Bradford thought that the colonists should purchase native lands that they wished to use, an idea that other colonists rejected.

Bradford died in Plymouth Colony in May 1657.

Broadway

Broadway is a street in New York City running the length of the borough of Manhattan. A few theaters were built along Broadway around the turn of the nineteenth century; more soon followed. In the twentieth century, the Broadway district became the center of mainstream American theater and the home of some of the best-known musical and dramatic productions in the English-speaking world. In 2007, thirty-nine professional theaters made up the Broadway theater district.

The early theaters

The earliest theater in the Broadway district, the elegant Park Theater, opened in 1798. By 1820, a few more were built in the area, notably the

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Vaudeville shows were popular variety acts featuring comedians, jugglers, singers, and dancers. Vaudeville started out rowdy and crude, with audience participation sometimes spiraling out of control, but eventually evolved into a more cultured theater experience. © UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD/CORBIS

3,000-seat Bowery Theater and Chatham Gardens. The Park brought in English actors to perform classic drama such as the plays of William Shakespeare (1564–1616). The other theaters catered to more popular tastes. With the rise of industrialism and immigration in the mid-1800s, increasing numbers of the working class attended these urban theaters.

Melodrama, blackface minstrelsy, and vaudeville

The most popular form of play in the early nineteenth century was the melodrama, with its exaggerated moral conflicts, stock characters (types used over and over again), and predictable format. Some of the better melodramas drew a mix of sophisticated and uneducated audiences. One

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example was the six-act adaptation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel ***Uncle Tom's Cabin*** by George L. Aiken (1830–1876). The play had the basic elements of the melodrama, with its arch villain, suffering innocents, thrilling spectacles, comic relief, and poetic justice. It also dealt seriously with **slavery**, the most heated social issue of its time.

Blackface minstrelsy, another popular form of entertainment, was featured in Broadway theaters beginning in the late 1820s. It usually consisted of several white male performers imitating in an exaggerated style the songs, dances, and speech patterns of southern blacks. Performers blackened their faces with burnt cork, dressed in rags, and played banjos, fiddles, and tambourines.

Vaudeville shows were popular variety acts featuring comedians, jugglers, singers, and dancers. In its original form, vaudeville was rowdy and often crude, with audience participation sometimes spiraling out of control. By the end of the nineteenth century, theater owners began to produce "refined vaudeville" acts for family audiences. The 3,200-seat Niblo's Gardens was one of the first Broadway theaters for the new vaudeville.

In 1866, *The Black Crook: An Original Magical and Spectacular Drama in Four Acts* opened at Niblo's Garden. This is considered the first American "book musical"—that is, a musical with a plot and characters. The rather high-brow cultural event at a low-brow vaudeville house was the most commercially successful Broadway play up to that time.

The Syndicate

By 1900, theatrical touring troupes based in New York took their long-running Broadway shows on the road, performing them in theaters throughout the country. The system of booking plays nationwide was complicated, and six New York theater owners took advantage of the turmoil. Emulating the **robber barons** of the steel, railroad, and oil industries (business leaders whose unethical practices often involved driving competitors out of business), these theater owners formed the Theatrical Syndicate in 1896. They brought order to theater bookings, but took nearly complete control over American theater in the process.

By 1900, the Syndicate controlled more than five thousand U.S. theaters, including virtually every first-class stage. To maximize its profits, the Syndicate began to cut costs, undermining the quality of its shows. It soon faced competition from ambitious new rivals such as the Shubert brothers (Lee, Sam, and Jacob), who in 1905 began building

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their own chain of theaters. They managed to break the Syndicate's monopoly on the American theater in 1915, but like the Syndicate, the Shuberts exerted tight control over their extensive theatrical empire.

Because of the Syndicate's emphasis on profits in the early years of the century, Broadway theater became, and has remained, an extremely conservative commercial enterprise. It produces expensive shows designed to appeal to large audiences and make a large return on investors' money. Broadway is not known for experimenting with new art forms.

The boom period

Around the turn of the twentieth century, there were sixteen theaters on Broadway, with others nearby and many new theaters under construction. The theater district extended more than a mile, from Thirteenth Street to Times Square (formerly Longacre Square). Streetlights illuminated the thriving area, which became known as the Great White Way. Broadway theaters offered about seventy plays in the 1900–1901 season, and that number increased each year.

As the **Roaring Twenties** began, Broadway was in its heyday. In 1917, 126 plays were produced; that number soared to 264 in 1928. The Broadway district was home to seventy to eighty theaters. Melodrama and vaudeville gave way to many new forms, ranging from serious drama to musical comedy to light entertainment.

Development of musical theater

In 1900, vaudeville performer George M. Cohan (1878–1942) began to focus his ambitions as a playwright, songwriter, and performer on the Broadway theater. In 1904, Cohan created the patriotic musical comedy *Little Johnny Jones*, which featured the hit songs "Give My Regards to Broadway" and "Yankee Doodle Boy." Other Cohan musical comedies included such popular songs as "You're a Grand Old Flag" and the popular **World War I**–themed "Over There." Audiences craved his simple patriotic messages and upbeat songs. The title of one of Cohan's 1901 shows, *The Man Who Owns Broadway,* soon became his own nickname.

By the 1910s, musical forces such as **Irving Berlin** (1888–1989) and George (1898–1937) and Ira Gershwin (1896–1983) were putting their song-writing talents to work to create generally mediocre musical plays featuring outstanding songs. These artists first wrote the songs and

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then developed a thin plot to tie them together in a show. The Gershwin production *Lady Be Good* in 1924 introduced dancing star Fred Astaire (1899–1987). Singer Al Jolson (1886–1950) made his debut (first appearance as a performer) at the Winter Garden Theatre in 1911, winning the audience over with a brilliant performance.

In 1907, Florenz Ziegfeld (1867–1932) presented the *Follies* of 1907, the first of his famous series of revues featuring beautiful showgirls in lavish costumes. The *Ziegfeld Follies* became the longest-lived series of musical revues in show-business history. As the *Follies* progressed, the acts became more elaborate. Rope-twirling humorist Will Rogers (1879–1935) made his *Follies* debut in 1916, and singer-comedian Eddie Cantor (1892–1964) in 1917. Together with Fanny Brice (1891–1951) and W. C. Fields (1880–1946), these comics added a crucial dimension to the beautiful-girls show.

During the 1910s and 1920s, Ziegfeld mounted more than three dozen Broadway shows in addition to his *Follies,* most of them musical comedies. Perhaps his greatest triumph was the 1927 production of *Show Boat,* by Jerome Kern (1885–1945) and Oscar Hammerstein II (1895–1960). The musical featured acclaimed songs such as "Ol' Man River" and "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man." *Show Boat* is considered the forerunner of the modern American musical drama.

The Depression and World War II

The Roaring Twenties were followed by the stock market crash of 1929 and the **Great Depression** (1929–41), a time of economic troubles around the world. Many Broadway theaters went out of business; others greatly reduced their productions. Many former theaters became movie houses, as movies took over a significant portion of theater audiences. Despite the obstacles, Broadway produced some of its greatest musicals in the 1930s. It was the prime era for the Gershwin brothers' work, and for musicals from new composers such as Cole Porter (1891–1964).

The turning point for the modern Broadway musical occurred during **World War II** (1939–45) with the Richard Rodgers (1902–1979) and Oscar Hammerstein musical play *Oklahoma!* Taking up where *Show Boat* had left off, **Rodgers and Hammerstein** wrote the play for this musical first and then made everything in it, including the songs, work to develop the plot, characters, and drama. *Oklahoma!* was an instant success, setting a record for its Broadway run and forever changing the na-

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ture of the American musical. The 1950s saw many more musical dramas, including *My Fair Lady* (1956), which set the record for the longest run of any theater production in history; *West Side Story* (1957); and Rodgers and Hammerstein's final musical, *The Sound of Music* (1959).

Attendance at musicals dropped during the late 1960s and 1970s. As tastes changed with the introduction of rock music, some musicals, such as *Hair* and *Grease,* attempted to adapt to the times. Broadway still had its share of traditional musicals, and some continued to be smash hits. But the decrease in productions and audiences continued into the 2000s.

Non-musical Broadway plays

The 1920s brought a boom in serious American drama as well as musical productions. In 1920, *Beyond the Horizon*, the first full-length play by Eugene O'Neill (1888–1953), debuted on Broadway and won that year's Pulitzer Prize. O'Neill probed the dark side of humanity and bucked the trend towards lighter fare. His plays were critical successes, and many cultural observers felt he raised the artistic standards on Broadway.

Continuing the development of realism were the two major playwrights of the 1940s and 1950s, Arthur Miller (1915–2005) and **Tennessee Williams** (1911–1983). Miller's first major triumph, *Death of a Salesman*, premiered on Broadway in 1949. It was America's first tragedy of a common man, Willy Loman. Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* premiered on Broadway in 1945, using Williams's own troubled family relations as subject matter. *A Streetcar Named Desire*, which opened on Broadway in 1947, was directed by Elia Kazan (1909–2003) and starred Marlon Brando (1924–2004).

Most Broadway plays of the 1950s were written and directed by white men, but in 1959 *A Raisin in the Sun,* a play by Lorraine Hansberry (1930–1965) about an African American family confronting racism, debuted to a standing ovation. It was the first play by a black woman to be produced on Broadway. Gradually, Broadway stages began to reflect the multicultural society. By the 1980s, many plays written by and about minorities and women were commercial and critical successes.

Non-musical Broadway plays were not universally serious. Neil Simon (1927–) became Broadway's most reliable and commercially successful playwright beginning in the 1960s by dedicating himself to light entertainment. Simon's well-made Broadway comedies include *The Odd Couple* (1965) and *The Sunshine Boys* (1972).

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Off-Broadway and Off-Off-Broadway

In the 1950s, the enormous expense of producing theater on Broadway led to the development of smaller theaters outside Times Square, collectively referred to as Off-Broadway. Off-Broadway provided a challenge to Broadway, opening the door for alternative theater. The 1960s saw the rise of Off-Off-Broadway, alternative theatrical performances staged in small coffeehouses off Broadway's main theater row. These coffeehouses boomed, allowing experimentation in drama to flourish. By 1966, the number of Off-Off-Broadway productions was twice that of Broadway and Off-Broadway combined.

Broadway today

Broadway celebrates its own players every year with the Antoinette Perry Awards, better known as the Tony Awards, established in 1947. These awards are only for productions that open in the major Broadway theaters.

In 2007, Broadway had only about half the number of theaters it had in the 1920s. It has never been able to regain the popularity it enjoyed during the 1920s. Still, some of the best writers, directors, performers, costume and set designers, composers, and many other theater professionals continue to bring their talents to this center of U.S. theater. The thirty-nine official Broadway theaters remain a popular tourist attraction in New York City and continue to draw crowds. Total Broadway attendance in 2005 was just under twelve million.

Brown Berets

The Brown Berets were a militant Chicano (Mexican American) civil rights group, modeled in part on the African American **Black Panther Party**. Like the Black Panthers, the Brown Berets arose out of a desire to fight discrimination and especially to defend the Mexican American community from police brutality.

A youth group

The Brown Berets got their start at a Mexican American youth conference in East Los Angeles, **California**, in 1966, at which high school students gathered to discuss problems facing Mexican Americans. The

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students continued to work together over the next year, and their group took the name Young Chicanos for Community Action (YCCA).

In late 1967, the YCCA opened the Piranya Coffee House as a site from which to promote community consciousness and recruit members. The YCCA adopted a brown beret as a part of its uniform and thus became known as the Brown Berets. Emphasizing the right of self-determination and defense against aggression, the Brown Berets considered themselves nationalists—that is, they identified themselves first and foremost as Chicanos and rejected the idea that they should adjust their traditions and culture to assimilate (blend in) with the mainstream U.S. culture. They had a formal code of conduct and ethics.

In practice, the Brown Berets emphasized opposition to police brutality and discrimination in the schools. During the group's main period of activity—from 1967 through 1972—the Brown Berets developed more than twenty chapters and published the newspaper *La Causa.* In May 1969, the Brown Berets opened the East Los Angeles Free Clinic, offering a range of medical services.

The Brown Berets participated in the major events of the Chicano movement, including the East Los Angeles "Blow Outs," organized demonstrations in which more than ten thousand students walked out of Garfield, Roosevelt, Lincoln, and Belmont high schools to protest educational discrimination against Chicanos.

The Chicano Moratorium

In late 1969, the Brown Berets formed the Chicano Moratorium Committee, which organized annual marches to protest the large number of Chicano soldiers dying in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). A year later, they called for a national Chicano Moratorium to protest not only the Vietnam War but also oppression by police. The Moratorium, held in Los Angeles in 1970, became one of the country's largest antiwar protests, with nearly twenty thousand people in attendance. Overreacting to a minor incident, the police attacked the peaceful demonstrators. In the ensuing violence, respected Chicano journalist Ruben Salazar (1928–1970) was killed.

In 1971, the Brown Berets conducted a March Through Aztlán, marching one thousand miles from Calexico, California, to the state's capital, Sacramento, to protest police brutality, racial discrimination, and the Vietnam War. In 1972, they occupied Santa Catalina Island off the

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Southern California coast, arguing that the island had not been specifically named in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, which ended the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) and resulted in Mexico ceding California to the United States. Therefore, according to the Brown Berets, the island still belonged to Mexico. In late 1972, in response to repeated harassment by police, the Brown Berets disbanded. In the 1990s and 2000s, local Brown Beret groups formed for many of the same purposes and with the same basic principles as the original group.

Brown, John

See **Harpers Ferry Raid**

Brown v. Board of Education

The **Fourteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution**, adopted in 1868, gives all Americans, regardless of race, equal rights and equal protection under state and federal laws. Yet at the beginning of the 1950s, American society was still separated into black and white. Hotels, trains, parks, restaurants, apartment houses, and even state voting precincts were segregated by race through state statutes called **Jim Crow laws**. African Americans were criminally prosecuted and jailed for attempting to ride the same trains or eat in the same restaurants as whites.

Racial **segregation** (the separation of races) had been established by law in the United States in 1896 in the **Supreme Court** case called ***Plessy v. Ferguson***. Homer Plessy was an African American man who attempted to ride in a whites-only railroad car in **Louisiana**. When he was charged with violating Louisiana's Jim Crow law, Plessy argued all the way to the Supreme Court that the law was unconstitutional. In a seven-to-one vote, the 1896 Court declared that the Fourteenth Amendment did not prohibit state laws from treating people differently according to the color of their skin as long as that treatment was "equal." The "separate but equal" doctrine created by the *Plessy* decision lasted for nearly sixty years, until the 1954 decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Topeka, Kansas, 1950s

In 1950, Oliver Brown was told that his eight-year-old daughter could not attend the Topeka, **Kansas**, neighborhood elementary school four blocks from their home because Kansas law required African Americans

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George Hayes (left), attorney Thurgood Marshall (center), and James M. Nabrit (right) celebrate the landmark **Brown v. Board of Education** *U.S. Supreme Court decision in Washington, D.C., in 1954.*
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to attend separate schools. Brown joined with other African American families to engage the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP; a prominent civil rights organization) to file a lawsuit against the board of education of Topeka. They claimed that segregation violated their children's constitutional rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. For four years, the families lost their case but appealed it to progressively higher courts. In 1954, *Brown v. Board of*

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The plaintiffs in the **Brown v. Board of Education** *case that attempted to obliterate the "separate but equal" doctrine.* CARL IWASAKI/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

Education reached the U.S. Supreme Court along with three similar cases.

The plaintiffs' attorney, **Thurgood Marshall** (1908–1993), later a Supreme Court justice, argued that racially segregated public schools were not equal and could not be made equal. He believed, therefore, that the laws were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. He claimed that the only way for the Court to uphold segregation in 1954 was "to find that for some reason Negroes are inferior to all other human beings." The Supreme Court agreed and unanimously rejected the "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson,* stating that "in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."

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Reaction

The *Brown* decision hit the country like a bombshell. At the time of the ruling, 40 percent of public-school students lived in areas that required segregation by law. Mandatory-segregation laws were in effect in **Alabama**, **Arkansas**, **Delaware**, **Florida**, **Georgia**, **Kentucky**, Louisiana, **Maryland**, **Mississippi**, **Missouri**, **North Carolina**, **Oklahoma**, **South Carolina**, **Tennessee**, **Texas**, **Virginia**, **West Virginia**, and **Washington, D.C.**

Heated opposition to *Brown* came immediately. Several states defied the court decision. Louisiana and Georgia voters enacted bills to permit racially segregated education in November 1954. Georgia allowed public educational funds to be provided to individuals to establish private segregated schools. **Michigan** voters approved, almost two to one, a state constitutional amendment to permit the abolition of public schools if there was no other way to avoid racial desegregation of schoolchildren. Similar actions were taken in Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

"All deliberate speed"

Reversing segregation was not going to come easily, and the Court realized the tremendous resistance local politicians and school boards would have to its decision. Therefore, the *Brown* decision was argued again over the issue of how to bring about desegregation. In *Brown II* (1957), Chief Justice Earl Warren (1891–1974) and the Supreme Court required local federal district courts to assess local obstacles to integration and decide whether local school boards were making honest attempts at the **desegregation of public schools**. The nation's public schools were ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed."

Desegregation was extremely unpopular. Attempts by African American students to follow court-ordered integration resulted in riots in cities such as Milford, Delaware; Mansfield, Texas; Clinton, Tennessee; and New Orleans, Louisiana. President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) believed that the Supreme Court had attempted to force the nation to integrate too quickly and offered no help. Even many African American leaders and intellectuals, such as writer Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960) and activist W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), disliked the idea, doubting that African American children would be treated equally in desegregated schools.

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White southerners continued to use tactics of obstruction and delay. Desegregation did not occur in the Deep South until the mid-1960s.

Nonetheless, *Brown* had an immediate effect on the hearts and minds of African Americans, and many historians consider it the start of the modern **civil rights movement**. Movement leaders stated that *Brown* influenced their activities, if only because it showed that the nation's highest court believed that the Constitution supported their civil rights.

James Buchanan

James Buchanan devoted his presidency to trying to maintain the **Democratic Party**'s North-South coalition (voting bloc), which he believed would keep the United States intact in the years prior to the **Civil War** (1861–65). He was unable to keep his party or the United States intact, and he is probably most often remembered for this failure.

Buchanan was born on April 23, 1791, and raised in a large, respected family in **Pennsylvania**. He received a good education in his hometown and graduated from Dickinson College in 1809. After college, Buchanan studied law, and he was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1812. He quickly established a successful law practice. The two main ingredients of his success were his knowledge of the law and his talent for giving speeches and debating.

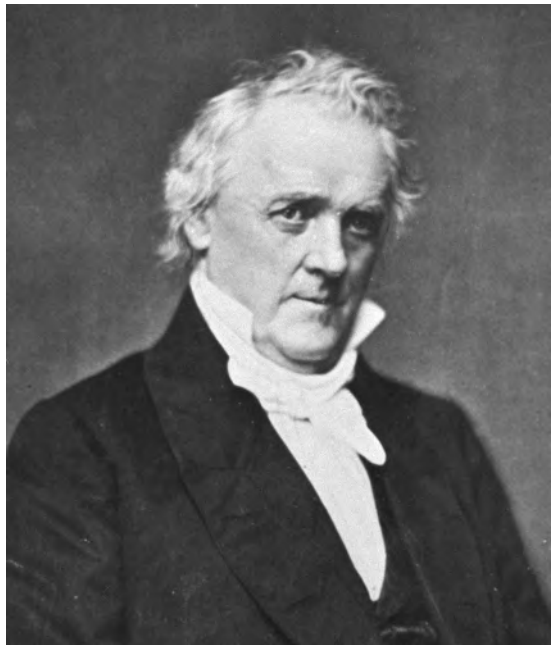
Enters politics

Buchanan's political career began with his election to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1813. As a Federalist (a member of the **Federalist Party**, which sought a strong central government and an industrialized society), he opposed the **War of 1812** (1812–15), a conflict between England and the United States over trade issues. He feared that it would be harmful to northern industries. Once war was declared, though, he enlisted in the military.

Buchanan became a member of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1820. The U.S. victory in the War of 1812 had destroyed the Federalist Party, leaving the United States with only one political party, the **Democratic-Republican Party**. In the election of 1824, four Democratic-Republicans ran for president, splintering the party. Those who supported **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845) would become the

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Democratic Party, and those who supported **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848) formed a new party, the **Whigs**. The majority of former Federalists joined the Whig party, but Buchanan supported Jackson.



James Buchanan, the fifteenth president of the United States, was minister to Russia and Great Britain but is most remembered for his failure to prevent the secession of South Carolina. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A Jacksonian Democrat

Adams won the election of 1824, although Jackson had gotten the majority of popular votes. During the Adams administration, Buchanan actively opposed many of the president's efforts. It was during this time that he made his first public statement on **slavery**, calling it a moral and political evil, but one that would endure for years to come.

After ten years in the House, Buchanan became the minister (diplomatic representative) to Russia. He returned in 1833 and was elected to the U.S. Senate. As a member of the Democratic Party, Buchanan realized he must support Jackson, who had followed Adams as president. When Jackson announced his ambition to crush the national bank (a commercial bank regulated by the federal government), Buchanan supported Jackson, even knowing that this action would hurt his home state of Pennsylvania, where the Second National Bank of the United States was located. The bank, located in Philadelphia, had held the nation's federal funds for nearly two decades. Buchanan chose to be a loyal Jacksonian Democrat in opposing the bank, motivated, at least in part, by his national (rather than state) political ambitions.

From 1845 to 1849, Buchanan served as secretary of state to President **James K. Polk** (1795–1849; served 1845–49), representing the government in foreign affairs, and then he became the minister to Great Britain. When he returned from England in 1856, Buchanan found the United States more deeply divided than ever by the 1854 **Kansas-Nebraska Act**. The act repealed the **Missouri Compromise** of 1820, which had permitted **Missouri** to be admitted as a slave state while banning slavery in the remaining northern portions of the **Louisiana Purchase**. The Democratic Party was bitterly divided between its members in slave-holding states and its members in free (non-

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slave-holding) states. Buchanan had avoided the conflict simply by being out of the country, and some believed he was the only candidate who could mend the Democratic Party's wounds and save the **Union**. Thus he became the party's candidate.

In the 1856 presidential election, Buchanan was not a favorite of either the North or the South, but those who opposed the Democratic Party were too divided to take the election. Buchanan did not get a majority of the popular votes, but he did win the presidency. He defeated the **Republican Party** candidate, **John C. Frémont** (1813–1890), and the **Know-Nothing Party** candidate, former president **Millard Fillmore** (1800–1874; served 1850–1853).

The presidency in 1856

Buchanan's administration was haunted by the question of slavery in the U.S. territories. He hoped that the **Supreme Court**'s verdict in the ***Dred Scott* case** in 1857 would settle the issue once and for all. Dred Scott (c. 1795–1858) was a slave who had sued for his freedom based on his residence in a free territory, where he and his slave owner had moved. The Supreme Court ruled against him, stating that he was still the property of his owner even though he had lived in a free state. To Buchanan and many others, the *Dred Scott* decision meant that only states—and not the federal government—had the authority to prohibit slavery within their boundaries.

Buchanan believed that the Democratic Party had held the Union together during the recent conflicts; as president, he felt it was his job to unite the party. He tried to keep Southerners from abandoning it by strongly upholding the right to own slaves in slave-holding states. In his zeal to please Southerners, he attacked abolitionists (people who sought to abolish slavery) and placed many prominent Southerners in high positions in Washington. But the South could not be appeased so easily. With most of the new states destined to be free of slavery, the North was sure to gain power at the South's expense. The old North-South coalition of the Democratic Party had been pushed to the breaking point. The territory of **Kansas** had reached a state resembling civil war over the issue of slavery. Buchanan's compromises were inadequate to stop the divide.

Buchanan chose not to run for president in 1860. The Democratic Party splintered into three sectional factions, whose candidates, Vice President John C. Breckinridge (1821–1875), U.S. senator Stephen A.

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Douglas (1813–1861) of Illinois, and former U.S. representative John Bell (1797–1869) of Tennessee, lost to Republican candidate **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65). Lincoln had spoken strongly of limiting the expansion of slavery. When Lincoln won the election, the South prepared to secede (withdraw from the Union). Buchanan had been warned, but he had not prepared for the secession. During his last days in office, his administration fell apart as the Civil War between the North and the South began.

Buchanan supported the Union throughout the Civil War. He died in 1868, remembered most for the last few months of his administration, when the country divided.

Buffalo Bill

See **William "Buffalo Bill" Cody**

Buffalo Soldiers

Approximately 20 percent of the U.S. Cavalry involved in the **Plains Indian Wars** (1866–90) were African American soldiers. These soldiers made up the Ninth and Tenth U.S. Cavalry Regiments.

The Cheyenne and Comanche tribes nicknamed these men Buffalo Soldiers because they were courageous and strong, qualities shared with the mighty buffalo. The hair of the Buffalo Soldiers reminded the tribal warriors of the tuft of hair between a buffalo's horns, as well. Given that the buffalo was important and necessary to the Native Americans' way of life, the nickname was an honor, and one the soldiers accepted with pride.

The Buffalo Soldiers fought in more than 177 conflicts against the Plains tribes, and at least seventeen Medals of Honor were awarded them throughout the Indian Wars.

Fighting was not all they did, however. The Buffalo Soldiers mapped miles of southwestern frontier territory (wilderness at the edge of a settled region) and strung hundreds of miles of telegraph lines. Without the protection of these famous soldiers, construction crews would not have survived long enough to build the railroads throughout the frontier.

The Buffalo Soldiers participated in many other wars, including the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the **Spanish-American War** (1898), and both **World War I** (1914–18) and **World War II** (1939–45).

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Bulge, Battle of the

See **Battle of the Bulge**

Bull Run, Battles of

See **Battles of Bull Run**

Bunker Hill, Battle of

See **Battle of Bunker Hill**

Bureau of Indian Affairs

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is the federal agency responsible for administering policies for Indian nations and communities.

Organization

The BIA was created in 1824 as a part of the U.S. War Department, a cabinet department that was the forerunner of the Department of Defense. Its task was to handle the growing problems caused by the **westward expansion** of the United States into territories mainly inhabited by the Indians. The early BIA had three levels of administration. Its leaders, including the commissioner, were stationed in **Washington, D.C.** BIA superintendents were posted throughout Indian-occupied lands, where they oversaw territorial-level agencies. Indian agents and subagents lived among the various tribes. The BIA remained within the War Department until 1849, when Congress transferred the Indian agency to the Department of the Interior.

The BIA was accused of abuse, mismanagement, and corruption from its early days and throughout the nineteenth century. Many of the agency's top administrators received their jobs as political favors; they were not qualified for the job or even interested in the plight of the American Indians. Many pocketed the money set aside for the Indians.

Taking the land

The BIA came into being around the same time that Congress passed the Indian Removal Act of 1830. The act authorized the federal government to transfer Indians living in the eastern part of the country to lands west of the Mississippi River. The BIA was responsible for the task of confin-

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The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which manages policies for Indian nations and communities, has its own police force to monitor Indian affairs. AP IMAGES

ing them to designated **Indian reservations** in the West and training them to adapt to mainstream American ways. For several decades, the BIA concentrated on Indian removal and relocation, which involved dislodging, usually by force, entire Native American communities from lands throughout the ever-expanding United States.

By 1870, the federal government had secured most of the present-day United States from the Indians. It signed treaties with them that promised the Indians that they could remain on their reservation lands forever. In 1871, however, the government called for an end to treaties. The **Indian Appropriations Act** declared Indians to be wards (people under the protection and care) of the government and gave the BIA the authority to carry out the government's role as guardian on the reservations.

Allotment

On February 8, 1887, Congress passed the **Dawes Severalty Act** (General Allotment Act), designed to promote the concept of individual

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ownership of land by dividing the reservations into tracts and allotting one tract to each Indian. This was a tremendous change for most tribes, because Native American land was traditionally held in common by all members of the community and used for the good of everyone. Under the act, the individual tracts of land "given" to the Indians were to be held in trust (something held by one party for the benefit of another) for twenty-five years while the Indians received training in farming and other mainstream American customs.

The effect of the Dawes Act was to destroy the social and political systems of the tribes while transferring authority to powerful BIA Indian agents. The BIA staffed the tribal government, courts, and law enforcement agencies with hand-picked Indians who were willing to cooperate in pursuing the agency's goals. The BIA drafted a Code of Indian Offenses that prohibited many traditional cultural and religious practices. While the Indians were being trained to become farmers, the BIA rationed their food and necessities of life. The agency thus could starve into submission those Indians who refused to crop their hair short, who continued to paint their faces, or who persisted in engaging in traditional religious ceremonies. The bureau also assumed responsibility for the education of young Indians. Not surprisingly, its policy was to provide them with knowledge and skills necessary to fit into mainstream society. Students were not allowed to speak their native languages or practice many of their customs.

Indian New Deal

By the mid-1930s, it was clear that the Dawes Act had failed to benefit the Indians. The BIA-administered reservations were in disastrous shape, while those reservations owned and operated by the tribes as a group had fared much better. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) promised reform. He appointed sociologist John Collier (1884–1968) commissioner of the BIA to help carry out the "Indian New Deal." Under Collier's direction, the BIA stopped trying to force Native Americans to adapt to the non-Indian ways. Management of reservations was turned over to the tribes. Reservation schools were free to teach traditional Indian culture and languages in the classroom.

The BIA was not always popular after the reforms of the 1930s. In 1972, the **American Indian Movement** (AIM) staged a demonstration in which the protesters took over BIA headquarters in Washington,

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D.C., in protest of the federal government's Indian policies. In the 1990s, various groups accused the BIA of mismanagement of tribal funds. Nevertheless, in the early 2000s, the BIA continued to act as trustee over 55.7 million acres of land held in trust by the United States for the 561 federally recognized tribal governments. The agency is responsible for developing the forests, farms, and other resources of these lands and protecting water and land rights. The BIA also continues to provide education, health, and social services.

Aaron Burr

Aaron Burr was born on February 6, 1756, in Newark, **New Jersey**. His father, Aaron, was the pastor of the Newark Presbyterian Congregation. His mother, Esther, was the daughter of the well-known theologian Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758).

Before the younger Aaron was a year old, his father took a post as president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), and the family moved to Princeton. His father died a few months later, in September 1757. The deaths of his mother and grandparents followed within the next year. Aaron and his older sister, Sarah, moved to the care of Timothy Edwards, a twenty-year-old uncle.

Burr prepared for college and graduated from Princeton at seventeen. He began to study theology to become a minister, but in 1774 he abandoned those studies. Instead he decided to become a lawyer. That plan, however, was delayed by the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

Military service

The Battle of Lexington, which opened the war, inspired Burr to join the Revolutionary cause. (See **Battle of Lexington and Concord**.) He and **Benedict Arnold** (1741–1801) fought in the expedition to take Quebec. Although the attack was unsuccessful, Burr served with distinction.

In the spring of 1776, Burr joined the staff of General **George Washington** (1732–1799) as a major. Their personalities conflicted, and Burr was transferred to the staff of General Israel Putnam (1718–1790). Burr served with distinction in the battle of Long Island and in the evacuation of **New York**.

In July 1777, Burr was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the Continental line. He earned a reputation for discipline and daring as the

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Although a successful attorney, senator, and vice president, Burr's reputation declined at the end of his career and financial difficulties surrounded him until his death. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

leader of a regiment stationed in Orange County, New York. The hardships of his stations, however, took a toll on Burr. His health began to suffer, and in March 1779 he submitted his resignation. After a long period of recovery, Burr returned to the study of law.

Law and politics

In 1780, Burr was well enough to begin his study of law with determination. He eventually relocated to Haverstraw, New York, and was admitted to the New York Bar as an attorney in early 1782. In July, he married Theodosia Bartow Provost, the widow of a British army officer. Over the course of their twelve years together, she gave birth to four children. Only one, a daughter, survived into adulthood, and she disappeared at sea in 1812. Theodosia died in 1794.

In the fall of 1783, the Burrs moved to New York City, where Burr established a law practice. He was a highly respected attorney. With the encouragement of a radical political group, Burr gained election to the New York State Assembly. He served from 1784 to 1785 but refrained from being nominated for another term.

Burr continued to be entangled in the work of the state's political factions. As a result, he earned an appointment as the state attorney general in 1789. In 1791, he began to serve in the U.S. Senate. It was during this time that Burr gained an enemy in **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804), who was secretary of the treasury under President Washington.

During his six years in the Senate, Burr became associated with the politics of **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826), President Washington's secretary of state. After **James Monroe** (1758–1831) left the Senate, Burr became the spokesman for the policies of the Jeffersonians. In 1796, both Burr and Jefferson ran for president, but Vice President **John Adams** defeated both of them. At that time, representatives from each state voted in the election; the first-place finisher was declared president, while the second-place finisher automatically became vice president. In

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1796, that meant that Adams would be president and runner-up Jefferson would be vice president. Failing to gain reelection to the Senate the same year, Burr returned to New York in 1797. There, he was elected to the State Assembly again and served until 1799.

Vice presidency

During Adams's presidency, political parties became clearly defined in the young nation. Jefferson's supporters, including Burr, belonged to the **Democratic-Republican Party**. In the election of 1800, Jefferson and Burr received the same number of electoral votes, tying for the presidency. The **Constitution** required that the election be decided by the House of Representatives. In the tie-breaking vote there, Jefferson was elected president, and Burr became vice president, thanks in part to Hamilton's support for Jefferson. As vice president, Burr was not very popular with members of either the **Federalist Party** or the Democratic-Republican Party. By 1804, the Twelfth Amendment had been passed, which required electors to vote for president and vice president separately. New York governor George Clinton (1739–1812) wound up being elected as Jefferson's second-term vice president.

With Burr's days as vice president numbered, his political friends nominated him for the governorship of New York. Although he gathered some support, Burr's popularity had continued to decline. His political rivals, especially Hamilton, worked against him as well. He was defeated by a heavy majority.

Hamilton's scorn during the New York election infuriated Burr and prompted a duel between them. Burr fatally shot Hamilton on July 11, 1804, at Weehawken, New Jersey, while still serving as vice president.

Declining popularity

Burr's duel with Hamilton, while giving him political revenge, brought many difficulties as well. Although duels were still common, they were not legal in either New Jersey or New York. Hamilton was immensely popular and had many admirers who were angered by the event. Officials in both New York and New Jersey charged Burr with multiple crimes, including murder. He fled first to Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, and then to **South Carolina**. Although he eventually beat the charges and returned

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to complete his term as vice president, the end of his term in March 1805 effectively marked the end of his political career.

Another incident contributed to the decline of Burr's reputation. It appears that between 1805 and 1807 he was involved in plans either to separate the western states from the Union or to conquer the Spanish possessions of **Texas** and northern Mexico, or perhaps to accomplish both feats. The facts are so unclear that Burr's intentions remain clouded today. It is clear, however, that Burr was working toward some sort of uprising.

In preparation for his plans, Burr recruited volunteers, gathered supplies, and sought financial assistance. Among those plotting alongside Burr was the commanding general of the U.S. Army, James Wilkinson (1757–1825), who promised to supply Burr with troops. Wilkinson, however, changed his mind and decided to further his own career by revealing Burr's plans to authorities.

Burr was arrested and tried for treason. Fortunately for him, political sparring between President Jefferson and Chief Justice John Marshall (1755–1835) resulted in Burr's acquittal. Upon his release, Burr sought refuge in Europe.

Last years

Burr's reputation both socially and politically had plummeted. He was heavily in debt, and creditors were relentless. Burr retreated and set sail for England in June 1808. Ever hopeful of gathering support for his plans, Burr traveled from England to Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and France. He failed to gain support, however, and decided to return home to his daughter and grandson. Due to an unfortunate string of events, he did not return home until May 1812.

Burr returned to New York, where he had little difficulty reestablishing his legal practice. Within the year, both his grandson and daughter died. Financial difficulties continued to plague him. He suffered a minor stroke in 1830. In July 1833, Burr married a much younger and wealthier woman, Eliza Jumel. After only four months, they separated due to arguments concerning finances. Her request for divorce was granted after a dramatic trial. Burr died on September 14, 1836, the day the divorce was to become effective.

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Bus Boycott

See **Montgomery Bus Boycott**

George H. W. Bush

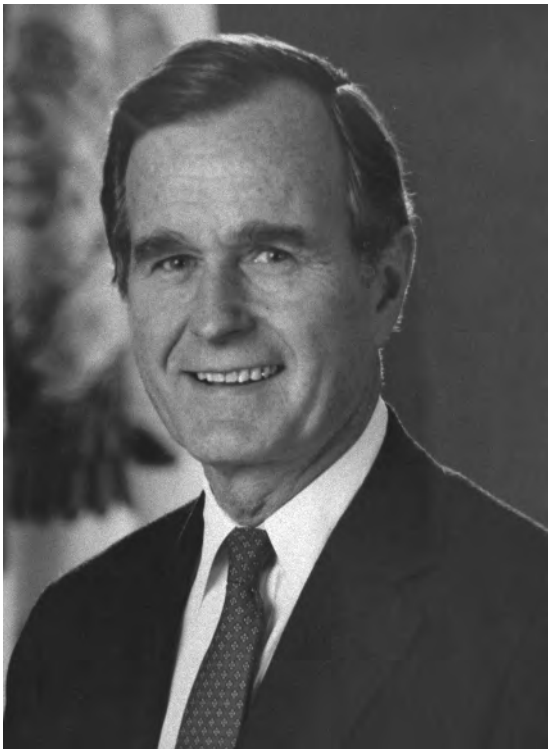
A successful businessman, George Herbert Walker Bush emerged as a national political leader during the 1970s. After holding several important foreign policy and administrative assignments in **Republican Party** politics, he served two terms as vice president under **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89), and he went on to serve one term as president beginning in 1988.

George H. W. Bush was born on June 12, 1924, and led a privileged childhood as the son of a wealthy **Connecticut** senator. He graduated from a prestigious private school and was accepted at Yale University, but he changed his plans when the United States entered **World War II** (1939–45). Bush enlisted in the U.S. Naval Reserve, and by the end of 1943 he was the youngest fighter pilot in the navy. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for his actions on a September 2, 1944, mission in the South Pacific, during which his plane was shot down and he parachuted to safety. When he returned home, Bush married Barbara Pierce (1925–) and entered Yale. After graduating, he moved to **Texas**. By 1954, he was president of the Zapata Offshore Company. Drilling for oil in the Gulf of Mexico had already made him wealthy.

Enters the world of politics

Bush was active in the Republican Party in Texas, and in 1966 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. In December 1970, he was appointed U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (UN). In 1973, Bush became the chairman of the Republican National Committee. The next year, he was appointed head of the U.S. Liaison Office in the People's Republic of China, and in 1975, President **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77) called him home to head the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA; the government agency responsible for obtaining and analyzing information about foreign governments, corporations, and individuals). Bush served until 1976 and won high marks for improving agency morale.

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George Herbert Walker Bush held several important foreign policy and administrative assignments before serving two terms as vice president and one term as the president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Begins service under President Reagan

Bush sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1980. He was viewed as an attractive moderate alternative to the conservative Ronald Reagan, but he did not get the nomination. He accepted Reagan's offer of the vice presidential slot despite their differences of opinion on several key issues. During his two terms as Reagan's vice president, Bush loyally supported the Reagan agenda.

The presidency

In 1988, Bush was elected president. Immediately after taking office, he improved relations with Congress and the press. He preferred to negotiate differences between economic and political interests rather than take strong positions of his own. This was true in his foreign policy as well. During his first year in office, the Communist governments of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe self-destructed, creating an entirely new balance of world powers. Bush supported the Russian reformist president Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) and maintained a remote and formal relationship with all the countries of the former Soviet Union.

In the spring of 1989, Chinese students began massive demonstrations in support of democracy in Tiananmen Square, located in the heart of China's capital, Beijing. When the government crushed the demonstrations with military force, Bush at first spoke out against the actions of the Chinese leadership and imposed limited sanctions (punishments, such as stopping trade, to express disapproval), but he soon sent representatives to Beijing to ease the tension between the United States and China. Later he opposed congressional attempts to toughen the sanctions and restored China's most-favored-nations trade status.

Bush was initially halfhearted about U.S. initiatives to stop the drug-smuggling Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega (c. 1935–). After an American soldier was killed by one of Noriega's soldiers in 1989, however, Bush authorized a full-scale military invasion of Panama. The ma-

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jority of Noriega's forces surrendered after a few hours. Noriega was captured a few weeks later. In 1992, he was convicted in Florida on drug-dealing charges.

The Gulf War

Under the leadership of military dictator Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990 and proclaimed it a new Iraqi province. Bush launched Operation Desert Storm, mobilizing international forces that destroyed Hussein's air and land military capabilities in a six-week war that was televised virtually from start to finish. The action resulted in minimal U.S. casualties, and in the end President Bush's approval rating soared to a new high and established him as a powerful force in world affairs.

Despite the apparent total victory, the war failed to oust Hussein from power in Iraq. Bush ruled out further military action in Iraq but urged continued international economic sanctions against the Hussein regime.

Fails to win second term

After the Gulf War, many believed Bush would be unbeatable in the next presidential election. Yet by 1992, the nation's economy was in a downturn, the national deficit (the amount the federal government needs to borrow to make up the difference between what it spends and how much it collects in taxes) had soared, and crime was rising. In the general election, a popular independent candidate, Texas businessman Ross Perot (1930–), divided the Republican Party. (See also **Third Parties**.) The Republicans were further divided in the general election, with economic conservatives on one side and social and religious conservatives like Pat Buchanan (1938–)—who had challenged Bush in the Republican primaries—on the other. In the end, Perot took a whopping 19 percent of the popular vote, and the **Democratic Party** candidate, **Arkansas** governor **Bill Clinton** (1946–), won the election.

In retirement, Bush kept as low a profile as could be expected with two of his sons, President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) and **Florida** governor Jeb Bush (1953–) prominently in the national spotlight.

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George W. Bush

George Walker Bush was born on July 6, 1946, in New Haven, **Connecticut**, where his father, **George H. W. Bush** (1924–), was enrolled at Yale University. After his father graduated in 1948, the family moved to **Texas**, where the senior Bush worked as an executive in the oil industry. Like his father, George W. Bush attended Phillips Academy (a private school that prepares students for college) in Andover, **Massachusetts**, and went on to Yale University. He was an average student, president of his fraternity, and a member of an exclusive secret group, the Skull and Bones Society. While Bush was still at Yale in 1966, his father was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. After serving in Congress, George H. W. Bush went on to hold positions in the presidential administrations of **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) and **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77) before being elected vice president and president in the 1980s.

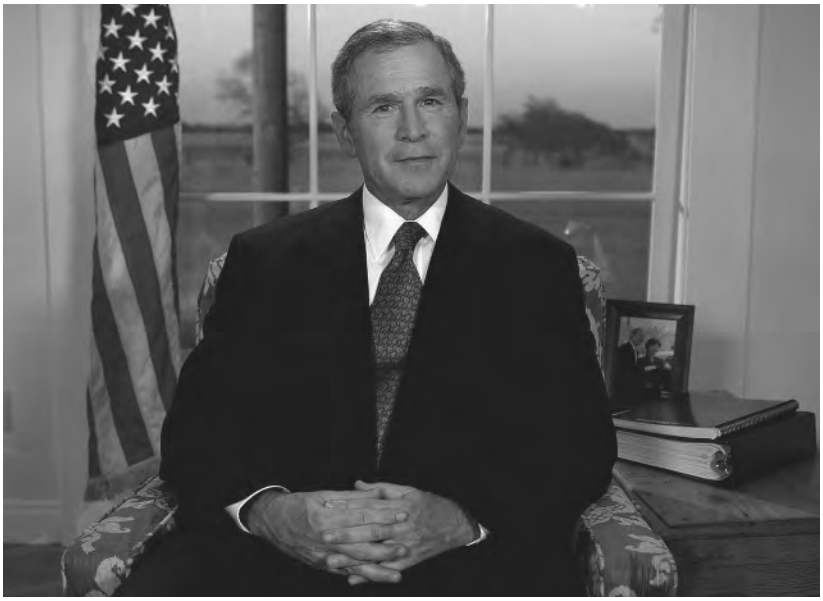
In 1975, George W. Bush earned a master's degree in business administration from Harvard. He served as a pilot for the Texas Air National Guard before beginning a career in the oil and gas business. He quickly gained a reputation for fast cars and occasionally heavy drinking. In later years, he admitted to being irresponsible in his youth. After working in the energy industry for several years, Bush met Laura Welch (1946–), an elementary school teacher and librarian. They married in 1977, and their twin daughters were born in 1981. Bush ran for a seat in Congress in 1978 but lost the election. He had some difficult times in the oil business, but eventually built a small, successful company.

Change of ways

In 1985, under the influence of Baptist evangelist minister **Billy Graham** (1918–), Bush experienced a religious conversion. A year later, he stopped drinking alcohol. To those who knew him, these events were seen as major turning points in his life. When his father won the Republican nomination for president in 1988, Bush helped manage his presidential campaign. He gained respect in **Washington, D.C.**, for rallying the campaign team through the ups and downs of the tight race.

Back in Texas after the election, Bush organized a group of wealthy investors to buy the Texas Rangers, a major league baseball team. Riding a wave of popularity, he decided to run as the Republican candidate for

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Republican George W. Bush won the controversial 2000 election and became the forty-third president of the United States. AP IMAGES

governor of Texas in 1994. To the surprise of many, he won the election. After only a year in office, Bush was hailed as the most popular big-state governor in the country. He worked to improve public schools, cut taxes, and put welfare recipients to work, and he encouraged new business and job growth. Bush won reelection in 1998 with 68 percent of the vote.

By January 2000, Bush was the frontrunner of a large field of Republican presidential candidates and became the party's nominee that summer. Since some people questioned Bush's grasp of national issues and foreign affairs, he selected the experienced Dick Cheney (1941–) to be his running mate. Mixing a folksy approach with clear policy measures, Bush maintained a slight lead against the Democratic nominee, Vice President **Al Gore** (1948–), as the 2000 election approached.

A controversial election

Shortly after 8 PM on election day, Tuesday, November 7, 2000, news agencies began projecting that Gore had won the popular vote and seemed headed for an electoral college victory. (The electoral college is the group that directly elects the president and vice president. Each state is allotted a number of electors equal to the number of its representatives and senators in Congress, and each presidential candidate has a slate of electors assigned to that candidate. When a candidate wins the popular

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vote in a state, the electors assigned to that candidate vote for him or her in the electoral college.) Around 10 PM, news reporters began referring to **Florida**'s popular vote as too close to call. When daylight came on Wednesday morning, there was still no new president-elect.

The problem was in Florida. Vote tallies completed in Florida were extremely close, and serious voting problems had arisen in four Florida counties. Recounts began. Republican officials tried to have the recounts stopped since accepting the tallies as they were would have resulted in a victory, though a very narrow one, for Bush. Democrats took the matter before state judges. The Florida Supreme Court ruled unanimously (7–0) that manual recounts could continue. Bush's lawyers appealed the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court. The nation waited to find out who would be the next president.

On December 12, a bitterly divided Supreme Court ruled 5–4 that the recounts were unconstitutional. It ordered a halt to all further recounts. Gore conceded the election to Bush.

The presidency

Bush took office ready to cut taxes, improve schools, build an antimissile defense system to intercept long-range missiles launched at the United States, create a White House department of faith-based (religious) initiatives, and reform immigration policy and Social Security. He drew criticism soon after taking office when he refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol, an amendment to the international treaty on climate change that required nations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in their countries.

On September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked commercial airliners and attacked the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. (See **September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks**). With Congress uniting behind him, Bush announced a war on terrorism. In October, the United States led an invasion into Afghanistan (see **Afghanistan Conflict**), where **al-Qaeda**, the terrorist group responsible for the attack, was headquartered.

The Bush administration set up a new department, the **Homeland Security Department**, to consolidate the different government agencies that protect the nation from terrorist attacks and other disasters. Bush aides put together the **USA PATRIOT Act** of 2001, which gave law enforcement agents more power but caused controversy by treading upon civil rights.

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Going on the offensive

Not long after invading Afghanistan, Bush announced that Iraq, North Korea, and Iran were "axes of evil," saying that they were illegally building up **weapons of mass destruction** (weapons capable of causing massive numbers of deaths, injuries, or destruction that fall into one of three categories: biological, chemical, and nuclear or radiological weapons) and that the United States would not allow them to do so. He stepped up his case against Iraq's president, Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), claiming that Iraq continued to build weapons of mass destruction even after the United Nations (UN) had concluded otherwise. The Bush administration also claimed that Iraq had links to al-Qaeda, and the administration asked the UN for a mandate to strike. The UN voted not to participate in an attack.

Proceeding without the United Nations, the Bush administration put together a coalition of forces dominated by American and British troops, with support from Australia, Denmark, and Poland, and drew up plans to invade Iraq. Worldwide opposition to an **Iraq invasion** was demonstrated on February 15, 2003, when protests drew between six and ten million people in hundreds of cities around the world. Nonetheless, the U.S. military assembled 125,000 troops in Kuwait; the United Kingdom assembled another 45,000. The coalition gave Hussein forty-eight hours to comply with requests for inspection and then attacked, starting the Iraq War. Investigations in Iraq after the war had started revealed no significant weapons of mass destruction; the link between Iraq and al-Qaeda was disproved. The initial attack overthrew Hussein, who was later hanged, but the war continued, fueled by Iraqi insurgents (rebels) who resented the American occupation of Iraq and by a growing civil war among Iraqi factions.

Although Bush tried to accomplish other things in his presidency, the ongoing Iraq War dominated his tenure in office nearly completely. During his first term in office, Bush was able to sustain popular support for his mission, and he was reelected to a second term. Soon after his reelection, however, his popularity began to plunge as the war dragged on. Then, on August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina, one of the most disastrous storms in U.S. history, struck the Gulf Coast, wreaking havoc in **Mississippi** and **Louisiana**. In New Orleans, the levees that protect the city from flooding broke down, causing 80 percent of the city to flood. For days, thousands of New Orleans citizens were stranded. Critics

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claimed that the Bush administration, and particularly the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), did not seem to grasp the severity of the situation in the city. Their delays in getting help to New Orleans caused chaos and suffering, which was meanwhile being viewed on nationwide television. For an administration that had prided itself on security and being ready for disaster, its handling of the rescue of New Orleans in the aftermath of Katrina was viewed as a black mark.

In the 2006 congressional elections, the Democrats won a majority in both the House and the Senate for the first time in more than a decade. The growing ranks of critics of the president accused him and his top aides of having manufactured evidence of weapons of mass destruction and al-Qaeda links to win support for the Iraq invasion. Critics also held that the administration had given too little thought to the political situation in Iraq and the Middle East and thus provided too few troops to handle the insurgency that followed the invasion. Even some Republicans broke rank, calling the administration's handling of the war incompetent. Bush's approval ratings in national polls slipped below 50 percent in January 2005 and continued to plunge, with a disapproval rating hanging in the mid-60s in 2007.

Busing for School Desegregation

In the 1954 landmark case ***Brown v. Board of Education***, the **Supreme Court** ruled that segregated public schools (schools that separate black and white students) violated the constitutional right of equal protection for all citizens. A year after the *Brown* ruling, the Court convened again to determine how to desegregate, or end school **segregation.** (See also **Desegregation of Public Schools**.) The Court stated that desegregation should proceed with "all deliberate speed." Federal district judges were instructed to examine school systems on a city-by-city basis to create plans to correct illegal segregation. Since this guidance was vague, many school systems remained segregated for years.

In the 1960s, civil rights lawyers from the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) filed lawsuits on behalf of black parents and children requesting the courts to require desegregation plans for individual cities. In a 1969 decision, *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education,* the Supreme Court indicated that it would no longer tolerate delays in school desegregation. But exactly how to de-

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segregate schools remained a question until the Supreme Court ruled on the *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* case in 1971.

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg school district included the city of Charlotte, **North Carolina**, and rural Mecklenburg County. Twenty-nine percent of the district's school-age children were black, most of them concentrated in one area of Charlotte. Schools in the district were essentially either all-white or all-black, and the all-black schools were more poorly equipped than the all-white schools. In 1965, NAACP attorney Julius LeVonne Chambers (1936–) initiated a lawsuit to end racial segregation in the Charlotte public schools. The first ruling in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* made only vague requirements for change. Initially, the school district adopted a plan that supposedly permitted students to transfer between schools if there were open places available. After these changes, though, only 490 of the 20,000 black students in the district attended schools that contained any white students, and most of these students were in one school that had only seven white students. The few black students who attempted to attend all-white schools were often attacked by mobs of angry whites.

Chambers filed another legal action in 1969. Federal District Judge James B. McMillan (1916–1995) found that the Charlotte schools were still illegally segregated. With the assistance of education consultants, McMillan developed and imposed a desegregation plan in the public schools that involved transporting white children to previously all-black schools and black children to previously all-white schools to achieve desegregation. By mixing black children and white children in every school building, the school officials would no longer be able to provide adequate educational resources only for white students. Since blacks tended to live in one area of the city, this required transporting the children.

Many white residents did not want their children to attend schools with black children. Judge McMillan received threatening telephone calls and was ostracized (excluded from social events) by the community. Chambers was directly attacked. Firebombs and dynamite damaged his office, car, and home. The school board still wanted to avoid desegregation and appealed to the Supreme Court to overturn Judge McMillan's busing plan.

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Many people expected at least some of the Supreme Court justices to rule against busing as a tool for desegregating schools. President **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) had campaigned against the forced busing of school children. Nixon's two appointees to the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Warren Burger (1907–1995) and Associate Justice Harry Blackmun (1908–1999), were presumed to agree with the president's view. Nonetheless, after much debate, on April 20, 1971, the Court ruled unanimously that judges could order school districts to use busing as a means to desegregate schools.

Busing plans nationwide

The use of busing spread as federal judges began to hear more lawsuits challenging discriminatory conditions in school systems. For once, desegregation plans were not limited to the South. In a 1973 case, the city of Denver, **Colorado**, was ordered to create a busing plan.

In 1974, a federal court ordered the schools in Boston, **Massachusetts**, to desegregate through an aggressive busing program. Boston's neighborhoods had long been divided by nationality and race. The court-ordered busing unleashed a storm of protest, frequent rioting, and even attacks on students. Residents of white neighborhoods threw rocks and bottles at buses and attacked black passersby. Violence between black and white students led to the presence of police on school grounds during much of the controversy. The violent conflict over busing in Boston lasted for years.

Eventually, most schools adjusted to busing, and desegregation became an accepted aspect of life in many public schools. In smaller cities, busing programs gave black students the opportunity to receive educational benefits that had previously been denied to them. Public opinion research indicated that, especially in southern states, the implementation of desegregation orders was accompanied by an increase in racial tolerance.

Milliken v. Bradley

In many large metropolitan (city) areas, however, schools failed to become racially mixed. Due to desegregation and busing requirements in the cities, many whites moved to the suburbs. As middle-class residents and businesses fled the cities, many cities were growing poor. Central city

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schools that often served poor minority students had significantly fewer resources than neighboring suburban schools for maintaining buildings and providing high-quality educational programs. To desegregate schools, the federal courts would have had to mix city school districts with neighboring suburban school districts.

After *Swann,* President Nixon had appointed four justices to the Supreme Court. In 1974, the Court issued a divided five-to-four decision in *Milliken v. Bradley* that prevented busing plans from crossing school district boundaries. Thus, in many large cities, segregation, and inferior education for black students, continued.

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John C. Calhoun

John C. Calhoun was the first to develop the concepts of states' rights and Southern secession from the Union in the decades leading up to the American **Civil War** (1861–65). He was convinced that the only way to preserve the South's institution of **slavery** lay in separation of the slave states from the free (non-slave) states.

Early years

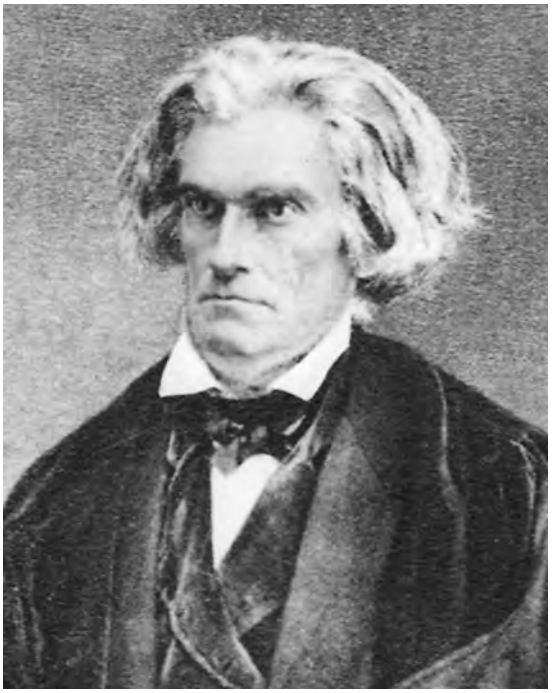
Calhoun was born on March 18, 1782, in rural **South Carolina**. His Scotch-Irish family was relatively wealthy and owned twenty or more slaves. His father was a judge and served in the state legislature. Calhoun graduated from Yale in 1804. He then studied law and established a law practice near his family home. In 1811, he married a distant cousin, and the marriage brought him a modest fortune. In 1825, he established a plantation in South Carolina.

Calhoun was a handsome young man with a commanding presence. He had little humor and no cultural interests, and he concerned himself almost completely with ideas, politics, and business. He was considered a great thinker.

War hawk

Calhoun's political career began in 1807 with a speech he delivered denouncing Britain for violating American rights at sea. He was elected to the South Carolina legislature in 1808 and two years later won election to the U.S. House of Representatives. In Congress, he became one of the

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John C. Calhoun fought for a way to preserve the Southern states' institution of slavery. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

"war hawks," a group of congressmen led by U.S. representative **Henry Clay** (1777–1852) of **Kentucky**, who strongly and impatiently urged war with England. Calhoun became chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, where he played a major role in moving the country into the **War of 1812** (1812–14) against Great Britain.

After the war, Calhoun pushed for a stronger military establishment. He advocated measures that he himself would later denounce as unconstitutional, such as federal encouragement of manufacturing interests by means of a protective tariff (a duty, or tax, paid on imports), and federally funded internal improvements like roads and canals.

Calhoun held top positions through several presidential administrations. He was secretary of war under **James Monroe** (1758–1831; served 1817–25), and he served as vice president under both **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–29) and **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37). He had expectations of becoming president, but he fell out of favor because of his involvement in the **nullification controversy**.

Nullification theory

Just before Jackson was elected president, Congress passed an extremely high protective tariff, taxing goods coming into the United States from other countries. This tariff raised the prices of imported goods, making them less competitive against goods produced within the country. The Tariff of 1828 (also known as the Tariff of Abominations) protected only those goods manufactured in the industrial North. The South had no such protections for its agricultural products. Europeans, resenting the tariffs on their products in the United States, were far less likely to buy any American products.

Most Southerners hated the tariff, but the **cotton** planters of South Carolina were especially angry. South Carolina was already facing economic disaster as its soil became depleted (its nutrients reduced or used

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up) by the overplanting of cotton. The proposed tariff would only further damage the frail economy.

Calhoun turned to the **Constitution** to find a way for his state to avoid the tariff. In 1829, he secretly wrote and distributed copies of *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest*, a pamphlet with an unusual interpretation of the Constitution. Calhoun argued that the Union (the United States) had not been formed directly by the people of the United States; rather, it had been formed through the individual states, of which the people were citizens. According to Calhoun, it was the states, and not the federal government, that were supreme in power. Thus, when a state objected to a law passed by a majority in the federal government, that state had the right to nullify the law (block its enforcement) within its borders until three-quarters of the other states overruled its decision. At the time it was overruled, the state could choose to yield to the will of the other states, or to secede (withdraw) entirely from the Union. President Jackson, who believed in preserving the Union at all costs, was furious when he learned that Calhoun, his vice president, was the author of this doctrine.

Jackson threatened military force to collect the duties in South Carolina. In December 1832, Calhoun resigned from the vice presidency after being elected by South Carolina to the U.S. Senate to defend its cause. Clay brought forth a compromise, which Calhoun supported, to lower the tariff gradually over a decade. The crisis subsided for a time.

A sectional position

Calhoun was outspoken in his support of slavery in the South. In the Senate in the 1830s, Calhoun attacked the abolitionists (people who wish to eliminate slavery altogether), demanding that their publications be excluded from the mails and their petitions not be received by Congress, and finally urging a prohibition on all protests against slavery. By 1837, he was defending slavery as "a positive good" and had become an advocate for the suppression of open discussion and a free press.

Calhoun began to write his political theory in the middle 1840s. These political writings were published after his death. In them he insisted that the Constitution should be based on the principle that people are not equally entitled to liberty. He argued against government by the will of the majority, which he believed would necessarily take away the rights of minorities (such as Southern slave owners). He proposed to give

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the minority groups a veto power over federal legislation. He also proposed having two executives, or presidents, for the Union, each to be chosen by one of the great sections of the country, with the agreement of both necessary for federal action.

Calhoun's shift to a sectional position (one concerned with a particular region and its interests) had virtually destroyed his chances for the presidency, but he continued to aspire to that office. He declared his candidacy in 1843 but withdrew to accept appointment as secretary of state for the last year in office of President **John Tyler** (1790–1862; served 1841–45). In that position, Calhoun championed the annexation of **Texas** as a slave state. He negotiated a treaty of annexation, but it did not pass in Congress.

For the rest of his life, Calhoun fought federal acts that in any way encroached on the South's right to choose its own institutions. Determined to see the Southern way of life preserved, he must have foreseen the trouble ahead. As he lay dying in 1850, his last words were, "The South! The poor South!"

California

California entered the Union as the thirty-first state on September 9, 1850. Located on the Pacific coast, California is neighbor to **Oregon** to the north, **Nevada** and **Arizona** to the east, and Mexico to the south. The state capital is Sacramento, in the north-central region. California obtained statehood at the conclusion of the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), near the height of the **California gold rush**, and on the verge of the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

The region that became California was populated by migrants from Asia who crossed an ice bridge to North America during the last Ice Age, probably around fifteen thousand years ago or earlier. By the time Europeans began to explore the region, there were several Native American tribes living in the area.

Spaniards who had conquered the Aztecs in what is now Mexico explored southern California in the sixteenth century. Ocean travel up the West Coast was difficult because of wind and currents, so the area went mostly unsettled by Europeans until the eighteenth century.

In the late eighteenth century, as Russians explored California, Spain decided to strengthen its control of the area by establishing missions

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among the Native Americans. (See **Spanish Missions**.) The first of the missions, or stations from which missionaries could spread Christianity, was established in 1769 in San Diego. However, the missionaries had little success. Disease carried by Europeans greatly reduced the Native American population.

The Mexican period and war

Mexico won independence from Spain in 1821. The mission system collapsed, and political control of the area of California became chaotic. In 1833, the Mexican government took land from the missions and gave it to political favorites for settlement. The new settlers established *rancheros*, ranches for cattle-raising and agriculture.

During California's Mexican period, increasing numbers of trappers, traders, and other settlers migrated to the area from the United States. The U.S. government tried, unsuccessfully, to negotiate with Mexico for the purchase of California. In 1846, the same year that the Pacific Northwest became part of the United States, settlers seized the Mexican garrison (military post) in Sonoma and declared California an independent republic. In May 1846, the United States went to war with Mexico.

Fighting in California during the Mexican-American War was slight. Californians surrendered to American explorer and militia leader **John Charles Frémont** (1813–1890) in January 1847. The United States won the war the following year, and Mexico ceded California to America on February 2, 1848, under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The United States agreed to pay Mexico over $18 million.

Statehood

Days before the signing of the treaty, gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill, a sawmill on the south fork of the American River in north-central California. The gold rush that followed brought the population of California to over sixty thousand, which was the number necessary for a territory to become a state. At that time, Congress was debating whether to allow **slavery** in new territories, so it failed to establish an official government for California.

Californians took matters into their own hands. Forty-eight delegates attended a constitutional convention in Monterey, California, in September 1849. The constitution they wrote outlawed slavery in

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California, mostly to prevent slaves from being used in gold mining instead of free men. The voters of California ratified, or approved, the constitution in November.

California petitioned Congress to become a state. Southern states objected to admitting California as a free state rather than a slave state. They relented, however, under the **Compromise of 1850**. The compromise, which set out several new laws regarding slavery and new U.S. territories, cleared the way for Congress to admit California as the thirty-first state. President **Millard Fillmore** (1800–1874; served 1850–53) signed the admission law on September 9, 1850.

Twentieth century

California's population became increasingly urban in the early twentieth century. In April 1906, a major earthquake struck San Francisco, engulfing the city in flames for three days. Hundreds of people perished in the disaster, and around twenty-eight thousand buildings were destroyed. Within three years, twenty thousand new buildings had been erected, and the city was reviving.

California experienced an influx of migrants from the **Dust Bowl** of the Great Plains throughout the 1930s. Drought and devastating wind storms left thousands of people homeless and out of work. They migrated to California in hopes of finding a better life.

Millions arrived in California during **World War II** (1939–45). Expansion of military installations, shipyards, and aircraft plants created new jobs and attracted both whites and ethnic minorities. By 1942, Los Angeles had the second-highest Mexican population after Mexico City. Not all minorities were welcome, however. Because America was at war with Japan, the federal government suspected the loyalties of people of Japanese descent. Under the executive order of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), ninety-three thousand Japanese American citizens were forced into internment camps until the end of the war. (See **Japanese Internment Camps**.)

California's major cities have captured the national imagination—Los Angeles primarily for the movie and television industry, San Francisco for its dramatic beauty and vibrant history as well as its earthquakes. Both cities have at times also struggled with a reputation for violence and social unrest. In the 1960s, San Francisco became known as a haven for hippies and the scene of the drug culture. In the 1990s, Los

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Angeles made the news for cases of police brutality and corruption as well as street riots. Most notable were the **Los Angeles riots** of 1992, which resulted after African American motorist Rodney King (1965–) was shown on video being beaten by police officers. When they were acquitted of the charge of using unnecessary force, riots broke out. In the twenty-first century, California fulfilled its image as home to the stars when citizens elected former Hollywood actor Arnold Schwarzenegger (1947–) as governor in 2003 and again in 2006.

The state's population in 2006 was just over 36.4 million, with 60.9 percent whites, 35.5 percent Latino or Hispanic, and 12.4 percent Asian. Los Angeles was the largest city with nearly 4.0 million residents. San Diego came in second with nearly 1.3 million.

Because the state has a diversified economy, it has been able to remain more stable than others in time of recession. It is the leading industrial state and ranks first in nearly every general manufacturing category. The motion-picture industry provides hundreds of thousands of jobs. Agriculture is important to California, which grows about 55 percent of all fruits and vegetables marketed to the United States.

Tourism is another major source of employment. Each year, millions of people from across the world visit the state. Main attractions include San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge, Chinatown, and Fisherman's Wharf; Disneyland, in Anaheim; the Big Sur coastal region; the state's twenty-one national parks, including Redwood, Yosemite, and Sequoia; and of course Hollywood.

California Gold Rush

On January 24, 1848, a carpenter named James Marshall (1810–1885) was working on a sawmill on the American River in northern **California** when he saw a gleam of gold in the river. After his discovery, rumors of gold began to circulate around the country. Later that year, President **James K. Polk** (1795–1849; served 1845–49) notified Congress of the discovery of gold in California, and gold fever broke out in the nation. Driven by dreams of wealth, thousands made the long journey to California, joining in the greatest mass migration in American history. In the following years, a fortune in gold was mined, and the West Coast was transformed.

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Mining towns and small camps sprang up all over California during the gold rush. Miners merely needed a pick, a shovel, and a pan to try and find gold. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Getting there

Once they had decided to go west, many Americans living on the eastern seacoast traveled to California by sea. Within a month following the president's message to Congress, sixty-one ships left the Atlantic seaports for the six-month voyage around Cape Horn at the southern tip of South America, arriving at their California destination in the summer of 1849. Other easterners tried to take a shortcut by taking a steamship to Panama and then crossing the Isthmus of Panama, the narrow strip of land that lies between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, linking Central and South America. They then boarded another ship on the Pacific side of Panama, bound for California. This was a rough route with a great risk of infectious disease, but it became overcrowded with gold seekers nonetheless.

The largest number of gold seekers went to California over land. The most popular route was the **Oregon Trail**. With so much traffic along

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the trails, however, the grass supply needed for animals was soon exhausted, and water holes along the trail became infected with disease. Most immigrants knew nothing about traveling along plains or over mountains. Guides were scarce, and many guidebooks and newspaper accounts were misleading. The trails were marked by the graves of those who had succumbed to infectious diseases such as cholera, dysentery, or mountain fever.

A new California

At that time, California was a sparsely populated territory that had only recently been ceded to the United States by Mexico in 1848. The population of the future state hovered at thirteen thousand, about half of whom were Californios, people of Spanish or Mexican descent. A flood of about eighty thousand gold seekers arrived in 1849, and the population swelled to three hundred thousand by 1854. The immigrants were mostly young and male. Because of the vast wealth that could be made, the gold rush attracted people from all social classes. Both professional men and unskilled laborers could be found in the gold fields, working side by side.

California's sleepy villages and muddy camps grew into cities in record time. At the beginning of 1849, San Francisco had a population of eight hundred. By 1850, its population had reached twenty thousand, and ten years later it was fifty thousand. Other towns, like Marysville, Sacramento, and Stockton, also expanded, becoming supply centers for the miners. Hundreds of mining camps sprang up near the diggings with picturesque names, such as Poker Flat, Hangtown, Red Dog, Hell's Delight, and Whiskey Bar, expressing the sentiments of a predominantly male society. The large influx of people accelerated California's move to statehood in 1850.

Getting rich

For those who made it to the mining areas of northern California in the early days of the gold rush, all that was needed was a pick, pan, and shovel. Gold was not hard to find. Deposited in streambeds, it could be harvested simply by poking around with a knife and digging it out with a spoon. Water could also be used to mine for gold. Flowing through a tin pan, the water would carry off the lighter particles of dirt and leave the heavier gold behind. A miner could earn $16 a day by panning an

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ounce of gold; in comparison, at that time farm hands earned about $1 for a twelve-hour day. People frequently earned the same amount in two weeks in the gold fields that they would have earned in a full year at home. From 1849 to 1855, an estimated $300 million worth of gold was taken from the California gold fields.

The sudden wealth of the miners made prices soar. One miner told of paying $43 for an ordinary breakfast at a boarding house near the mines. The cost for the same breakfast before the gold rush was 25 cents. Fortunately, there was very little for the miners to buy in the makeshift mining towns. The men wore shabby clothing that was often patched, lived in tents or lean-tos, and ate drab food. Since at first there were no banks, miners usually kept their money in their pockets or at their campsite. The early miners had a reputation for honesty and generosity.

The new wealth attracted many people who hoped to profit indirectly. Dentists, doctors, lawyers, builders, road workers, launderers, cooks, and boardinghouse operators could charge extremely high prices and make far more money at the time in California than anywhere else in the country.

Disappointment

The gold rush was not a dream come true for everyone, though. As economic pressures mounted, prejudice against racial and national minorities increased. Anglo-Saxons from New England, the South, the Missouri frontier, and elsewhere discriminated against Peruvians, Mexicans, and Chinese. In 1852, the new state of California passed the Foreign Miner's Act, which required very high fees of Chinese miners, making it nearly impossible for them to make a living at the mines.

A few years after the initial strike, the gold that was easy to find had already been mined. It became more difficult for a miner to realize dreams of wealth. Large companies began to dominate the gold-mining industry, and they hired miners for wages. By 1854, miners who could obtain jobs were averaging only $75 a month. Many miners left in bitter disappointment.

The gold strike greatly enriched the United States and transformed California from a wild frontier territory to a wealthy, well-populated state. The new city of San Francisco boasted a thriving arts and letters scene, with important newspapers in many languages, a host of literary

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figures, and many painters and other artists. What had once seemed like the edge of the world was suddenly a vibrant part of the United States.

The Call of the Wild

Jack London (1876–1916) was an adventure writer whose stories earned him a reputation as a powerful storyteller. During his career, he was the nation's most commercially successful writer. His stories often featured canines, both tame and wild, and the most popular tales were set in the wilderness of **Alaska** or the Klondike region of Canada. Without exception, all of London's stories included grand adventure and the common theme of survival in nature.

His 1903 novel, *The Call of the Wild,* is arguably London's most well-known tale and is considered a classic in the canon of American literature. It is unique in that it is told from the perspective of a dog.



Jack London's classic novel **Call of the Wild** *tells the story of a kidnapped dog forced into the life of a sled dog—all told from the dog's perspective.*

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Plot

The plot revolves around a 140-pound dog named Buck, who is half St. Bernard and half sheepdog. Buck enjoys a comfortable life in **California**. When gold is discovered in the Klondike region of Canada, there is an immediate need for sled dogs. Buck is kidnapped and sold to dog traders, who "train" him by beating him with clubs. He is shipped to the Klondike and must adapt to the difficult life of a sled dog. In doing so, he relearns the instincts of his wild ancestors.

Buck experiences an intense and violent rivalry with Spitz, the lead dog on the sled team. He eventually kills Spitz and takes over as lead dog. He and his team are eventually sold to another group of men who are inexperienced in the wilderness. This inexperience leads to tragedy as the dogs begin to starve and die. By the time they reach the gold mining camp, just five of the original fourteen dogs are alive. When both the men and the dog team fall through the ice to their deaths, Buck escapes and finds a new master.

Buck has total devotion to this kind master, but more and more he finds himself drawn further to the wild. When his master is murdered by Yeehat Indians, Buck attacks and kills several of them. In the aftermath, he heads into the wild, where he becomes leader of a wolf pack.

Themes

The struggle for survival is a clear theme in *The Call of the Wild,* but London expounded upon it to go beyond struggle to mastery. This theme is most evident in the relationship conflict between Buck and Spitz, for it is when Buck kills his rival that he completely turns his back on his once-comfortable life and establishes himself as the master of the wild. The end of the death scene is described:

> A pause seemed to fall. Every animal was motionless as though turned to stone. Only Spitz quivered and bristled as he staggered back and forth, snarling with horrible menace, as though to frighten off impending death. Then Buck sprang in and out; but while he was in, shoulder had at last squarely met shoulder. The dark circle became a dot on the moon-flooded snow as Spitz disappeared from view. Buck stood and looked on, the successful champion, the dominant primordial beast who had made his kill and found it good.

Another theme of the novel is the power of primitive instincts. London makes it clear that Buck not only must learn to adapt to the

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frozen wilderness, but that he recovers memories passed down from his wild ancestors. As dogs (and humans, since dogs are the main characters in this story) become civilized, they bury their instincts. London wrote, "He was older than the days he had seen and the breaths he had drawn. He linked the past with the present, and the eternity behind him throbbed through him in a mighty rhythm to which he swayed as the tides and seasons swayed."

The importance of individualism is another main theme in London's novel. Although the dogs in the pack depend upon one another for survival and the ability to work as a team, there is no denying that individualism is a highly valued trait in the wilderness. London gives his readers this message by making the important step of mastery possible only by having him cut loose from the pack and strike out on his own. Even the love and devotion of a caring master is not enough to satisfy Buck; he eventually strikes out on his own.

Impact

Because *The Call of the Wild* features dogs as the main characters, it is sometimes classified as juvenile fiction. But its complex and interwoven themes go beyond those commonly found in young adult novels, and although the plot revolves around dogs, the story is not *about* dogs, but about survival and mastery, heritage and individualism.

London's novel was an immediate success when published in 1903. The late 1800s had seen a major gold rush in the Klondike region, and the prospect of getting rich quick appealed to many Americans willing to take the risks on an adventure to the north and west. The **California gold rush** had taken place in 1848, but the challenges of finding gold were nothing compared to those associated with the frozen wilderness. This air of excitement loaned itself well to London's tale; readers were eager for stories such as his.

Another reason for the novel's success is that it was written in such a way so as to appeal to a wide reading audience. The interest of the story spans all age groups and social classes, and taken as a whole text, it contains universal messages about struggling and overcoming obstacles. These are themes that apply to every life, in every culture throughout history. In addition, London wrote it with a deep respect and reverence for the natural world, and his vivid descriptions reflect this. For these

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reasons, *The Call of the Wild* remains one of the most widely read books in the world, even more than one hundred years after its publication.

Camp David Accords

The Camp David Accords were historic agreements for peace in the Middle East that were developed with the help of U.S. president **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81). At his **Maryland** presidential retreat, Carter met with Menachem Begin (1913–1992), prime minister of Israel, and Anwar El-Sadat (1918–1981), president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, over a twelve-day period in 1978. The announcement of the Camp David Accords marked a major breakthrough in bringing peace to the troubled region.

An issue of land

For hundreds of years, the Middle East (regions in Southwest Asia and parts of North Africa) has been the site of conflict that is at once political, cultural, and religious in nature. The battles have been numerous and bloody. In particular, the conflict over a region called Palestine emerged as the most serious issue for the area in the twentieth century. Palestine is made up of parts of modern-day Israel, territories of the Gaza Strip (along the Mediterranean Sea), and the West Bank (area west of the Jordan River).

In 1947, the United Nations voted to partition (divide) Palestine. There was to be a Jewish state, an Arab state, and an independent Jerusalem state. The Arabs did not approve of this plan. When the Jews claimed Israel as an independent state, the Arabs refused to recognize it because 75 percent of former Palestine was within its borders. The Arabs also refused to create their own separate state. War broke out with Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Transjordan (now known as Jordan) leading the attack on Israel. By the end of the war, two-thirds of the Arab population in Palestine had lost their homes and were expected to assimilate (adapt and blend) into surrounding cultures. The Arab-Israeli conflict had begun.

Diplomacy at work

When Jimmy Carter took office in 1977, one of his goals was to resolve the conflict in the Middle East. He met with Begin and Sadat September

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5–17, 1978, at Camp David. Carter's determination not to leave until some sort of peace had been reached fueled the negotiations and kept the warring countries' leaders from leaving the talks when the situation got tense.

The first accord is called "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East." The second is titled "A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty Between Egypt and Israel," and it led to the formal Egypt-Israeli Peace Treaty signed in March 1979. The agreements outlined how relations between the two countries would proceed in terms of political independence. They also call for billions of dollars of assistance given annually from the United States to both Israel and Egypt. This subsidy is still being provided in the twenty-first century.

The Camp David Accords did not solve all the problems of the Middle East. As a direct result of his willingness to negotiate, Sadat was assassinated in 1981 by a radical group of Arabs. But while many Egyptians were unhappy with the accords, they could not deny the many economic and political advantages the agreements provided. The world's perception of Egypt changed markedly as a result of the Camp David Accords.

Al Capone

Al Capone became famous in the 1920s as one of the most notorious criminals in American history. He considered himself a businessman, but his business was organized crime. Even in the twenty-first century, Capone remains a symbol of the **Roaring Twenties**.

Capone was born on January 7, 1899, the fourth of nine children of Italian immigrants. His father was a barber and his mother a seamstress. Capone grew up in a rough neighborhood in Brooklyn, **New York**, where he learned at an early age how to survive street life. As a teen, he joined several youth gangs.

Capone dropped out of school at the age of fourteen after getting into a fight with a teacher. He joined the Five Point Juniors, a younger branch of a criminal organization called the Five Point Gang. Capone learned racketeering (illegal business transactions) through his gang affiliation. During this time, he also held legitimate jobs.

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Earns his nickname

At one point, young Capone worked as a bartender, where he made the mistake of insulting a female patron. The woman's brother defended his sister's honor by slashing Capone's face three times with a knife. Capone's facial scars never disappeared, and they earned him the nickname "Scarface."

While still a teen, Capone met Mae Coughlin, a department store clerk two years his senior. Coughlin and Capone married in December 1919 just after Mae gave birth to Albert Francis "Sonny" Capone. Sonny was their only child.

In 1921, Capone received an invitation from a gangster he knew from his Five Point Gang days to move to Chicago, **Illinois**, and join the operation of James Colosimo (1877–1920). Capone moved his family to the city just as **Prohibition** (the constitutional ban on the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages that was intended to improve society) was beginning. Despite the new law, people still wanted to drink alcohol. Gangsters (the popular term for members of organized crime) knew this and realized they could make a great deal of money by providing the illegal beverages. The sale and distribution of illegal liquor, known as bootlegging, quickly became a focus of organized crime, alongside gambling and prostitution.

Becomes a household name

Soon after his arrival in Chicago, Capone became second in command of organized criminal activity on the south side of the city. His boss, Johnny Torrio (1882–1957), was the man who had apprenticed him in his early gang days and summoned him to Chicago. Torrio recognized in Capone a shrewd businessman who did not act without careful consideration.

Capone and Torrio formed relationships—not all good—with other criminal organizations across the country. Their main enemy was George "Bugs" Moran (1903–1959), who ran crime on the north side of Chicago. Moran's gang tried to kill Capone and Torrio in January 1925. Capone and Torrio survived the attempt, but Torrio was seriously wounded and retired to Italy, leaving Capone in charge.

Capone's empire included speakeasies (places where illegal liquor was sold and consumed), gambling establishments, prostitution rings,

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nightclubs, racetracks, and liquor distilleries. He earned as much as $100,000 a year and protected his businesses by paying police officers and political leaders on the side. With these powerful authority figures accepting his bribes, Capone made Chicago nearly lawless. It was a city of intense violence and corruption.

Everyone knew who Capone was. With a penchant for flashy suits and jewelry, he made quite a spectacle wherever he went. He was not all bad, as he used his wealth to help the needy. Capone opened one of the city's first soup kitchens during the **Great Depression** (1929–41).

Shocks the nation

As the 1920s progressed, the level of organized crime violence escalated. This increase in crime only served to make the public outcry against Prohibition even louder. On February 14, 1929, an event of catastrophic violence occurred that shocked the nation.

Capone's feud with Moran was well-known. A recent attempt on the part of Moran to kill a close associate of Capone's led Capone to seek revenge. Moran's gang used a garage as a drop-off site for shipments of illegal liquor. Seven members of that gang were at the garage on February 14, 1929, when a group ambushed them. The men were dressed as police officers, so Moran's men assumed this was a raid on their bootlegging operation and turned to face the wall with their hands in the air. The uniformed men were Capone's gang dressed in stolen outfits. They shot the men facing the wall as well as more members of the gang who burst in. Moran's men were gunned down with nearly two hundred bullets. Although Capone was in Florida at the time, he was widely credited with what came to be called the **St. Valentine's Day Massacre**. Capone was never prosecuted.

President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33) responded to the St. Valentine's Day Massacre by cracking down on organized crime, and on Capone in particular. The mob boss was imprisoned for a year, and when released, faced even greater pressure to cut back on his illegal pursuits. The Justice Department set up a squad of special agents headed by Eliot Ness (1902–1957). Ness and his nine men became known as the Untouchables, and they worked around the clock to fight organized crime, especially bootlegging, police corruption, and racketeering.

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Ness and his men finally brought Capone down, but not for murder or racketeering. The gangster was sent to prison in 1931 for failing to pay his income taxes. He owed the government more than $200,000. During his trial, Capone attempted to bribe the jury into finding him innocent. At the last minute, however, the judge switched jury members, and Capone was convicted on four counts of tax evasion, a charge that landed him in jail for eleven years.

During his imprisonment, Capone lost his influence as a mob boss. He spent his last years in jail ill, as the syphilis (a sexually transmitted disease) he had contracted as a teen came back in its final form. Capone suffered brain damage and spent his final years living quietly in Florida. He died in 1947 at the age of forty-eight.

Stokely Carmichael

Gifted, handsome, and well-spoken, Stokely Carmichael rose to fame as the chair of the major civil rights group, the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC, called "Snick"). In contrast to civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) and his nonviolent approach, Carmichael became known for his use of the slogan "black power," which advocated a militant, or aggressive, struggle for liberation from white oppressors. (See **Black Power Movement**.) Carmichael's quest for black empowerment also included self-reliance among African Americans; pride in African American identity and culture; and a separation from white culture.

Teenage civil rights activist

Carmichael was born on June 29, 1941, in Trinidad. He joined his parents in the United States when he was eleven, living in the Harlem area of New York City. His status as a foreigner and his self-described "hip" demeanor made him popular among his white schoolmates. Carmichael was a bright student. When his family moved to the Bronx, he was admitted to the Bronx High School of Science, a school for gifted youths.

While Carmichael was in high school, the African American **civil rights movement** was gaining momentum. During Carmichael's senior year, four African American college students staged a sit-in at the whites-only lunch counter at a Woolworth's store in Greensboro, **North Carolina.** (See **Sit-in Movement**.) Carmichael joined a national boycott

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of Woolworth's stores hoping to pressure Woolworth's owners to desegregate all of its stores' facilities throughout the country. He then traveled to **Virginia** and **South Carolina** to join antidiscrimination sit-ins.

Joins SNCC

Because of his growing sensitivity to the plight of blacks in the United States, Carmichael refused offers to attend white colleges and decided to study at the historically black Howard University in **Washington, D.C.,** where he majored in philosophy. While he was in college, he joined a local organization called the Nonviolent Action Group, or "NAG," which was affiliated with the Atlanta-based SNCC. In 1961, Carmichael traveled to the South to join the **freedom riders,** a group of black and white activists who rode interstate buses in an attempt to end **segregation** policies on buses and in stations. As one of the freedom riders, Carmichael was jailed for forty-nine days in Jackson, **Mississippi.** He was twenty years old.

Lowndes County Freedom Organization

After graduating in 1964, Carmichael became a full-time organizer for SNCC. He was chosen to direct the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) office in Greenwood, Mississippi, for the Mississippi **Freedom Summer** voter registration project that year.

Next he devoted himself to SNCC's African American voter registration project in Lowndes County, **Alabama.** Lowndes County's black residents were poor and landless. Though they were by far the majority of the population, 86 white families owned 90 percent of the land in the county and controlled the government. Few blacks were registered to vote.

When he realized that the Alabama **Democratic Party** was led by the segregationist and self-proclaimed white supremacists (people who believe white people should rule), Carmichael decided he would not encourage African Americans to register as Democrats. Instead, he helped form an independent party, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO). The LCFO ran candidates for the offices of sheriff, coroner, tax assessor, tax collector, and three school board seats. His efforts increased the number of registered black voters in the county from 70 to 2,600.

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The LCFO chose a snarling black panther as its symbol. Less than two years later, Huey Newton (1942–1989) and Bobby Seale (1937–), black activists in Oakland, **California**, sought permission to use the LCFO's black panther emblem for their newly formed **Black Panther Party.**

Turning from nonviolence

In 1965, Carmichael became the president of the SNCC. As the SNCC leader, he was asked to participate in a freedom march in Mississippi that had been the idea of **James Meredith** (1933–), the first black student to attend the University of Mississippi. Meredith had originally planned to lead the march by himself, but he had been shot when he traveled to Mississippi. He welcomed the help of civil rights leaders King and his **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC), along with Floyd McKissick (1922–1991) of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), and Carmichael. King and McKissick agreed that the march would be nonviolent and interracial. Carmichael strongly disagreed.

Carmichael's outrage at racism had deepened with his activism. In his years in the Deep South, he saw savage violence, threats, and intimidation doled out to protesters. He began to distance himself from **civil disobedience** and the nonviolent protest movement. He also became increasingly hostile to the aid offered by white civil rights workers.

Black Power

During the Mississippi freedom march, Carmichael began to articulate his views about "black power" before television cameras, defining "black power" as the right of blacks to define and organize themselves as they saw fit and to protect themselves from racial violence. In his 1967 book *Black Power* (co-written with Charles V. Hamilton), Carmichael explained further that ending segregation was not the answer to American racism. Carmichael believed that only economic and political independence for African Americans could lead to an end of discrimination and to black empowerment. He was willing to fight for that independence even if it meant creating a separate black nation.

As the revolutionary fervor of the 1960s deepened, SNCC changed course to become a "black power" organization. Carmichael decided not

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to run for re-election as its leader in 1967. His political emphasis was shifting. He spoke out against the **Vietnam War**. While he was abroad that year, he spoke out so strongly against U.S. policies and actions that some politicians talked of charging him with treason. Indeed, upon his return in 1968, U.S. marshals confiscated his passport. Meanwhile, the radical Oakland, California-based Black Panther Party made him its honorary prime minister. He resigned from that post the following year, rejecting Panther coalitions with white activists.

Moves to Africa

In 1968, Carmichael married South African singer-activist Miriam Makeba (1932–). The next year, he left the United States for Conakry, Republic of Guinea, in West Africa. There he worked for the restoration to power of the deposed Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), who shared many of his views about U.S. imperialism.

In Guinea, Carmichael took the name Kwame Turé. Over the next decades, he founded the All-African Revolutionary Party and continued to promote the idea of a black revolution to answer the problems of racism and injustice. In 1996, Carmichael was diagnosed with prostate cancer. The government of Trinidad and Tobago awarded him a $1,000 per month grant to help with medical bills. Groups of his American supporters also pitched in. He died in Guinea in late 1998.

Andrew Carnegie

Andrew Carnegie was born in Scotland in 1835. He and his family immigrated to the United States and settled in Pittsburgh, **Pennsylvania**, in 1848. By that time, Pittsburgh was already a heavily industrialized city. Smog hovered over the streets and buildings, and black soot filled people's noses and covered their clothes.

Carnegie began working full time at the age of thirteen, and he continued to work until the age of sixty-five. With a start in the cotton mills, he moved to hold various positions with telegraph agencies, the **railroad industry**, and other enterprises. Having wisely invested his money, Carnegie saved enough to start his own business in the 1870s. With Pittsburgh being one of the major industrial cities in America at the time, it only made sense for him to get involved in a key industrial business: the **steel industry**.

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Carnegie established Carnegie Steel in the 1870s, and by employing a keen sense of business and understanding of technology, his personal net worth reached $400,000 (about $5 million in twenty-first century money) by the time he was thirty-three years old. In April 1887, Carnegie married Louise Whitfield; ten years later, their one and only child—a daughter—was born.

Carnegie's steel mills were the most modern of their time, models for those yet to come. His determination to undersell the competition and rule the industry made him incredibly wealthy, but his employees were paid unjustly low wages and worked in unsafe conditions. Injuries were common occurrences in the Carnegie mills, even though his mills had the latest and most advanced equipment. In order to pay for that equipment, the steel magnate underpaid his laborers and cut corners wherever he could regarding safety.

Writes "The Gospel"

Carnegie's instinctive business sense and rags-to-riches story made him one of the most respected men in America. And yet his wealth troubled him. Having grown up in poverty, he understood the struggles and suffering of the poor. Despite this concern, he continued to keep his workers in poverty, and so his was a life of paradox (inconsistency).

In 1889, Carnegie published "The Gospel of Wealth," an essay in which he explained his philosophy on wealth and how to distribute it after death. He believed the wealthy had a responsibility to give back to society and work for its greater good. Such a philosophy attracted much attention at a time when the bulk of society's wealth was concentrated in the hands of very few, and those very few believed for the most part that they deserved their wealth. They also believed that those living in poverty did so because God willed it.

Homestead strike

Personal philosophy aside, Carnegie's mills were operated by unhappy laborers. These employees belonged to a union (a formally organized association of workers that advances its members' views on wages, work hours, and labor conditions). Carnegie and his business partner, Henry Clay Frick (1848–1919), had managed to keep union laborers under

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control at their other steel mills. But the mill in Homestead, Pennsylvania, was different; the union still had power.

In late June 1892, the union expressed its dissatisfaction with conditions at the Homestead mill but indicated they were willing to negotiate. Carnegie was in Scotland at the time, so Frick was in charge. Instead of negotiating, he shut down the mill and locked out thirty-eight hundred workers. On July 6, workers seized the mill and sealed off the town from strikebreakers (temporary workers who would do the job the strikers would not).

Frick called in three hundred Pinkerton Detective Agency men, and what ensued was twelve hours of mayhem and violence. While the detectives used rifles, the laborers used whatever else was at their disposal, including cannons. Four times the detectives tried to surrender; four times their white flag was shot down. Finally, their surrender was accepted. Both sides had suffered fatalities, and the surviving detectives were brutally beaten by townspeople.

Frick, still unwilling to negotiate, called in eighty-five hundred National Guard troops to allow strikebreakers to go to work at the mill. Although many businesses in town refused to serve the strikebreakers, public sentiment outside of Homestead was against the union workers, mostly because they had used violence.

Carnegie got word of what was happening. Although he publicly supported Frick's decisions, in private, he berated him for his lack of good judgment. The partnership ended, as did the friendship. In the end, the union workers failed to achieve any of their goals. Three hundred of them reapplied and were hired again. An angry Carnegie slashed their wages even further and completely crushed the union in that mill.

Retires to a life of philanthropy

Carnegie sold his steel empire to U.S. Steel in 1901 for $250 million, the equivalent of about $4.5 billion in twenty-first century money. With that sale, he became the wealthiest man in the world. He was sixty-five years old.

Within ten years, Carnegie had donated more than $43 million to libraries and other causes. In 1911, he founded the Carnegie Corporation to promote the advancement of knowledge and understanding. That foundation remains one of the largest philanthropic groups in the twenty-first century.

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By the time of his death in 1919, Carnegie had given away $350 million, with instructions to give away the remaining $30 million to various foundations and charities. His legacy lives on in the many diverse charitable foundations he established.

Carpetbaggers

The term *carpetbagger* arose in the South after the American **Civil War** (1861–65). At first, people used it to refer to any unwelcome stranger. The term soon evolved, however, to refer particularly to a northern businessman or politician who came south to take advantage of the postwar environment. Many northerners became politically active in the South during the **Reconstruction** years—the time when the states that had separated from the **Union** were reorganized after the Civil War—and many local southerners strongly resented them.

Carpetbags were a common suitcase made of strong fabric resembling carpet. The term *carpetbaggers* indicated that the northerners were so transitory that all they brought with them could fit into a carpetbag. In hopes of preventing northerners from building a lasting political presence, southern Democrats used the term to accuse Republican northerners of taking advantage of the economic and social challenges facing the South. Southern foes hoped to create an image of poor, meddling northerners who were working only for their own selfish interests.

Many northern Republicans were sincere and played important roles in southern politics during the first few years of Reconstruction. The efforts of the southern Democrats to oppose them, however, eventually paid off. Carpetbaggers disappeared as Democrats reclaimed political power throughout the South.

Cars

See **Automobile Industry**

Jimmy Carter

James Earl Carter Jr. was born on October 1, 1924, into a farming family in Plains, **Georgia**. His father was a farmer and local business owner, his mother a nurse, and there were three other children in the family. When the young Carter, known as Jimmy, was four, the family moved to

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a community called Archery to operate a peanut farm. The farm was a success, but even so, the family home was not equipped with running water or electricity.

Carter graduated from high school in 1941 and enrolled in college. His stay was cut short when he received an appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy in **Maryland** in 1942. There he excelled in electronics and naval tactics. Carter graduated near the top of his class in 1946 and served in the U.S. Navy until 1953. He married Rosalynn Smith (1927–) the year of his graduation, and the couple eventually had four children.

The Carter family moved to Norfolk, Virginia, soon after the marriage. When Carter's father died in 1953, young Carter resigned his commission and returned home to run the peanut farm. With the help of his wife, he turned it into a million-dollar business.



During Jimmy Carter's presidency, unemployment and inflation were high and the Iran hostage crisis unsettled the American public. He served only one term but later won the Nobel Peace Prize for his humanitarian efforts in other countries. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Enters politics

Carter was an active member in the Plains community, where he served on the board of education, joined other civic organizations, and was a deacon in his church. Carter's commitment to his Baptist faith gave him a liberal view on race, and amid the severe racial tensions of the 1950s South, his was a voice of tolerance.

Carter ran for a seat in the Georgia state senate in 1962 as a Democrat but lost in the primary. When he was able to prove his opponent had committed voter fraud, he easily won the general election. He earned a reputation as an outspoken, effective legislator and was reelected to another two-year term in 1964.

Carter ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1966. Despite the loss, he was convinced he could use politics as a tool to achieve good works. Between 1966 and 1970, Carter traveled the state, studying problems and making nearly eighteen hundred speeches. He won the governor's seat in 1970. In that position, he increased the number of African American state employees by 40 percent and pushed through a law stat-

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ing that the poor and the wealthy areas of Georgia must have equal educational funding.

While governor, Carter became more active in the **Democratic Party** on a national level. In 1974, staff members of Republican president **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) broke into Democratic campaign headquarters. This event became known as the **Watergate scandal**, and it shook American politics to its core. It was during this upheaval that Carter announced his plans to run for president. In the 1976 campaign, he won the Democratic Party nomination, and on November 2, he defeated President **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77), who had taken over the presidency when Nixon resigned amidst the disgrace of the Watergate scandal.

A one-term president

Carter was known for his down-to-earth leadership style. He wore cardigan sweaters instead of business suits, and he walked in parades rather than ride in a limousine. He was what he said he was: a regular man of the people.

His was a difficult presidency, however. Unemployment and inflation were high, and there was trouble with Iran. On November 4, 1979, militant Iranian students took over the American Embassy in Tehran, Iran, and held 52 Americans hostage for 444 days. The students were angry with the Carter adminstration because it had allowed Iran's deposed Shah into the United States for medical treatment. America had supported the Shah for years, but many Iranians resented him for his Western influences and repressive practices. Carter could not get the hostages freed, and in April 1980, eight U.S. Marines accidentally died when a rescue attempt had to be aborted. The **Iran hostage crisis** was a nightmare for the president, and it would haunt him throughout his term.

Carter achieved some major feats while in office. In September 1977, he negotiated the **Panama Canal** Treaties, a controversial move that gave control of the American-built canal to the Central American nation of Panama in the year 2000. Until that time, control would be shared between the United States and Panama. Many Americans and the **Republican Party** believed this negotiation to be a bad move strategically. The Panama Canal is a neutral canal, meaning that ships from all countries may use it for commerce. America had been in control of the canal since its completion in 1903. Carter's negotiations allowed

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America the permanent right to defend its neutrality, but control was given to Panama, an unstable country led by a brutal military dictator. After signing the treaties, Carter visited Panama with his wife and twelve senators. While there, the politicians urged Panama to soften its policies. Ultimately, the treaties led to improved relations between Latin America and Panama.

On September 17, 1978, Carter negotiated a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, two countries long embroiled in violent conflict. This agreement is known as the **Camp David Accords**. He also continued normalizing diplomatic and trade relations with the People's Republic of China. Carter made great efforts to minimize the number of nuclear arms produced by both the United States and the Soviet Union. His efforts resulted in negotiations known as the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) II Treaty in 1979. Congress was reluctant to ratify the treaty because it was feared the terms would weaken the United States. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in late 1979, Carter withdrew the treaty, and it was never ratified. Even so, the commitments outlined in SALT II were honored by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

America's economic situation was difficult for various reasons while Carter was in office. That fact, coupled with the hostage situation, left Carter at a disadvantage when it came time for reelection. The Republican Party challenger, former **California** governor **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89), defeated the former peanut farmer by one of the largest margins in history. Carter kept his efforts focused on the release of the hostages, who finally were freed on January 20, 1981, the day of Reagan's inauguration—literally minutes after Reagan was sworn in as president. Former president Carter represented the U.S. government in West Germany, where the hostages were welcomed at a military airbase and underwent medical tests.

Post-presidency

In the years immediately following his term in the Oval Office, historians considered Carter a decent man but one ill-equipped for leading the nation. More recent analysis assesses Carter's decisions and actions in a more positive light. For example, though he was criticized for the way he handled the Iran hostage crisis, he did manage to bring home all 52 Americans alive without breaking any laws.

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Carter used his post-presidency to champion causes he believed in. In 1981, Carter established the nonprofit Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia. The organization's purpose is multifaceted and includes the promotion of human rights and health care in Third World countries, the monitoring of democratic elections overseas, and the maintenance of immunization records for Atlanta children. Carter also aligned himself with Habitat for Humanity, a nonprofit organization that builds low-income housing around the world.

Carter maintained his role as a statesperson into the twenty-first century. In 2002, he received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts, only the third U.S. president to win the honor. The other two were **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) and **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21). Carter continues to dedicate his life to humanitarian issues around the world and has published scores of books on various topics.

George Washington Carver

George Washington Carver was a talented man who survived **slavery** and the loss of both parents at an early age. He spent his life trying to improve agricultural methods so that farmers could rise above poverty. He is perhaps most famous for inventing many uses for the peanut.

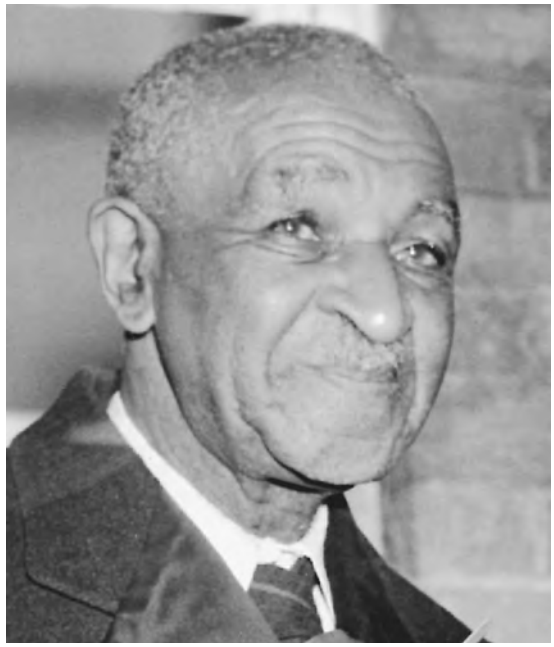
Born to slaves

George Washington Carver was born in a small cabin in Diamond, **Missouri**, shortly before the end of the American **Civil War** (1861–65). His mother was a slave owned by Moses and Susan Carver (slaves took the last names of their owners). His father, also a slave, was killed in an accident shortly after his son's birth. After Carver's mother was kidnapped, he and his brother were raised by the Carvers. Although they struggled financially, the Carvers were loving parents to the orphaned boys. Carver spent much of his childhood outdoors, where he explored his natural surroundings. He built a pond and even grew a plant nursery in the woods. His hobby earned him the nickname "plant doctor."

At the age of ten, Carver left his family to attend a school that allowed African American students. He took care of himself by working odd jobs and living with different families. In 1885, when he was twenty years old, he graduated from high school and was accepted at Highland

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College in **Kansas**, but when he arrived he was turned away because the school did not accept African Americans. Carver, lacking money and prospects, found work on a nearby fruit farm.



George Washington Carver spent most of his life trying to improve agricultural methods so that farmers could rise above poverty. AP IMAGES

Down but not out

The discrimination that kept Carver out of Highland College did not discourage him from furthering his education. In 1890, he began attending Simpson College in **Iowa**, where he hoped to study painting. His art teacher recognized Carver's talent, but knew he would find it difficult to be accepted as an artist. She suggested a career in botany (the study of plants) and helped him get admitted to the Iowa Agricultural College in Ames.

It proved to be a wise move for Carver. He got involved in a variety of clubs and activities at the college, and he was an excellent student whose natural talent in agriculture made him popular among his peers and professors. Carver received his bachelor's degree and stayed on for graduate work. He received his master's degree in 1896.

Tuskegee calls

After earning his master's degree, Carver received a surprise invitation from respected educator **Booker T. Washington** (1856–1915), the African American founder of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Tuskegee had been established in the 1880s as an industrial and agricultural school for African American students. It was the first of its kind and a great success. Carver was asked to become its director of agriculture, and he accepted.

In addition to being head of the department, Carver worked with local farmers. The region was devastatingly poor, and Carver helped by writing instructional pamphlets on farming. He also established a mobile school that crossed the South, visiting farmers and teaching them better agricultural methods. At first, when it began in 1906, the school was nothing more than a mule-drawn cart, but before long, the cart was replaced by a truck carrying farming tools and exhibits.

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In 1910, Carver became the director of a new research department, and his title became "consulting chemist." Carver enjoyed the research that went along with this new title, but he lacked a proper laboratory and equipment. Most of the time, he had to make his own equipment out of old bottles, wire, and other materials at hand.

The field of scientific agriculture—the exploration of alternative farming methods—was new at the time. In his attempts to improve the quality of life for local farmers, Carver analyzed water and soil, experimented with paints made of clay, and searched for new, inexpensive foods to supplement their diets. The most versatile resource Carver found was the peanut. He used it to restore nitrogen to the depleted soil, and from it he made soap, shampoo, metal polish, even adhesives. The one thing he did not make from peanuts was peanut butter.

Honored for lifetime achievements

Carver became an advocate of "chemurgy," the concept of putting chemistry to work in industry for farmers. He met industrialist and automobile pioneer Henry Ford (1863–1947) in 1937, and the two formed an immediate and lifelong friendship. In 1940, Carver founded the Carver Museum to continue and preserve his work, and at its opening Ford dedicated the museum.

Shortly after the opening of the museum, Carver's health began to fail. Carver died of injuries from falling down a flight of stairs, and he was buried next to Booker T. Washington. On his headstone was carved, "He could have added fortune to fame, but caring for neither, he found happiness and honor in being helpful to the world."

Carver received numerous awards and honors during his lifetime. After his death in 1943, he was twice featured on commemorative postage stamps. He was elected to the Hall of Fame for Great Americans in 1977 and inducted into the National Inventors Hall of Fame in 1990. Carver's birthplace in southwestern Missouri is now a national monument—the first national birthplace monument honoring a non-president.

Willa Cather

Willa Cather was born on December 7, 1873, the first of seven children to Charles and Mary Cather. She spent her childhood at Willowshade, the family farm in **Virginia**. Cather enjoyed the freedom of a rural

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lifestyle, with much of her time spent outdoors. In 1883, the family moved to Red Cloud, **Nebraska**, leaving behind the farm for a life on the western frontier. Cather missed Willowshade, and the experience of having to leave it behind left her feeling resentful of change.

Red Cloud was a town populated by immigrants from all over the world: Russia, Poland, Germany, Sweden, and others. She forged friendships with foreign-born girls her own age, and her experiences on the frontier living among immigrants would later inform the themes of some of her novels.

At an early age, Cather decided she wanted to become a medical doctor, but that ambition changed as she aged. Cather began her career as a writer in 1891, when she entered the University of Nebraska. There she excelled at journalism and short story writing, and her first published piece appeared in the prestigious *Boston* magazine. Upon publication, Cather realized writing was her gift, and she devoted herself completely to the craft.

After graduating in 1865, Cather briefly wrote for a newspaper in Lincoln, Nebraska, before moving to Pittsburgh, **Pennsylvania**. There she took a job as editor for a magazine called *Home Monthly.* Before long, she moved over to the *Pittsburgh Daily Leader,* a newspaper that employed her as copy editor and music/drama critic.

Becomes a serious writer

Cather gave up news writing to become a teacher in 1901. During this time, she met Isabelle McClung, daughter of a prominent Pittsburgh judge. The two formed a relationship that would last a lifetime, and Cather was later known to have said that every book she ever wrote was for McClung. Historians have long speculated on the nature of Cather's and McClung's relationship, and many believe the two were lovers. Cather's longest relationship was with her companion Edith Lewis; the two women were together for more than forty years.

McClung's wealth allowed Cather to write without the strain of having to earn a living. They traveled together to Europe in 1902, and the trip was followed by the publication of a book of poetry titled *April Twilights* in 1903. A collection of short stories, *The Troll Garden,* was published in 1905, and the two books came to the attention of S. S. McClure (1857–1949), publisher of the popular *McClure's* magazine. He gave Cather a job as managing editor in 1906, a position that allowed

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the writer to become part of the blossoming literary world rooted in the New York City neighborhood of Greenwich Village. Cather kept her job with the magazine until 1912, when she resigned to write fiction.

That same year, Cather published her first novel, *Alexander's Masquerade,* which established the frontier theme that would weave its way into her other novels. Her next novel, *O Pioneers!,* was a literary success. Again, the story involved farm life and prairie scenes reminiscent of Cather's childhood experiences.

Cather's best known novel, *My Antonia,* was published in 1918. She followed that with two more titles by 1927, and by that time was recognized as a moral writer who embraced traditional values while writing about a world of changing standards and shifting morality. Though lesser known than some of her other works, *One of Ours* earned Cather the Pulitzer Prize in 1922.

Cather's later years were spent in New York City, where she established friendships with artists and musicians. She continued publishing novels and short stories until 1936. For her work, she was awarded the Howells Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1930, and the National Institute of Arts and Letters gold medal for fiction in 1944. In 1962, Cather became the first woman inducted into the Nebraska Hall of Fame. She was voted into the Hall of Great Westerners in Oklahoma City, **Oklahoma**, in 1974 and was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, **New York**, in 1988.

Cather died on April 24, 1947, at the age of seventy-three. The Nebraska State Historical Society established the Willa Cather Historical Center in 1978. The Center includes the author's childhood home as well as other buildings connected to her writing.

Catholicism

The Catholic presence in America was small until the nineteenth century. Today, largely due to heavy immigration from Catholic countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, nearly one-third of the U.S. population is Roman Catholic.

Catholic hierarchy

The ultimate leadership over Catholic churches of all nations is the Vatican, the headquarters of the church based in the independent city-

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state of Vatican City, which is located within the city of Rome, Italy. From the Vatican, the pope, the head of the Catholic Church, rules Catholics throughout the world. To administer the churches in the various countries, the pope appoints national church leaders, particularly archbishops and bishops, who are subject to his rule.

In 2007, the United States had forty-five archbishops, the highest-ranking bishops who head large Catholic districts called archdioceses. Bishops are priests who teach church doctrine, but who also minister church government. The United States has 290 active bishops. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, founded in 1966, is the official governing body of the U.S. Roman Catholic Church. It is subject to the authority of the pope.

Origins of American Catholicism

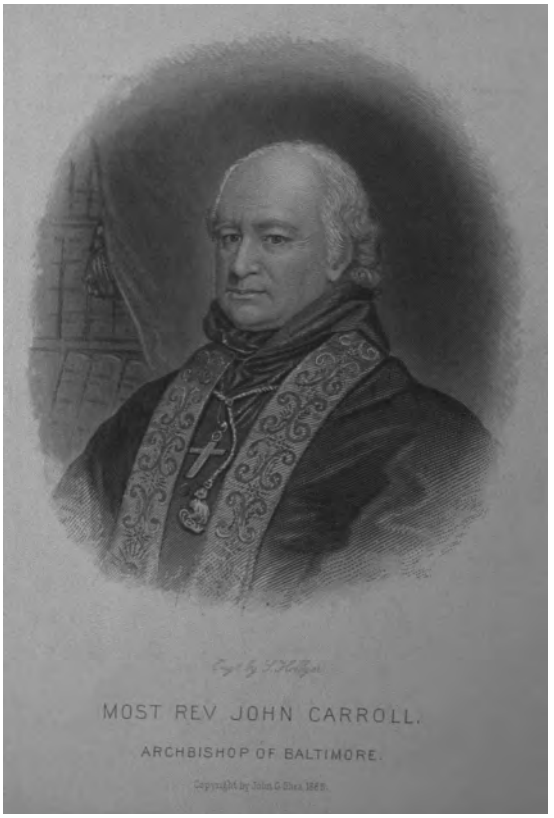
The earliest Catholicism in the United States arrived with the Spanish missionaries who founded a mission in St. Augustine, **Florida**, in 1565. Through the nineteenth century, Spain continued to found missions in the present-day southeastern United States, **Texas**, **New Mexico**, **Arizona**, and **California** in their efforts to convert the native people to the Roman Catholic faith. (See **Spanish Missions**.) France sent Catholic missionaries to North America in the seventeenth century, establishing missions in Canada, and later bringing Catholicism to the vast French territory called **Louisiana**.

At the time of New World settlement, England was a Protestant nation, but it had a significant Catholic population. (See **Protestantism**.) In 1632, an English Catholic, Caecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore (1605–1675), founded **Maryland**, the first British Catholic colony. The Catholic presence in the American colonies remained fairly small throughout the colonial era.

The first bishops

In 1789, American Catholics numbered only about thirty thousand and were concentrated in Maryland and **Kentucky**. That year, John Carroll (1735–1815) was elected the first U.S. Catholic bishop, and he would later become archbishop of Baltimore, Maryland. Carroll's vision of the church was greatly influenced by the spirit of American democracy. He supported the lay trustee system of church government, in which elected laymen (people who are not members of the clergy) worked with the

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John Carroll was the first U.S. Catholic bishop and later became archbishop of Baltimore. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

clergy to govern the local parish community. A parish is a district, or neighborhood, with its own church.

Carroll wanted Catholicism in the United States to be free from foreign influence. Seeking to train a clergy that would be familiar with what he described as "the American way of life," he founded Georgetown Academy (later Georgetown University in **Washington, D.C.**) and St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. Carroll was a strong supporter of religious freedom and of separation of church and state, as established in the **First Amendment** of the U.S. **Constitution**.

Carroll died in 1815 and French cleric Ambrose Maréchal (1764–1828) was named archbishop of Baltimore. Maréchal's vision of Catholicism was entirely different from Carroll's. In his view, the clergy, not the laymen, ruled; he strongly opposed any notion of democracy in the church. These two differing understandings of Catholicism—Carroll's democratic vision and Maréchal's more authoritarian approach—have remained a source of conflict within the U.S. Catholic Church.

Catholic immigration

Irish immigration began on a large scale in the 1830s and swelled in the 1840s, along with a surge in **German immigration**. Between 1830 and 1860, this increased the Roman Catholic population in the United States considerably: from 318,000 to more than 3 million. Nearly 2 million Catholics in 1860 were immigrants. Other Catholic immigrants began arriving in large numbers later in the century.

Although Catholic communities developed in the farming areas of the Midwest, the vast majority of immigrating Catholics settled in cities, where there were manufacturing jobs. By the end of the nineteenth century, as many as twenty-eight different language groups claimed membership in the Catholic Church. The Irish and Germans were the most

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numerous national groups, and Polish and Italian immigrants were not far behind.

Anti-Catholicism

The influx of large numbers of Catholics in what previously had been a primarily English Protestant society unleashed hostilities among some native-born Americans, particularly in the cities of the northeast. As early as the 1830s, shocking anti-Catholic popular literature began to circulate. Stories and pamphlets depicted sexual orgies behind the walls of Catholic convents, inflaming suspicion and prejudice. The first large-scale anti-Catholic violence in the United States occurred in Charlestown, **Massachusetts**, in August 1834, where a mob burned down a convent after a rumor spread that priests there were confining a nun against her will.

Continued conflict between Catholics and Protestants arose over city school systems. In most schools, students recited Protestant hymns and prayers and read the Protestant King James Bible; even the textbooks had anti-Catholic biases. Catholic leaders asked that the schools stop using the Protestant Bible and eliminate Protestant hymns and prayers. Some Catholic leaders went further, asking that the state finance Catholic parochial (parish) schools. Their wishes infuriated anti-Catholic groups. Anger mounted, resulting in a riot in New York City in 1842 and a bloody three-day riot in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, in 1844 in which Protestants destroyed two Catholic churches.

In the 1850s, the **Know-Nothing Party** (or American Party), whose motto was "Americans must rule America," rose to political prominence. Antiforeign and anti-Catholic party members took an oath that they would not vote for any foreigners, Roman Catholics in particular. By 1854, the Know-Nothing Party had over one million members and had elected governors, mayors, and congressmen. Former U.S. president **Millard Fillmore** (1800–1874; served 1850–53) ran as the party's presidential nominee in the 1856 election, but lost. The controversial issue of **slavery** soon split the party, and its decline was as rapid as its rise. Nonetheless, the Know-Nothings made Catholics feel that they were not welcome in the United States. Catholic immigrants gathered together in their own neighborhoods, creating a world set apart from the rest of American society.

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The national parish

Traditionally, Catholic people worshiped in a neighborhood church; nationality had little to do with church membership. In the immigrant neighborhoods of urban America, though, immigrant Catholics wanted to worship in a church where services and sermons were in their native language and where they could continue the traditions and customs of the Old World. Thus, the key institution of the American Catholic world in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was the national parish, with specific churches for each immigrant nationality.

National parishes were more than places to worship. In immigrant neighborhoods, they were the center of community life. In addition to the church, parishes often included a school, a convent for the nuns, or sisters, who worked in the parish, a home for the parish clergy, a hall for social and recreational events, and often a high school or orphanage.

In 1884, American bishops urged that all parishes build a Catholic parochial school. Although that did not happen, 37 percent of Catholic parishes supported a school by 1900. Essential to the development of the parochial schools were the sisters who taught in them. Sisters were also involved in founding hospitals and orphanages and performing a variety of social welfare tasks.

Changes in the church

In the United States in the first half of the twentieth century, the majority of American Catholics were fairly recent immigrants. The church remained traditional, as it had been in Europe. It was a stern overseer of community life and personal morality and a preserver of ancient traditions that made sure its members knew their place. Services were conducted in Latin, rather than the native language, and Catholic education tended to stifle intellectual questioning. Many American Catholic leaders ardently denounced modern life, especially condemning birth control, divorce, and morally suspect entertainment, such as the movies.

By the 1950s, however, the Catholic immigrant population was taking its place in the American middle class. Part of the reason for their prosperity was that trade unions were forcing businesses to grant higher wages and benefits to workers. Two-thirds of all unionized workers were Catholics, and so American Catholicism was strongly tied to labor unions. (See **Labor Movement**.) A labor union is an organization that

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serves its members' collective interests with regard to wages and working conditions. Catholic trade-union leaders convinced church fathers to take up the plight of the poor.

At the same time, Catholic journalist and social reformer Dorothy Day (1897–1890) began social justice campaigns in the Catholic Worker Movement, opening houses of hospitality where the poor and unemployed could find food and shelter. Day and other Catholic reformers tried to live according to Catholic precepts, forming a progressive Catholic counterculture that attracted Catholics and drew many converts to the faith.

Vatican II

In 1959, the newly elected pope, John XXIII (1881–1963), summoned a council to bring the Catholic Church up-to-date. The Vatican II council was conducted in four sessions between 1962 and 1965. Among its many rulings, the council gave bishops more freedom, proclaimed that other religions besides Catholicism were of value, supported religious freedom, rejected anti-Semitism, and promoted a more active social role for the church. Vatican II decreed that the Catholic Mass was to be conducted in the country's native language. Laypeople were to acquire a larger role in determining the affairs of the church. The United States Conference of Bishops was created as the ruling body of the church within the United States. It, too, gave laypeople a role in the workings of the church.

Conservative Catholics objected to the changes. Some found the drift from authority to individual choice disturbing. On the other hand, progressive Catholics were disappointed that Vatican II had not taken bolder steps to bring the church into step with modern times. From the 1960s to the 1980s, many American Catholics stopped following some of the strict Catholic teachings, increasing friction between them and the leaders of the traditional church.

Contraception, abortion, and women's rights

After Vatican II, many American Catholics felt that issues of contraception, abortion, and sexuality were personal matters that could be handled without the church's interference. But in 1968, Pope Paul VI (1897–1978) reasserted the church's traditional ban on artificial birth control. American Catholics, particularly women, responded with disap-

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pointment and anger. By the end of the 1960s, many surveys indicated that nearly three-quarters of Catholic women were privately using artificial birth control. Many members of the Catholic clergy were openly—and bitterly—opposed to the pope's ruling. The Church's position on birth control remains the same in the twenty-first century.

The issue of abortion came into the forefront of heated debate in the 1970s. The Vatican had labeled abortion an unspeakable crime, and it urged church leaders to act against it. American Catholics for the most part believed that abortion was wrong, but many did not believe it was a mortal sin, or an act of murder. An increasing number of American Catholics felt that women had the right to decide the fate of their own bodies and that abortion was not a decision to be made by a male-dominated church. The National Coalition of American Nuns helped to sponsor a pro-choice advertisement in 1984, but the official stance of the church today, supported by Pope Benedict XVI (1927–), still forbids abortion in Catholic society.

American Catholics also led the battle for equality of the sexes in the Catholic Church, demanding a larger, more visible role for women in the church. In 1985, Gallup polls found that 47 percent of American Catholics were in favor of women priests. In 1988, U.S. Catholic bishops, realizing the need for some new official statement on women's role in the church, published the "Partners in the Mystery of Redemption." The church condemned sexism as a sin; yet it still did not favor women priests, contraception, or abortion.

Sexual abuse scandals of the 2000s

Beginning in late 2001 and early 2002, the Catholic Church in the United States repeatedly made national headlines due to a series of sexual abuse accusations made against its priests. Many were accusations of child molestation. In 2004, the church's review board issued a report on the molestation problem from 1950 to 2002, recording 10,667 abuse claims over those fifty-two years. In this report, about forty-three hundred priests, or 4 percent of U.S. priests, had been accused of sexual abuse. However, many observers point out that these numbers include only those who reported abuse. The actual numbers are probably significantly higher.

American Catholics were most angered that the church had covered for the abusers, in some cases allowing them to continue the abuse in other parishes. Authorities blamed the continuing pattern of abuse on

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church leaders who protected abusive priests rather than risk scandal by revealing the truth. Belatedly, steps were taken to end the pattern. At its June 2002 general meeting in Dallas, Texas, the Catholic bishops of the United States adopted a "one strike, you're out" policy that removes from active ministry any priest who has sexually abused a minor, whether that abuse occurred forty years ago or occurs tomorrow.

The lawsuits against the church continued. By 2005, Catholic dioceses across the United States were paying millions of dollars in damages to victims of child sexual abuse at the hands of priests. As a result, the Catholic Church faced devastating financial problems. Churches were forced to lay off employees, close offices, and shut down schools and seminaries to pay the high price of lengthy legal battles.

By the end of 2007, there were nearly sixty-eight million Catholics in the United States. According to a 2004 poll, 60 percent of Catholics were non-Hispanic whites, or Caucasians; 31 percent were Hispanic; 4 percent were African American; and 5 percent were of other ethnicity.

Central Intelligence Agency

After December 7, 1941, when Japanese warplanes struck the island of **Pearl Harbor** in **Hawaii** in a surprise attack, the United States vowed to improve its intelligence (secret information about an enemy or potential enemy) capabilities. An investigation into the Pearl Harbor bombing revealed that intelligence about a possible attack had been known in the lower levels of U.S. bureaucracy but had never been shared with the White House or military.

All efforts were focused on fighting and winning **World War II** (1939–45), but once it was over, U.S. president **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) proposed the creation of an agency that could provide the president and the administration with more accurate and better coordinated intelligence. The National Security Act of 1947 established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to be led by a director.

The CIA would gather, evaluate, and share intelligence within the federal government. Its operators would report to the president of the United States via the newly created National Security Council (NSC). The CIA would also perform other functions and duties beyond those related to information collection and analysis. Almost immediately, one of those duties involved the fight against global **communism**.

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Communism is a political system in which the government controls all resources and means of producing wealth. By eliminating private property, this system is designed to create an equal society with no social classes. However, communist governments in practice often limit personal freedom and individual rights.

The Truman Doctrine

In 1947, President Truman outlined what became known as the **Truman Doctrine**, a plan that would guide American diplomacy for the next four decades. Truman explained that the United States had a responsibility to protect free people from being controlled by outside pressures. The CIA became a key factor in Truman's efforts to fight the spread of communism as it conducted covert (secret) operations.

Although never spelled out in detail in the National Security Act, the CIA's anticommunism mission quickly took on a life of its own. As the **Cold War** (1945–91; a war not of physical fighting, but of increased tension and competition) between the United States and the Soviet Union progressed, funding for the CIA's activities shifted from collection and analysis to covert operations. Its activities ranged from spying to outright violence, including secret wars fought against communists in places like Iran, Cuba, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The CIA also attempted to assassinate procommunist leaders in the developing world, among them, Fidel Castro (1926–) of Cuba. Assassination plots on the part of the CIA were wholly approved of until President **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77) prohibited them by executive order in 1976.

Tarnished reputation

Although the CIA has proven to be a valuable tool for presidents both in time of war and peace, it has been harshly criticized for its activities. In 1973, CIA director James Schlesinger (1929–) commissioned reports on the illegal activities of the organization. The results of the reports, known as the "Family Jewels," were published on the front page of the *New York Times* in 1974. According to the "Family Jewels," the CIA had murdered numerous foreign leaders and had more than seven thousand American citizens under surveillance for their antiwar activities.

The CIA was involved in the biggest scandal of President **Ronald Reagan**'s (1911–2004; served 1981–89) time in office. In late 1986, it

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was discovered that the president's administration had made secret arrangements to provide funds to Nicaraguan *contra* (counterrevolutionary) rebels fighting the Sandinista (a political party that espoused beliefs similar to those of communism) government in Nicaragua. The funding came from the sale of weapons to Iran, a country that had captured American hostages and held them for more than a year. (See **Iran Hostage Crisis**.) Congress had outlawed the activity, but Reagan's administration ignored the law and proceeded with the secret operation.

When it was discovered that the CIA played a key role in the **Iran-Contra Affair**, Congress passed the Intelligence Authorization Act in 1991, which required an authorizing chain of command rather than giving all the power to the director. The act also redefined "covert operations" as secret missions in areas where the United States is neither openly nor apparently engaged.

The CIA has been at the center of numerous other controversies since its establishment in 1947.

Challenger Space Shuttle Explosion

On January 28, 1986, millions of Americans watched as the *Challenger* space shuttle exploded just seventy-three seconds after launching from Cape Canaveral, Florida. The explosion killed all seven crew members aboard.

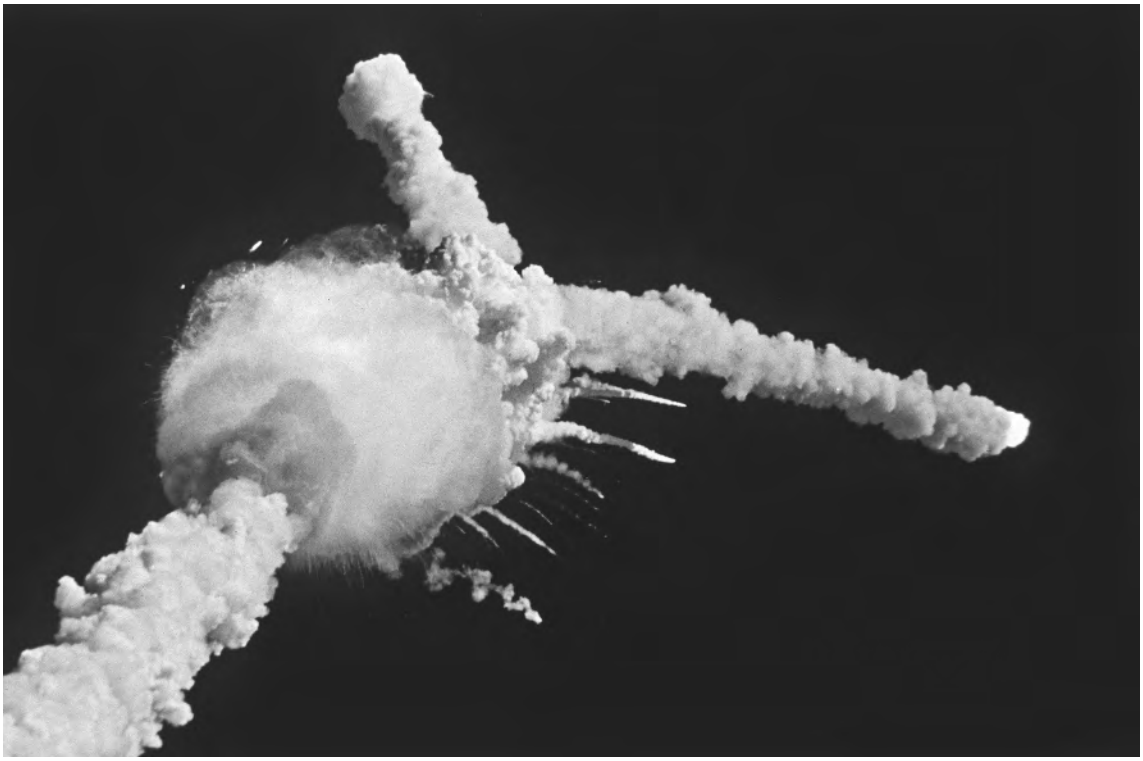
The *Challenger* was the twenty-fifth space shuttle flight under the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration** (NASA) program. Originally scheduled to lift off on January 22, inclement weather caused the flight to be postponed for six days.

The crew of the *Challenger* was comprised of five men and two women, including Christa McAuliffe (1948–1986), the first schoolteacher chosen to fly into space. Commander Dick Scobee (1939–1986) led the crew, which, in addition to McAuliffe, included Michael Smith (1945–1986), Ronald McNair (1950–1986), Ellison Onizuka (1945–1986), Gregory Jarvis (1944–1986), and Judith Resnick (1949–1986).

What really happened?

The shuttle exploded after its fuel tank tore apart and leaked liquid oxygen and hydrogen, causing a massive fireball to form at an altitude of 46,000 feet. Both of the shuttle's boosters continued to climb, as they

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The space shuttle Challenger *explosion on January 28, 1986, killed seven astronauts and was one of the greatest tragedies in the NASA program.* AP IMAGES

were unaffected by the fuel tank damage. The shuttle itself tore to pieces as it was flung free of rocket components.

Like any major tragedy, the explosion of the *Challenger* space shuttle is shrouded in myth. Contrary to what many believe, the crew did not die instantly. Investigations indicate that all seven astronauts were still alive when the cabin hit the surface of the water two minutes and forty-five seconds after breakup. What cannot be known is if any were conscious. The shuttle hit water at a speed of 200 miles per hour, which killed them upon impact. The cause of the explosion was faulty O-ring seals, resulting in structural failure.

On February 1, 2003, the space shuttle *Columbia* also exploded, but this time it happened just sixteen minutes before its scheduled landing. Again, all seven crew members—five men and two women—perished. The cause of that accident was damage to the left wing when a piece of

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foam from an external tank hit it upon takeoff. At the launch, this occurrence was not considered a safety concern.

Samuel de Champlain

Samuel de Champlain was a French explorer who helped colonize **New France** in the New World in the seventeenth century. He made over twenty voyages between Europe and the New World, founded the French settlement at Quebec, and wrote six books about his adventures.

Early life

Champlain was born in the seaport town of Brouage in France around 1567. Parish records are missing, so his exact birth date is unknown. Historians suggest that Champlain was raised as a Protestant (see **Protestantism**) but he converted to **Catholicism** sometime before 1603. Not much else is known about his childhood.

Growing up in a seaport town, Champlain learned navigation and mapmaking as a youth. He fought as a sergeant in religious wars on the side of Protestant king Henry IV (1553–1610) until 1598. After that, he went on a voyage to the West Indies, now called the Caribbean, for over two years.

Acadia

In 1603, Champlain joined an expedition to the River of Canada, which was later renamed the St. Lawrence River. The expedition also explored the area that Champlain called Acadia (present-day Nova Scotia). Champlain realized that the areas they explored had valuable resources, especially animals. Investors from France could get animal furs in trade with Native Americans to sell back in Europe. Champlain learned from the local natives about the existence of the Great Lakes, which he thought might be a northwest passage from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean.

Back in France, Champlain was chosen to be the geographer on an expedition to Acadia led by Pierre du Gua de Monts (c. 1558–1628), to whom the French king had given a monopoly on fur trade in the region. (See **Fur Traders and Mountain Men**.) The voyagers spent their first winter at a fort they built along the Saint Croix River, near the future

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border between the United States and Canada. About half of them died, largely from scurvy, a disease caused by a lack of vitamin C.

For the second winter, the expedition moved its base across the Bay of Fundy to Port Royal (present-day Annapolis Royal). This was the main settlement for Acadia until 1607, when Henry IV canceled de Mont's trading privileges. Champlain spent three years sailing and mapping the region, including present-day **Maine**; Cape Cod, **Massachusetts**; and **Rhode Island**. The expedition returned to France in 1607.

Quebec

By 1608, Champlain had found investors to finance another expedition to the New World. Arriving in July, thirty-two voyagers built a fort at the settlement called Quebec City. Champlain would spend the rest of his life building the settlement into a profitable colony for France.

From before 1603, French explorers had been trading with the Algonquian and the Montagnais tribes. The Huron tribe to the west, in the region around Quebec, was an ally of the Algonquians and the Montagnais. To develop fur trading in the region, Champlain formed alliances with these tribes. In July 1609, Champlain and the other settlers joined the Hurons in a battle with the Hurons' enemy to the south, the Iroquois confederacy. This began over 150 years of hostility between France and the Iroquois.

Champlain faced regular challenges over the next two decades as politics in France altered colonial authority in the New World. He spent much time in France negotiating with government officials and financial investors for the support he needed for his efforts. When he was around forty years old, he married twelve-year-old Hélène Boullé (1598–1654), the daughter of the secretary to the king's chamber. Exploring the New World in 1615, Champlain reached as far as Lake Huron, probably making him the first European to see it.

Back in France between 1616 and 1618, Champlain crafted a comprehensive plan for colonization of New France. Quebec would be a permanent customs station for trading in the region. Military posts would protect France's interests. Explorers would sail the Great Lakes searching for the Northwest Passage, and missionaries would work to convert the native tribes to Christianity to give France greater control over the area's resources. The plan received the governmental and financial support necessary to send Champlain back to Quebec in 1618.

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Later years

Champlain worked hard over the next decade to explore New France and to establish profitable trade with native tribes. After war erupted between England and France in 1627, English vessels arrived at Quebec in 1629, forcing the undersupplied French settlers to surrender.

Champlain was back in Europe for the next four years. He worked during this period to get England to return Quebec to France. He also spent time writing about the adventures of his life.

After England and France reached peace in 1632, England returned Quebec to France, and Champlain returned in 1633 to command the area. He spent the final years of his life, often sick, in Quebec, dying there on December 25, 1635.

César Chávez

Renowned labor leader César Estrada Chávez founded the **United Farm Workers**, an organization that led its members in the fight for improved working conditions and brought hope to poor migrant workers and their families.

When Chávez was born on March 31, 1927, his parents owned a farm in Yuma, **Arizona**. But soon after his birth, the United States experienced the **Great Depression** (1929–41), a period in the late 1920s and 1930s when the United States suffered from an extremely slow economy and widespread unemployment. At the same time, a severe drought hit the American Southwest. Like many farmers, the Chávez family lost its property in 1937. The Chávezes were forced to wander throughout Arizona and **California** as migrant farm workers, seeking temporary employment harvesting other landowners' crops. With all the moving about, Chávez attended more than thirty different schools and was able to achieve only a seventh grade education.

The plight of migrant farm workers

Life for migrant farm workers was incredibly difficult. They toiled in the hot sun for hours picking beans, peas, grapes, beets, cucumbers, tomatoes, cotton, and other crops. Sometimes they were paid fifty cents for every basket they picked. Other times they were paid only twenty cents. At the end of the day, some farm owners subtracted money from the laborers' pay for any water they drank while in the fields. At night, farm

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Labor leader César Chávez founded the United Farm Workers organization. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

workers were often forced to sleep in rundown shacks or in their cars. Since many of the migrant laborers knew little English, unscrupulous farm owners often swindled them out of the money they had rightfully earned for their work.

Faces racism

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Chávez and his family faced racism wherever they went. Restaurants refused to serve Mexican Americans and theaters allowed them to sit only in certain sections. In 1944, when he was seventeen years old, Chávez joined the U.S. **Navy** to fight in **World War II** (1939–45). Even while fighting for his country, he experienced discrimination because of his Mexican American background. After two years of service, Chávez returned to California to work on the farms. In 1948, he married Helen Fabela, settled down in a one-room shack in the town of Delano (where he picked grapes and cotton), and began to raise a family. Over the years, the couple had eight children.

In 1952, Chávez began working as a community organizer for the Community Service Organization (CSO), a group that sought better living conditions for migrant farm workers. Going from door to door at night, he helped workers with day-to-day problems, or with applications to become U.S. citizens. He encouraged all to register to vote. By 1958, Chávez had become director of the CSO in California and Arizona.

Struggles to form a union

Chávez had heard many complaints from migrant workers about their working conditions and pay. Since the workers were not organized as a group, however, they could not effectively protest the situation. Over the next few years, Chávez tried to convince CSO leaders to develop a special farm labor union that would work to improve the rights of migrant workers. When the CSO refused to do so, Chávez resigned from the organization in 1962.

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Chávez returned to Delano, where he began to organize the National Farm Workers Association. For several years, Chávez worked eighteen-hour days for very little or no money at all. By continually pressing ahead with his efforts, he slowly increased the union membership.

Huelga!

In 1965, the migrant grape pickers in Delano, who worked under harsh conditions for a dollar an hour, went on strike (stopped working). Though Chávez had not agreed with the timing of the strike, once the *huelga* (Spanish for "strike") was on, Chávez worked tirelessly for the cause. The picket lines grew as more and more workers left the fields. Nonetheless, the landowners refused to give in to the workers' demands for better wages and working conditions. Some even threatened the workers with violence.

Chávez believed in nonviolent methods of social change (see **civil disobedience**). He responded to the landowners' threats by calling for a countrywide boycott of grapes. By discouraging the American people from buying grapes until working conditions for grape pickers improved, he attracted national attention to the plight of the farm workers. Many large labor unions supported Chávez and the strikers, including the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** (AFL-CIO) and the United Auto Workers. **Robert F. Kennedy** (1925–1968), an influential senator from **New York**, gave his support to the cause.

In March 1966, the strikers marched 250 miles from Delano to the California capital of Sacramento to take their demands to state officials. By the time they arrived, one of the large grape companies had agreed to sign a contract with the workers.

To strengthen the association, Chávez merged his organization with part of the AFL-CIO, America's oldest and strongest group of unions. The new union was called the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). After 1972, it was known simply as the United Farm Workers (UFW).

Hunger strike

The struggle against the grape growers continued throughout the late 1960s. In February 1968, to draw more attention to the strike, Chávez began a twenty-five-day fast, during which he ate no solid food. People

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across the nation sympathized with Chávez's commitment to the cause and his nonviolent means to achieve justice. The grape boycott spread and the grape companies lost money. Finally, in June 1970, vineyard owners agreed to a contract with the UFWOC that gave workers health insurance benefits and a raise in pay.

Chávez turned his attention to the problems of America's lettuce workers. The Teamsters, a large union of truck drivers and warehouse workers, had signed contracts with lettuce growers that hurt rather than helped migrant workers. Chávez again organized strikes and rallies, and he called for a national boycott of lettuce. The struggle against the growers and the Teamsters, which at times grew violent, finally came to an end in 1975 when California governor Jerry Brown (1938–) signed into law the state's Agricultural Labor Relations Act. This was the first bill of rights for farm workers ever enacted in the United States, and it allowed them to vote on which union would best represent their needs. In elections held in August of that year, the UFW easily beat the Teamsters.

Continues fight

In the 1980s, Chávez protested against grape growers who used pesticides (chemicals used to kill insects) on their crops. He believed the pesticides were dangerous to the farm workers who picked the grapes and to the consumers. He called for another boycott, and in 1988 he fasted for thirty-six days. Although his fast again gained national attention, the boycott did not take hold as earlier ones had.

Chávez died in his sleep on April 23, 1993. More than thirty thousand mourners formed a three-mile-long funeral procession to carry his body to its final resting place. In 1994, President **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) posthumously awarded Chávez the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

Checks and Balances

Checks and balances refers to a system of separation of powers within a government. The framework of separation is intended to balance governmental power to prevent any part of the government from overreaching its defined responsibilities. The **Constitution** of the United States, written in 1787 and adopted in 1788, established a system of checks and balances for the U.S. federal government.

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Systems of government throughout the world use different systems of checks and balances. The Constitution defines three divisions of government for the United States: the **legislative branch**, the **executive branch**, and the **judicial branch**. Each branch is responsible for a separate governmental function, and the conduct of each branch can be evaluated and challenged (or "checked") by the other two branches, at least to some extent.

The three branches

The legislative branch is made up of two separate chambers of Congress: the Senate and the House of Representatives. Congress is responsible for making the nation's laws. Each chamber checks the power of the other, as both need to approve bills (proposed laws) for them to become laws. The legislative branch as a whole is checked by the powers of the other two branches. The judicial branch has the ability to decide that a law is unconstitutional and therefore invalid. It also has the power to interpret what a federal law means. The executive branch has the ability, through the president, to veto, or reject, a law passed by Congress. A presidential veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

The executive branch, led by the president, has the responsibility of enforcing the nation's laws. The armed forces as well as many administrative and regulatory departments and agencies are under the control of the executive branch. The judicial branch checks the executive branch by interpreting the laws in legal cases involving the executive branch and its departments. The legislative branch balances the executive branch by overriding presidential vetoes, approving presidential appointments, and using the power to impeach and remove executive officers who commit certain crimes.

The judicial branch consists of a system of federal courts, with the U.S. **Supreme Court** at the top. The Supreme Court has the responsibility of hearing cases that involve constitutional questions and federal laws, and it makes decisions based on its interpretations of those laws. The executive branch has the ability to appoint judges as openings occur. The legislative branch has to approve those appointments and has the power to impeach judges if needed. By using amendments to rewrite laws, Congress has the power to change the effect of a court's interpretation of the laws.

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The authors of the Constitution embraced the system of checks and balances, knowing the danger of abuse of governmental power. By establishing three branches of government, they attempted to ensure that no single branch would wield more power than the others by compelling each branch to be checked by the other two. Over time, interpretation of the Constitution and laws has created a complex system of ways in which the checks and balances function.

Chicago Seven Trial

The Chicago Seven—or Eight, as they were before one was eliminated from the case—were defendants in one of the most celebrated political trials in American history. The trial was a showcase of 1960s counterculture, which mixed radical—and very youthful—politics with the era's cultural movements, such as self-expression, sexual liberation, recreational drug use, and **rock and roll music**.

Democratic Convention, 1968

In August 1968, the **Democratic Party** held its national convention in Chicago, **Illinois**. (National conventions are meetings of the delegates of a political party held every four years to nominate the party's presidential and vice presidential candidates.) At the time, U.S. involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) and the struggle of the **civil rights movement** were causing passionate protest movements throughout the United States. Two groups, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE) and the Youth International Party (YIP, known as "Yippies"), planned protest demonstrations in Chicago during the national convention.

As the convention approached, Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley (1902–1976) denied almost all protest permit requests, and prepared to fight the protesters. The five thousand demonstrators who gathered in Chicago were confronted by twelve thousand police officers, six thousand U.S. **Army** troops, and five thousand National Guard members. Police repeatedly attacked the demonstrators with tear gas, guns, and clubs. On the worst night, police clubbed and pushed demonstrators through a plate-glass window as television cameras rolled. Hundreds of protesters were arrested, and hundreds more were injured in the tumult.

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The Anti-Riot Act

Earlier in 1968, a group of conservative senators had passed a provision that came to be known as the Anti-Riot Act. The new statute made it a violation of federal law to travel in or use the facilities of interstate commerce (such as buses or trains) with the intent to incite riot. After the convention, the U.S. Justice Department drew up indictments (official criminal charges) for violation of the act against five MOBE and Yippie leaders, plus three other men involved in the protests.

A committee appointed by outgoing president **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) to investigate the incident concluded that unrestrained police violence had been responsible for the episode. Nonetheless, the newly installed administration of President **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) decided in March 1969 to indict eight protest leaders for conspiracy to commit one or more of three offenses: crossing state lines with intent to riot; teaching the making of incendiary (fire-related) devices; and obstructing firefighters and police from performing their duties. Two defendants—John Froines (1939–) and Lee Weiner—were relatively unknown campus activists barely mentioned in the trial and cleared by the jury on all counts. The other six—David Dellinger (1915–2004), Rennie Davis (1941–), Tom Hayden (1939–), Jerry Rubin (1938–1994), Abbie Hoffman (1936–1989), and Bobby Seale (1937–)—were prominent radicals.

The players

Tom Hayden was a long-time leader of **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS), a social-justice organization. He had also worked with the African American civil rights organization **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC). In 1962, Hayden wrote *The Port Huron Statement,* which described SDS philosophy and served as a general guide for the New Left, the collective term used to describe the 1960s and 1970s movement focusing on college campus mass protest and other radical actions.

Hayden's close friend Rennie Davis was also an active SDS leader, and the two of them had previously organized political events with long-time peace activist and MOBE leader David Dellinger. In early 1968, Davis and Hayden convinced Dellinger's organization to send them all to Chicago to prepare for large-scale antiwar demonstrations at the Democratic Convention.

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The Chicago Seven defendants, back row from left: Abbie Hoffman, John Froines, Lee Weiner, David Dellinger, Rennie Davis, and Tom Hayden; in the front Jerry Rubin (and his girlfriend). AP IMAGES

Jerry Rubin came to Chicago by a different route. A full-time activist for civil rights, he had participated in the Free Speech Movement of 1964 at the University of California's Berkeley campus. Rubin developed a reputation for theatrical politics in 1966 when he was summoned for questioning by the anticommunist **House Un-American Activities Committee** (HUAC). He arrived dressed as a soldier from the **American Revolution** and started passing out copies of the **Declaration of Independence**. Rubin had moved to **New York** to join Abbie Hoffman's efforts to fuse cultural and political radicalism. Together, Hoffman and Rubin had carried out a series of creative and absurd actions, such as throwing wads of dollar bills over the observation ledge of the **New York Stock Exchange**, causing all business on the floor below to stop as brokers scrambled for the money. In 1967, they created the "Yippie!" movement. In a January 1968 statement, the Yippies announced a "Festival of Life" to serve as an alternative to the upcoming "Convention of Death" in Chicago.

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Bobby Seale was chair of the **Black Panther Party**, a revolutionary organization that promoted the organization and self-defense of black people. Seale was an odd addition to the Chicago Eight. He had been in Chicago only one night and had not even met some of the other defendants with whom he had allegedly conspired. He was one of the few Panther leaders to have escaped exile and jail until then, and many historians believe that law enforcement authorities were eager to pin something on him.

The trial begins

Despite the diverse backgrounds of all of the defendants, government prosecutors alleged that they comprised a single conspiracy. The protest was called a "riot." The trial opened on September 24, 1969. Noted civil rights lawyer William Kunstler (1919–1995) led the defense. Judge Julius Hoffman (1895–1983) presided. Hoffman (no relation to Abbie) was a 74-year-old Republican millionaire with substantial investments in the defense industry and little or no patience with the countercultural movement or its leaders.

The "Eight" becomes "Seven"

The first clash of the trial concerned Seale, whose attorney had to undergo surgery just before the trial. Judge Hoffman refused to delay the trial, thus denying Seale the attorney of his choice, and refused to permit Seale to defend himself. As the trial began, Seale interrupted every time his name was mentioned, and called the judge names for refusing to let him represent himself. On October 28, Judge Hoffman warned Seale that he could be bound and gagged if he continued, and the next day the judge followed through on his promise. Although physically constrained, Seale managed to free himself a number of times. Eventually, Judge Hoffman ruled Seale's case a mistrial, sentencing him to several years in jail for contempt. The Chicago Eight became the Chicago Seven.

Theatrical display

As the trial focused on the remaining seven defendants, it seemed that the entire American counterculture movement was on display. Defense witnesses included a long list of counterculture celebrities: Beat poet Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997); author Norman Mailer (1923–2007); co-

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median Dick Gregory (1932–); psychedelic drug research advocate Timothy Leary (1920–1996); and rock stars, leftist political figures, and many other well-known faces of the era.

The trial sometimes had a playful character to it. The defendants found that the trial had given them a priceless opportunity to publicize their views. The defense and the prosecution traded insults and offended the standards of courtroom propriety outrageously. In October, the National Guard had to be called to manage the unruly crowds gathering outside the courtroom.

The defense tried to establish that the primary responsibility for the violence lay with Mayor Daley and law enforcement officials. It also argued that the Anti-Riot Act violated constitutional rights to freedom of speech and assembly and that it had been introduced by legislators who



Demonstrators attack Chicago police outside the trial of the Chicago Seven. Many in the counterculture movement saw the trial as an indictment of their way of life. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

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wanted to stop the progress of the African American Civil Rights Movement. The defense pointed out that the charge of "conspiracy to incite riot" is so vague that it could easily be applied to people planning a peaceful protest demonstration.

The verdicts

In February 1970, the jury cleared Froines and Weiner of all charges. It found the other five defendants innocent of conspiracy, but guilty of incitement to riot. Judge Hoffman sentenced each to the maximum five years in prison and $5,000 fine and gave them additional jail sentences for contempt. The high-publicity trial had generated a great deal of support for the defendants. Half a million people protested the verdict across the country. Protesters in **California** burned a bank to the ground.

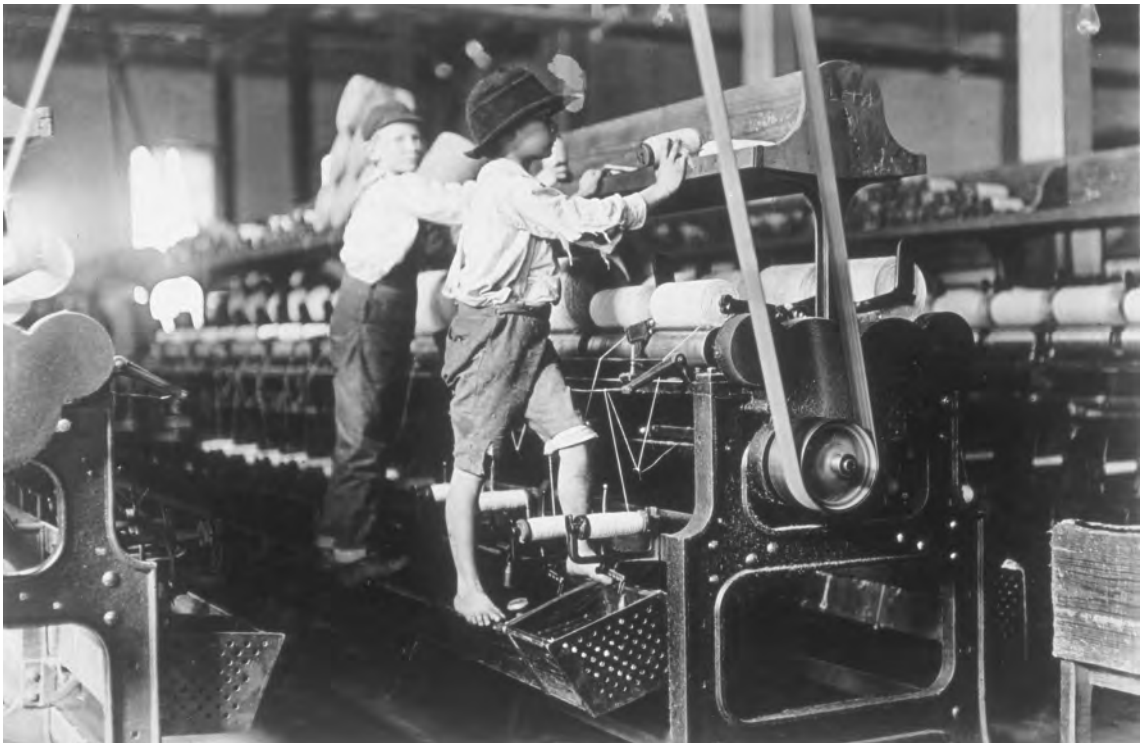
After the defendants had spent several weeks in jail, a federal court of appeals released them on bail. On November 1, 1972, the court reversed the earlier conviction. Years later, records were released that revealed an unethical collaboration among Judge Hoffman, the prosecutors, and the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) to secure a conviction. Several jurors said that they had been intimidated into a guilty vote. Another trial was held on the contempt charges in late 1973. Dellinger, Hoffman, Rubin, and even Kunstler were convicted, but the presiding judge decided not to sentence them to any time in jail. At last, the Chicago Seven trial was over.

Child Labor in the Early Twentieth Century

The 1900 U.S. census (a count of the nation's population and related statistics taken every ten years) showed that 1.75 million children (about 18.2 percent) aged ten to fifteen years old were working. Not included in the census were children younger than ten who held jobs in mills, in factories, and on the streets. Had this group been included, the total number of child laborers would have exceeded two million (about 21 percent).

Children held many types of jobs. Kids as young as five often worked as newsies (children who sold newspapers on the streets), toiling

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Young children worked long hours in factories, running machines sometimes three times their size. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

into the midnight hours. They often got sick because of the long hours and bad weather, and many died due to lack of nutrition and medicine.

Other young children worked in factories, running large machines. They worked twelve- to fourteen-hour shifts, eating only during break time. Children's jobs also included rolling cigars, weaving baskets, picking fruit, working with oysters and shrimp, and setting bowling pins. Many of these jobs required children to work many hours even before sunrise.

Many children also worked informally in fabric mills, tagging along with an older sibling. The average pay for children in fabric mills was 48 cents for a twelve-hour day. A **Georgia** widow and five of her nine children worked in a mill in 1909 and earned $9 per week (about $166.38 a week in modern currency). Children were paid less than adults, who were also underpaid during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At that time, many believed that children should work because it helped

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them develop a strong work ethic. Many employers took advantage of children; parents found it difficult to keep their kids away from hard labor because the additional income was crucial to the family's survival.

Breaker boys

The most difficult child labor of the era involved children working in anthracite (hard) coal mines. (See **Coal Mining**.) Mining families were traditionally large, with many children. Eight- or nine-year-old boys would lie about their age in order to secure a job in a breaker (a large factory where coal is processed). These young boys came to be known as breaker boys.

A breaker boy typically began work at 7:00 AM and worked ten-hour days. He was paid 5 to 7 cents an hour. Sitting on a wooden bench across from a long chute, the breaker boy's job was to separate—by hand—slate rock from broken coal. Most boys could not afford gloves, so their unprotected fingers were usually bloody from the sharp slate. Boys who fell asleep or who did not work fast enough would be struck with a cane or a whip.



This large group of breaker boys worked in terrible conditions in the huge factories where coal was processed. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

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A common saying about coal miners was "Once a man, twice a boy." Most miners began their careers as breaker boys. They moved onto mine work, then returned to the breakers when black lung (a medical condition caused by breathing coal dust) forced them out of the mines. The average life span of a miner was 32 years. Early death occurred due to black lung, explosions, or machine accidents. Because the job was considered too dangerous, insurance companies provided no coverage, meaning injured workers could not receive medical treatment and families received no financial compensation when a loved one died.

Finally, labor reform

Before the federal government passed legislation to regulate labor laws, many states enacted their own laws. For example, by 1914, most states set the minimum child labor age at twelve or fourteen; a maximum workday was ten hours. Even with the new laws, enforcement was difficult, and parents encouraged their children to lie about their ages in order to add money to a family's income.

Slowly, legislation continued to pass that helped children. In 1902, for example, Maryland became the first state to pass workman's compensation laws, which assured workers hurt on the job that they would receive some income while they were away from work recovering from their injury. In 1904, the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) formed. The NCLC fought hard for federal child labor law reform. The first federal child labor law passed in 1916 but was in effect only until 1918. The law prohibited employers from moving goods across state lines if they violated minimum age laws. But like many other laws of its kind, this legislation failed because it was nearly impossible to enforce. In 1916, the Keating-Owens Act passed, requiring children in industry to be at least fourteen years old and those in mining to be at least sixteen. Children under the age of sixteen were forbidden to work eight-hour days or to work nights.

In 1938, the **Fair Labor Standards Act** became law, regulating and enforcing for the first time minimum ages of employment and work hours for children. (See also **Labor Movement**.)

Chinese Immigration

See **Asian Immigration**

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Shirley Chisholm

Clear-sighted, well-spoken, and feisty, Shirley Anita St. Hill Chisholm was the first black woman to be elected to the U.S. Congress.

Early life

Shirley Chisholm was born on November 30, 1924. Her parents were immigrants to the United States. Her father, Charles St. Hill, was a factory worker from British Guiana; her mother, Ruby (Seale) St. Hill, was a seamstress from Barbados. The young couple had a hard time making ends meet, and in the hopes of saving some of their sparse earnings, they sent their children back to the Caribbean. When Shirley was three, she and her two younger sisters, Muriel and Odessa, went to live with their grandmother in Barbados, where they stayed for seven years.

Education on the island was extremely thorough. Chisholm was far ahead of other students when she returned to **New York** at the age of ten. An outstanding student, she was offered scholarships to Vassar and Oberlin colleges when she graduated from high school. She enrolled at Brooklyn College, which was less costly.

Introduced to local politics

At Brooklyn College in the 1940s, Chisholm majored in sociology and planned to become a teacher, since at that time teaching was one of the few professions open to black women. She graduated with honors in 1946, and taught nursery school while studying for a master's degree in elementary education at Columbia University. During these years, Chisholm joined the **Harriet Tubman** Society and began actively participating in the movement to end oppression and to promote black racial consciousness and pride. In 1949, she married fellow Columbia student Conrad Chisholm, and in 1952 she received her master's degree. While teaching and working as a New York City education consultant, Chisholm joined a campaign to get a black lawyer elected as a district court judge, her first taste of politics.

Taking politics to Washington

In 1960, Chisholm helped form the Unity Democratic Club to get more black people elected in New York State, and in 1964 Chisholm offered

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herself as a Democratic candidate for the New York State Assembly. Despite some opposition, she was chosen as the candidate. Knowing it would be a battle to win the election, she went all out, speaking on street corners and in neighborhood halls, talking to Puerto Ricans in Spanish (which she had learned at college), and successfully winning over the voters, especially the women. Chisholm won by a huge margin.

Chisholm served on the assembly for the next four years, gaining a reputation as a hardworking, no-nonsense legislator. She introduced more than fifty bills and was particularly pleased with two of those that were passed. One of them set up a program called SEEK, which sought out disadvantaged children in the schools in order to help them get to college. The other introduced the state's first unemployment insurance program for domestic workers.

In 1968, Chisholm decided to run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. The Republican candidate was popular civil rights leader **James Farmer** (1920–1999), and he had far more campaign funds than she could hope to raise. Undaunted, Chisholm campaigned under the slogan "Fighting Shirley Chisholm: Unbought and Unbossed" and was elected to Congress by a landslide.

Concern for the poor and disadvantaged

Chisholm served in the House of Representatives from 1968 to 1983. As the first black congresswoman, she made it her business to sponsor bills that helped the poor and disadvantaged and to push for equality for ethnic minorities and for women. Meanwhile, as "fighting Shirley Chisholm," she spoke up for the causes she believed in. In her first speech in the House, she spoke out against the **Vietnam War** (1954–75).

Running for the presidency

In 1972, Chisholm decided to run as a Democratic candidate in the presidential election. It was clear from the beginning that she stood no chance of winning the nomination. She explained her presidential campaign in her 1973 book, *The Good Fight,* "The mere fact that a black woman dared to run for President, seriously, not expecting to win but sincerely trying to, is what it was all about. 'It can be done.' That was what I was trying to say."

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Chisholm retired from Congress in 1983. She then returned to teaching and taught at Mount Holyoke College in **Massachusetts** for the next four years. She died January 1, 2005, at the age of 80.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), better known as the Mormon Church, grew from a small group of followers in 1823 to about twelve million members worldwide in 2005. Its successes stemmed from a number of factors: a highly appealing founder, persecution from outside that pulled its members tightly together, and an appeal to the passions of a young nation. Two elements of the original church's doctrine—its sanction (formal approval) of "plural marriage," or polygamy (having more than one spouse) and its union of religion and politics—brought great opposition from non-Mormons in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, the church adapted and prospered, and in 2005 it claimed to be the fourth-largest religious institution in the United States.

The founding of the church

According to LDS doctrine, in September 1823, the angel Moroni visited eighteen-year-old Joseph Smith (1805–1844) and told him that he would find golden plates containing the lost history of the Americas in a hill near his home in western **New York**. Once translated, these plates would provide the basis for the restoration of the true church. Smith discovered the plates and, in time, began their translation into English. In 1830, he published *The Book of Mormon*.

In April 1830, Smith formed the Church of Latter-day Saints. Outwardly, the structure of the church was ordinary: a pyramid topped by elders, who in turn ordained the church's priests, teachers, and deacons. The LDS church was distinguished by Smith's claim that he was God's prophet and held absolute authority over all aspects of the lives of the Latter-day Saints. From the start, there was no division between church, politics, or business, and all were directed by Smith.

Over the next decade, Smith received more than one hundred direct messages from God, which he called revelations. After 1835, there were

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three sources for the church's doctrine: the Bible, *The Book of Mormon*, and the revelations of Smith, which were compiled as *Doctrines and Covenants* (1835).

Appeal of the doctrine

Mormons believed that God had withdrawn from the Christian churches until the moment when Smith received his revelations. After that, the Mormons possessed the sole authority to carry out God's will for humankind. For those who searched for religious authority, there was no greater comfort than the belief in the direct revelation of God to the Prophet Joseph.

Like other Christian religious groups, Mormons believed that the day was soon coming when Christ would return to the world. At that time, for the saved, the kingdom of heaven would reign on earth. Mormons, therefore, dedicated their lives to the practical tasks of building the new kingdom. They worked hard and gave their fortunes to the effort.

For Americans there was a special appeal to LDS doctrine. *The Book of Mormon* provided a biblical history for the Americas, which literally made the West (near Independence, **Missouri**) the site of Eden and therefore the location of God's restored kingdom. No other doctrine, secular or religious, had placed American destiny in such a spectacular historical context.

Finding a homeland

Hostility plagued the Mormons throughout their history. Non-Mormon neighbors resented their success, and the American public at large feared the peculiarities of their doctrines. Persecution, armed conflicts, and massacres of Mormons forced the Mormons to move progressively westward from Kirtland, **Ohio**, to western Missouri, and finally to Nauvoo, **Illinois**. Each move reinforced the group's consciousness of themselves as special people, and they often compared themselves to the biblical Hebrews.

The state of Illinois, desperate for settlers, granted a charter for the Mormon city of Nauvoo in 1840 that established it as a separate city-state within Illinois. With its own mayor, justices, and military, by 1844 Nauvoo had a population of ten thousand, not counting outlying

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Mormon communities. The ever-increasing membership came partly from other countries. Smith sent missionaries to England and elsewhere in Europe. From 1837 to 1846, about eighteen thousand Mormons were baptized in Europe; forty-seven thousand of them journeyed to Nauvoo.

In Nauvoo, some of Smith's most controversial revelations began to surface, such as baptism to save the souls of the dead; his belief that human beings could become gods as they progressed along a righteous path; marriages that were "sealed" for all eternity, rather than until death ended them; and plural marriage, or polygamy, for the elite male Mormons (though revealed to, and practiced by, the inner core of the group, plural marriage was kept secret from the general membership until 1852).

Death of the Prophet

In 1844, Smith decided to run for the U.S. presidency, and among his followers this seemed proper. He had brought the Mormons prosperity and, temporarily, stability. In 1844, Nauvoo was a neat, bustling town, with sawmills, flour mills, a tool factory, a foundry, a chinaware factory, and, in the center, an unfinished, but spectacular, temple.

Despite the community's evident successes, non-Mormon area residents denounced Nauvoo's Mormon theocracy (a government in which the political leaders are also the leaders of the religion and rule as representatives of God). Rumors of bizarre beliefs, particularly the idea of polygamy, inflamed public hostility. In the communities surrounding Nauvoo, there were several instances of harassment. The Mormons were by no means passive victims; the violence between Mormons and non-Mormons was never one-sided.

In 1844, a group of ex-Mormons published an anti-Mormon newspaper, and Smith sent his aides to destroy the printing office. Non-Mormon neighbors were outraged at Smith's scorn for fundamental democratic principles such as freedom of the press. Soon Illinois militia groups advanced on Nauvoo. After promises of safety from the governor, Smith and three other Mormon leaders placed themselves in custody. On the evening of June 27, 1844, an anti-Mormon group stormed the jail and shot Joseph Smith and his brother to death.

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Succession

No provision had been made for a Mormon leader to replace Smith, and after his death several factions that opposed polygamy tried to take over. But one of Smith's principle officers, **Brigham Young** (1801–1877), proved the strongest contender. Whereas Smith had the ability to inspire, Young had a gift for putting ideas into action. At a speech in August 1844 in which he argued for his authority to lead the Mormons, many swore that, in a sudden transformation, Young now looked and sounded like their late prophet. He was embraced by most as the new leader of the Mormons, though some opposition groups left to form their own churches.

Westward immigration

In January 1845, Illinois withdrew the charter for Nauvoo and demanded that the Mormons leave the state. Young had chosen a new homeland for the Mormons in the arid Salt Lake Valley, then a neglected possession of Mexico.

Beginning in February 1846, twelve thousand Mormons traveled 120 miles across **Iowa** and then waited out the winter near present-day Omaha, **Nebraska**. There, Young prepared them for the thousand-mile journey ahead. It was an organizational tour de force. Young divided the emigrant families into groups of tens, fifties, and hundreds, assigned leaders to each unit, and ensured that each company had the necessary supplies and survival skills. In April 1847, a group of Mormons who had gone ahead of the rest arrived in the Salt Lake Valley and began to prepare the site of their new homeland.

Salt Lake City

Within months of their arrival, the Mormons had established a thriving community. At the center of the city was the site for the temple, from which streets radiated out. The area was divided into ten-acre blocks, which in turn were partitioned into eight lots of 1.25 acres each.

The Council of Fifty, the acting governing body over the Mormons, organized the settlement into wards of seventy to one hundred families. An appointed bishop was in charge of each ward. His functions were both practical and spiritual and included oversight of schools, worship, provisions for the poor, and public works.

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The economy was dictated by the scarce resources of the Salt Lake Valley. Each family was required to contribute one-tenth of its livestock, grain, flour, butter, eggs, vegetables, and other goods to a storehouse for distribution to the poor or for times of shortage.

Strong missionary drives began soon after the Mormons resettled. By 1845, nearly 2,000 young men had set out to recruit new members. The church established a Perpetual Emigrating Fund to provide loans to emigrants. Between 1852 and 1855, 10,000 migrants received its assistance. Of the 22,000 converts traveling to the Salt Lake valley through 1855, 19,500 were from Great Britain, 2,000 were Scandinavians, and the rest were French, Italians, and Germans.

Deseret

In 1849, the Mormons established their colony as the State of Deseret, which encompassed 210,000 square miles and included present-day **Nevada**, western **Utah**, southern parts of **Wyoming**, **Idaho**, and **Oregon**, and most of southern **California**. The Mormons lobbied the federal government to accept Deseret as a new state, but instead, Congress annexed the area as Utah Territory, naming Young the first territorial governor. For several years, there was little outside intervention in Mormon affairs, though relations with federal appointees were often bitter.

In 1852, Young publicly announced the revelation that had been kept secret since 1843: that plural marriage was a holy practice and the duty of Mormon males deemed worthy of the privilege. Young announced that he himself had more than twenty wives. Most Mormons accepted the revelation; the rest of the nation was scandalized by it.

Mountain Meadows massacre

In 1856, a new anti-Mormon movement arose in the United States. President **James Buchanan** (1791–1868; served 1857–61) was pressured to appoint a replacement for Young as governor. In 1857, he dispatched a force of twenty-five hundred soldiers to Utah to put down any Mormon rebellion.

Fearful of being driven from yet another home and resentful of the brutal attacks of the past, the Mormons prepared for all-out war. They fortified the mountain passes and burned their supply forts. They also

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tried to convince the local Ute Indians to be their allies against the non-Mormons. In August 1857, a peaceful wagon train from **Arkansas** passed through Mormon territory on its way to California. Whipped up into an exaggerated state of suspicion and hatred, a unit of Mormons led some Ute allies in an attack on the wagon train. The next day, the Mormon soldiers killed in cold blood almost all of the wagon train's 120 members in what has come to be called the Mountain Meadows massacre.

After the massacre, Young negotiated with the federal government. A new territorial governor was installed without further incident, and the army set up camp forty miles outside of Salt Lake City to ensure the peace.

Modern LDS

Beginning in the 1880s, federal officials once more asserted their authority against the practice of polygamy. Through court decisions and congressional acts, the church was stripped of most of its property. Polygamous men were imprisoned or forced to flee. Ordinary members of the church lost their right to vote and to sit on juries. In 1890, faced with unrelenting pressure, the head of the Mormon Church, Wilford Woodruff (1807–1898), announced that he had received a revelation to halt new polygamous unions. Soon, polygamy was banned by the church.

By the time Utah became a state in 1896, the church had taken its place within the American mainstream. The Mormons have become one of the largest religious institutions in the United States and also one of the most prosperous, with further growth expected.

CIA

See **Central Intelligence Agency**

CIO

See **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**

Civil Disobedience

Civil disobedience is the refusal to obey a rule or law in such a way as to challenge or change it. Civil disobedience often takes the form of not cooperating with objectionable regulations, as when African American

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Rosa Parks (1913–2005) refused to give up her bus seat to a white man in Montgomery, **Alabama**, in 1955, defying a city law. Disrupting public ceremonies, trespassing, and obstructing traffic are also forms of civil disobedience. Private acts of civil disobedience include refusing to pay one's taxes or refusing to be drafted into the military.

Although some forms of civil disobedience may involve the use of violence, the history of civil disobedience in the United States is strongly linked to nonviolent protest, which is not necessarily illegal. Nonviolent protest methods include picketing, sit-ins, marches and demonstrations, sit-down strikes, hunger strikes, and boycotts (refusal to do business with someone to express disapproval). Civil disobedience and nonviolent protest have played a large role in shaping U.S. history, particularly during the **Civil Rights Movement** (1954–65).

The Influence of Thoreau and Gandhi

Civil disobedience and nonviolent protest were brought to the attention of Americans by two early practitioners: American writer/philosopher **Henry David Thoreau** (1817–1862) and Indian political and spiritual leader Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948). In 1846, Thoreau refused to pay his poll taxes (a fixed tax for voting once used to keep African Americans from voting). Thoreau was also jailed for his protest of the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48). In his famous essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (first delivered as a speech in 1848), Thoreau addressed the moral necessity of resisting laws that conflict with one's individual conscience. Arguing that a government that forces its citizens to violate their personal morals is a bad government, he urged people to consider civil disobedience.

In the early decades of the twentieth century in India, Gandhi embraced many of Thoreau's ideas. He applied them, however, to a social and political cause: Indian independence from British colonial rule. Gandhi called his form of civil disobedience "nonviolent direct action," in order to avoid the idea of inaction. Pacifism (the rejection of violence) was central to Gandhi's vision. Though a devout Hindu, Gandhi was heavily influenced by the New Testament idea of loving one's enemy. Gandhi's nonviolent resistance played a major role in gaining India's independence in 1947.

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African American activist A. Philip Randolph rallied blacks to adopt the method of nonviolent protest to promote civil rights. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Gandhi influences U.S. civil rights movement

Civil disobedience and nonviolent protest were adopted by a few African American civil rights leaders in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1941, African American activist A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979) called for blacks to adopt a strategy of direct-action, nonviolent protest, including marches and huge demonstrations in **Washington, D.C.** In the 1940s, a civil rights organization called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) blended Gandhi's philosophy with its own methods of nonviolent protest. Like Gandhi, CORE called this method "nonviolent direct action."

Most black leaders in the years prior to **World War II** (1939–45) frowned upon acts of civil disobedience and protest, fearing backlash. In the first half of the twentieth century, the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) was the front-runner among civil rights organizations. It brought case after case of racial injustice to the courts in order to change discriminatory laws (laws that treated African Americans differently than white people). NAACP and other civil rights leaders promoted the ideal of accomodationism, in which African Americans were advised to fit into their environment and prosper as best they could in the hope of a better future.

Martin Luther King Jr. and nonviolence

In December 1955, civil rights activist Rosa Parks defied a Montgomery, Alabama, city regulation by refusing to give up her seat on a city bus to a white man. She was arrested for her act of civil disobedience. African Americans in Montgomery quickly organized a protest on her behalf. They appointed a young Baptist minister, **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968), to lead their year-long **Montgomery bus boycott**. King was well versed in the writings of Thoreau and Gandhi and deeply committed to the Christian concept of brotherly love, but he had not yet committed himself to nonviolent protest. It was in the midst of the bus

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boycott that the twenty-six-year-old King realized that nonviolence was the most powerful weapon that could be used against racial hatred and prejudice.

King's speeches and sermons began to address his new philosophy, derived largely from Gandhi and the Bible. Because nonviolence was widely viewed as "doing nothing," King repeatedly emphasized the active dimensions of nonviolence. It is only passive in the sense of refusing to inflict physical harm on others, but it could—and often did—result in physical injury to the protester. Like a soldier, a nonviolent protester was highly trained for duty. The training involved learning not to hate individual people. King warned those who wished to join his nonviolent protest movement that they might be beaten, humiliated, insulted, or arrested, but they were never to strike or talk back to those who tried to harm them. The fight was between justice and nonjustice, or good and evil, but never between people. The aim of the nonviolent protest was to cause moral shame in the opponent, thus bringing about change. King pointed out that African Americans, as only 10 percent of the population, had little chance of achieving their goals by violent means. Their best strategy for achieving justice was nonviolence.

In February 1958, King founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC), a national organization dedicated to nonviolence and to achieving justice for blacks in every segment of American life. Along with CORE, it was one of several major civil rights associations committed to nonviolent methods of protest.

SNCC

The **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC; pronounced "Snick") was founded in 1960, following the successful 1960 sit-in carried out by four black college students in Greensboro, **North Carolina**. (See **Sit-in Movement**.) The students sat down at a racially segregated lunch counter at a department store and were refused service because of their race. The event sparked a wave of student sit-ins. Frustrated by the accommodationist tactics of the NAACP, and the slow pace of the SCLC, SNCC activists envisioned the possibility of immediate social change. SNCC workers took over the **freedom rides** of 1961, in which volunteers defied the segregation regulations that were still practiced in buses and bus depots. SNCC also worked on voter registration and education campaigns in the Deep South. SNCC volunteers liv-

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In 1965, during a peaceful march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, marchers were attacked by police, who used billy clubs and threw tear gas. AP IMAGES

ing in local rural communities in **Mississippi**, Alabama, and **Georgia** were subjected to beatings, unlawful arrest, and even murder. Through active nonviolent methods, these dedicated students brought to the movement a sense of grave urgency and brought masses of black citizens into the civil rights movement.

Bloody Sunday

In 1965, SNCC joined forces with the SCLC for the Selma-to-Montgomery, Alabama, march in support of voting rights. On Sunday, March 7, 1965, more than five hundred marchers set off from Selma on the Edmund Pettus Bridge toward Montgomery. On the far side of the bridge they encountered a small army of volunteers put together by the local sheriff and well-equipped state troopers. The marchers were ordered to stop. Before they had a chance to disband, the police attacked

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them, some on horseback, others swinging billy clubs and whips, and some wielding tear gas canisters. Eighty people were injured, some severely. Television cameras were rolling, and footage of "Bloody Sunday," as it came to be called, outraged the nation. A second attempt at the march was led by King, who encouraged the marchers to march peacefully past the angry crowds and to let them know that not even death could stop African Americans from achieving equality. The march was at least partly responsible for passage of the **Voting Rights Act** of 1965, a milestone in the civil rights movement.

Bloody Sunday is often considered the crowning glory of King's nonviolent protest struggle. In bringing the struggle into the living rooms of the American public and forcing the president to act, it achieved its purpose without once resorting to violence.

After Bloody Sunday, though, the nonviolent protest era of the civil rights movement began to splinter. SNCC moved away from its early emphasis on nonviolence to the more militant (warlike) philosophy of the **black power movement**. King turned his focus to northern economic issues and protesting U.S. involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) before his assassination in 1968. Nonetheless, his nonviolent methods and philosophy were used by other minority groups, particularly the Latino, Native American, and antiwar movements, of the 1970s.

Civil Liberties vs. Civil Defense

In the early twenty-first century, global conflicts and devastating terrorist acts created a widespread fear of violence on U.S. soil. As the U.S. government took steps to protect its citizens, some attempts at civil defense (emergency measures enacted in the event of natural disaster or enemy attack) threatened many of the fundamental freedoms that Americans cherish—their civil liberties. Civil liberties are individual rights that are protected by laws and by the U.S. **Constitution** and its amendments. Such rights include freedom of speech and religion and the right to privacy and a fair trial.

Throughout U.S. history, the government has frequently made efforts to restrict civil liberties during wars and other crises. These efforts have involved wiretapping (listening to people's phone calls or reading

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their e-mail) and other invasions of privacy; suspending the rights of prisoners; racial profiling (when law enforcement authorities use characteristics based on race to decide whether an individual might be guilty of some crime and therefore worthy of investigation or arrest); and even prohibiting public criticism of the government. The U.S. Constitution makes no formal provision for restricting civil liberties in emergencies, but during crisis situations judges, legislators, and presidents have gone along with suspending certain rights normally taken for granted. Striking a balance between civil liberties and civil defense in times of danger has often been a challenge.

Historical background

The earliest instance of suspension of civil liberties in times of national threat occurred soon after the founding of the nation with the **Alien and Sedition Acts** of 1798. At the time, the United States seemed on the verge of war with France. The three "Alien" acts gave the president the power to deport suspected aliens, or people from other countries, and restricted the voting rights of immigrants. The Sedition Act targeted all speeches and writings that were believed to be critical of, or "against," the government of the United States. The four acts taken together gave the president broad powers to seek out and suppress anyone, American or not, who expressed views critical of the government's policies. The acts became very unpopular and they were allowed to expire within a few years.

Wartime suspensions of civil liberties

President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) initiated a widespread suspension of civil liberties in an effort to maintain order during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). His orders included censoring the mail, imposing martial law (military rule of civilians during an emergency), and suspending the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus—the procedure by which individuals who have been imprisoned can request a court inquiry into whether they are being detained for legitimate reasons.

The United States's involvement in **World War I** (1914–18) provoked serious and widespread abuses of civil liberties. In 1917, Congress passed the much-debated Espionage Act, which made it a crime to make false reports that might aid an enemy, incite rebellion within the armed forces, or obstruct military recruitment. One of its provisions covered

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the use of the nation's post office system. Any newspaper, pamphlet, book, letter, or other writing advocating insurrection or the forcible resistance to any U.S. law would be punishable by both fine and imprisonment. The provisions concerning the nation's mail gave the government an opportunity to suppress dissent of almost every kind. Many well-known Americans who criticized the act were imprisoned under its powers. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Espionage Act, saying that when a condition of national emergency arises, protections afforded by the **First Amendment** could be legitimately curtailed if it was in the interest of national security.

The most dramatic suspension of civil liberties of **World War II** (1939–45) took place at **Japanese internment camps**. Over one hundred thousand Japanese Americans were forced into confinement in the aftermath of the Japanese attack on the U.S. **Navy** base in **Hawaii** at **Pearl Harbor** in December 1941. The internment of Japanese Americans without any evidence of their connection to the Japanese war effort, forcing them to leave their homes and businesses to live in remote camps under guard, received the support of all three branches of the federal government. Many years later, in 1988, President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) made a formal apology to the surviving Japanese Americans who had been interned; the U.S. government paid nearly $1.65 billion in reparations to former internees.



U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer supported federal government actions that detained alleged communist radicals, often violating the rights of innocent people. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Red scares

After the Russian Revolution in 1917, an overwhelming fear of radicalism gripped the United States, even though there were few communists in the country at that time. **Communism** is an economic or political system in which property is owned collectively by all members of society and labor is organized for the common good. In 1919, the federal government launched nationwide raids to round up and detain alleged communist radicals the government believed were plotting to destroy the United States. U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer (1872–1936) led

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this crusade, championing the "100 percent Americanism" philosophy. At the height of this period, known as the **Red Scare** of 1920, the **American Civil Liberties Union** (ACLU), a nongovernmental organization devoted to defending civil rights and civil liberties in the United States, was founded. By the end of 1920, many Americans realized that warnings of a communist threat had been greatly exaggerated.

Following World War II, the fear of communism grew in the United States along with the developing **Cold War**. This was a period of noncombative conflict, from the 1940s to the 1990s, between the communist East (the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China) and the capitalist West (the United States and Western Europe). In 1950, little-known U.S. senator **Joseph McCarthy** (1908–1957) of Wisconsin suddenly announced that he had "proof" of widespread communist activity in the U.S. government, though he never provided any documentation of this claim. That year, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, virtually outlawing communism in the United States. This was followed in 1954 with the Communist Control Act, forbidding communists from running for political office. Both laws were clearly in violation of the First Amendment's protection of freedom of association, but the U.S. **Supreme Court** went along with them anyway. By 1954, blacklists (lists of people who are in trouble or are being denied entrance or privileges) were in place in the fields of education and entertainment (see **Hollywood Blacklisting**); hundreds lost their jobs simply because they dared to question the U.S. government.

Post 9/11 America

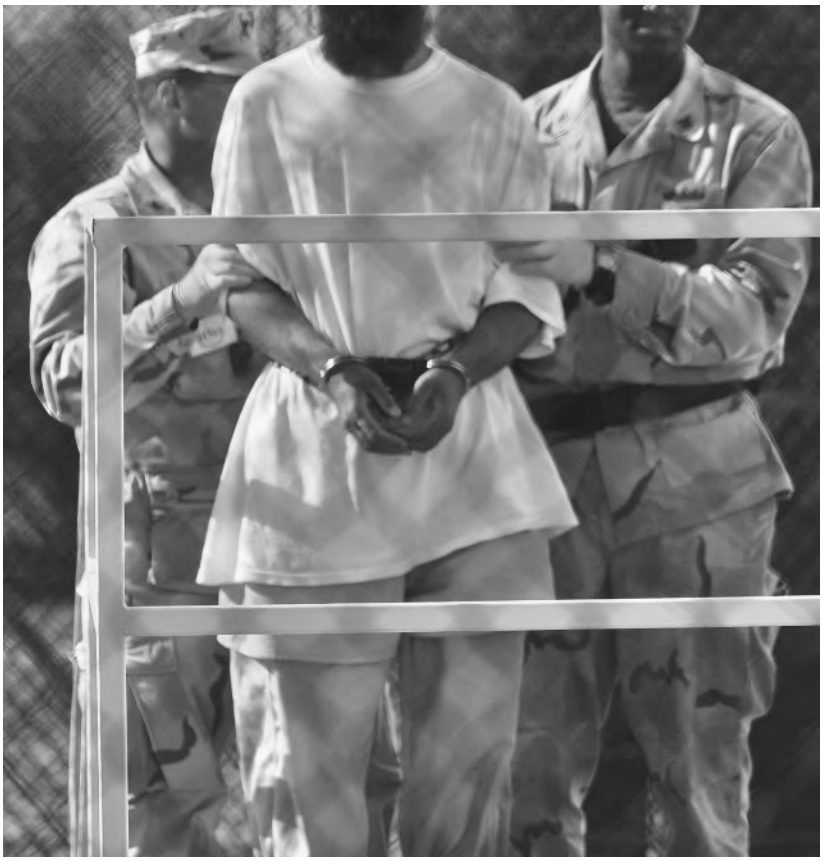
In the wake of the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks** on U.S. soil, for which terrorist group **al-Qaeda** claimed responsibility, the administration of President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) called for increased security measures. On October 26, 2001, just six weeks after the attacks, Bush signed into law the **USA PATRIOT Act** (or Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism). The act was designed to give the president extra powers to conduct a war on terrorism. Not surprisingly, the act called for American citizens to give up some of their civil liberties in the interest of the war on terror.

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Rights of prisoners

Within a month of the passing of the USA PATRIOT Act, the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) detained twelve hundred individuals for questioning—the largest roundup since the internment of Japanese Americans in the 1940s, and before that, the Palmer Raids of 1920. Almost all of the detainees were from the Middle East or South Asia. Under the USA PATRIOT Act, immigration officials could hold suspects for a week without charging them and indefinitely if the detainee was judged to be a national security threat.

On November 13, 2001, Bush stated in an executive order that any noncitizen suspected of being a member of al-Qaeda, engaging in or supporting terrorist actions, or harboring a terrorist was not subject to the protections of the U.S. criminal justice system. Suspects were to be held



An army base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, was converted into a prison center for foreign terror suspects; many were abused during interrogation.
AP IMAGES

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by the Department of Defense at any location, even outside of the United States, until their release or trial before a military tribunal. Unlike a criminal court, only a two-thirds majority of the military tribunal was necessary for conviction, and evidence could be withheld from the defense team in the interest of national security. The individual had no right to appeal the decision after conviction.

The government converted its army base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in 2002 into a prison and interrogation center for foreign terror suspects. The first batch of prisoners was transported hooded and blindfolded to the base. In all, about 775 prisoners were detained there. The U.S. government called them "enemy combatants," refusing to grant them prisoner-of-war status, thus denying them protections under the Geneva Conventions (international laws involving the humane treatment of prisoners of war). Many of the detainees at Guantanamo were held for years without being charged with a crime. Some claimed they were tortured in the prison, and many countries that are normally U.S. allies called for the closing of the prison.

In 2006, the Supreme Court ruled against the Bush administration on this issue, stating that the detainees were subject to the Geneva Conventions and could not be tried by military tribunals. After years in the prison, some were released without ever being charged. Less than a hundred faced trials in U.S. courts. Nearly three hundred remained in custody without charges.

Privacy invasions

In order to collect information that might lead to knowledge of possible terrorist attacks, the Bush administration wished to suspend some of the rights to privacy that Americans have long enjoyed. The USA PATRIOT Act significantly eased restrictions on searches and surveillance (observation) by law enforcement agents. Government agents no longer needed to show that any crime had been committed in order to carry out searches on individuals. They could demand an individual's records from banks, brokerages, libraries, travel agencies, video stores, telephone services, doctors, and places of worship without the person's knowledge.

In 2002, President Bush secretly authorized government security agents to wiretap (listen in on) the telephone conversations of U.S. citizens without first getting a warrant from the courts if an agent had reason to believe that the individual might be speaking to a member of a

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terrorist group. This is a policy called warrantless wiretapping. The nation did not learn of it for several years. In 2006, the media also revealed that the administration had a database with records of tens of millions of U.S. phone records, from homes and businesses throughout the nation. Under mounting criticism for acting without authorization, the Bush administration agreed to return to having wiretapping overseen by the federal courts.

The civil liberties versus civil defense debate will certainly continue. Many Americans were only too willing to give up their rights to privacy in the first, frightening days after the September 11, 2001, attacks. But most Americans also believe that giving up the freedoms they treasure in the United States—their civil rights—would mean that the terrorists had won a large battle.

Civil Rights Act of 1866

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was the first piece of federal civil rights legislation to be enacted into law. After the American **Civil War** (1861–65), southern states resisted the new social status of freed blacks by enacting **Black Codes**. Black Codes were state laws aimed at limiting the rights and freedoms of blacks and avoiding their integration into white society. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 in an attempt to establish and protect the rights of blacks against such measures.

The Act established the first definition of American citizenship, basing it on birth within the United States. It then set forth rights and privileges guaranteed to all citizens, regardless of race or color. Among them were the ability to make contracts, to sue others, to inherit, purchase, lease, or sell property, and to have access to court procedures. The act asserted that no state or local law could restrict these rights, and it authorized federal prosecution of those who attempted to prevent citizens from exercising those rights.

The bill was authored by U.S. senator Lyman Trumbull (1813–1896) of **Illinois**. Trumbull was a moderate Republican who had initially supported the mild **Reconstruction** policies of President **Andrew Johnson** (1808–1875; served 1865–69); these policies were designed to bring the secessionist South back into the federal Union by a fair and just process. Interracial violence, however, had risen to such lev-

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The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was the first piece of federal civil rights legislation to be enacted into law. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

els that Trumbull became a strong advocate of federal legislation to protect the civil rights of blacks.

There were many radical Republicans who sought to strengthen the bill by adding protection for black voting rights and continuous federal scrutiny of state and local actions. The bill, however, passed both houses of Congress with nearly unanimous support in February 1866 without such additional measures. President Johnson rejected the bill with a presidential veto. On April 9, 1866, Congress overrode the veto, making the Civil Rights Act the first piece of legislation to be passed in spite of a presidential veto.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 proved to be difficult to enforce. Deliberation over the bill, however, contributed to Congress's decision to prepare a constitutional amendment to provide an adequate foundation for civil rights legislation. The **Fourteenth Amendment**, proposed later

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that year and adopted in 1868, supplied a permanent federal definition of American and state citizenship and strengthened the equal protection implications of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. **Supreme Court** interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, however, would enable states to treat blacks unequally under the law until the **civil rights movement** in the middle of the twentieth century.

Civil Rights Act of 1964

The 1964 Civil Rights Act was the most far-reaching civil rights act passed by the U.S. Congress since the **Reconstruction** Era (1865–77; the period after the American Civil War, during which the southern states were reorganized and brought back into the Union). The act eliminated some of the obstacles to voting faced by African Americans, prohibited **segregation** (separation of blacks and whites) in public accommodations, ordered the **desegregation of public schools**, and made it illegal to discriminate against minorities in the workplace. Although many observers felt that the act did not go far enough, it was a milestone in the **civil rights movement**.

Background

The road to the passage of the Civil Rights Act was long and difficult. In June 1963, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63), under intense pressure from civil rights groups, urged Congress to enact a bill to meet the demands of African Americans for equality. The bill he proposed included sections dealing with segregation and discrimination in public facilities, employment, federally assisted programs, and education.

Two days after the bill was put before Congress, Kennedy was assassinated. His successor, President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69), urged Congress to pass the bill. Earlier in his political career, Johnson had opposed most civil rights measures, but during his years in the Senate his views had changed. As vice president and then as president, he surprised the nation by making a vigorous commitment to civil rights. He faced strong opposition in the Senate from southerners who feared that the Civil Rights Act would allow the federal government to interfere in their local affairs. Johnson continued to press Congress to pass the act even though he knew his own **Democratic Party** could lose

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U.S. president Lyndon Johnson shakes hands with civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. after the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The act prohibited segregation, ordered desegregation of public schools, and made discrimination in the workplace illegal. AP IMAGES

its large base of southern voters because of it. After a major struggle in the Senate, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed on July 2.

Voting rights

In the early 1960s, unfairly administered literacy (reading and writing) tests were being used in some southern states to keep blacks from voting. Though the 1964 act did not eliminate literacy tests, it prohibited local officials from applying different standards to blacks and whites when administering the tests in federal elections.

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Simply making a law against voter discrimination was not enough; some areas of the South had been finding ways to block African Americans from voting since Reconstruction. Thus, the Civil Rights Act provided the U.S. attorney general (the chief law enforcement officer of the federal government) with authority to bring federal lawsuits if he or she found a "pattern of discrimination" that prevented citizens from voting. Unfortunately, the process of going to court to prove voter discrimination remained long and difficult under the act.

Public accommodation discrimination

The results of the public accommodations provisions of the 1964 act were more impressive. Hotels, restaurants, service stations, entertainment centers, and government-owned public facilities were forbidden to discriminate or refuse service because of race, color, religion, or national origin. The Civil Rights Act dramatically reduced discriminatory practices in this area; in a short time the rigid separation of the races in public places was over.

Education

In 1954, the **Supreme Court** had ruled in ***Brown v. Board of Education*** that public schools must be desegregated (eliminating separation of the races). Unfortunately, the Court had little power to enforce the ruling and many American schools remained segregated. With the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress took its place with the Court in the stand against discrimination in schools. Desegregation of public schools, however, proved extremely difficult, and in some areas it is still not accomplished today.

Employment and the addition of women's rights

Under the Civil Rights Act, employers were forbidden to discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. Unlike the other parts of the 1964 act, the section dealing with employment practices also covers discrimination based upon sex, protecting women as well as minority groups. The prohibition of sex discrimination set forth in the bill was actually introduced by the Civil Rights Act's opponents. They hoped that members of Congress would be so outraged by the idea of equality

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for women they would refuse to pass the bill. Their plan backfired. The bill passed, revolutionizing the legal status of female workers.

The employment section of the Civil Rights Act was not as effective in practice as many had hoped. An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established, but it did not have power to bring suit against an employer. In cases of discrimination, the process to resolve the problem was difficult.

Milestone

The 1964 Civil Rights Act was one of the most significant milestones in the decade-long nonviolent struggle for civil rights. Bringing Congress and the federal government fully into the civil rights struggle along with the Supreme Court, the act made it clear for the first time that the government would live up to its constitutional requirements to protect all its citizens.

It is nearly impossible to measure how much the Civil Rights of Act of 1964 contributed to bringing equality between the races. Most observers agree that the act greatly changed public life in many southern communities through its ban on discrimination in public accommodations. By most accounts, however, it did not go far enough in the quest to end discrimination against African Americans and other minorities.

Civil Rights Act of 1972

See **Equal Employment Opportunity Act**

Civil Rights Movement (1954–65)

The American civil rights struggle is an ongoing fight for the personal rights, protections, and privileges granted all U.S. citizens by the **Constitution** and **Bill of Rights**. At the end of the American **Civil War** (1861–65), constitutional amendments were enacted to protect African Americans recently released from **slavery**. The **Fourteenth Amendment** (1868) declared that all former slaves were U.S. citizens and received equal protection under the laws of state and federal governments. The **Fifteenth Amendment** (1870) assured equal voting rights to all citizens, regardless of race. Until the 1950s, however, the civil rights of African Americans were systematically denied, particularly in the South where the majority of black Americans resided. A remarkable era of nonviolent

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African American activism began in 1954, known today simply as the civil rights movement. It was launched by the ***Brown v. Board of Education*** decision in 1954, in which the **Supreme Court** ruled that **segregation** in the public schools was illegal. This phase of the civil rights struggle ended with the passage in 1965 of the **Voting Rights Act,** which—nearly a century after the Fifteenth Amendment had already done so—once again assured voting rights to all citizens.

Background of the movement

After the **Reconstruction** Era (1865–77), a period after the Civil War in which the federal government controlled the southern states that had seceded (withdrawn) from the Union, whites in the South enacted the **Jim Crow laws.** These were a series of laws throughout the South that required segregation, the separation of the races in public places. White southern state legislatures limited African American rights to own land, to enter certain occupations, and to gain access to the courts. By 1900, southern whites had accomplished the disfranchisement (exclusion from voting) of most southern blacks.

In the early twentieth century, because it was too dangerous to effectively resist racial injustice in the South, most civil rights struggles were carried out in the North. In 1905, black scholar and author W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) and other black leaders began the Niagara movement, named after their meeting place near the Niagara River bordering the United States and Canada, to fight racial injustice. Their organization eventually became the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**, which fought for racial equality mainly through the courts and the press. Until **World War II** (1939–45), the NAACP's progress was slow.

After the war, a new sense of urgency prevailed in American black communities. Soldiers who had risked their lives to fight for the country expected equal treatment when they returned home. More than one million African Americans migrated from the rural South to northern cities in the first decades of the century. Over two million blacks had registered to vote by the late 1940s. In December 1948, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) ran for his second term as president on a strong civil rights plank. Although some southern whites quickly abandoned him, he received 70 percent of the northern black

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Special counsel for the NAACP Thurgood Marshall argued that segregation denied blacks equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Constitution. NEW YORK TIMES CO./HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

vote and won the election. Two years later, he began to desegregate the armed forces.

By the late 1940s, the NAACP's chief legal counsel, **Thurgood Marshall** (1908–1993), brought the principle of segregation in public education before the Supreme Court. Marshall argued that segregation denied blacks equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In 1954, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled against segregation in public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education.*

The aftermath of *Brown*

Brown's most immediate effect was to intensify the resistance of white southerners to civil rights progress. The **Ku Klux Klan,** a secret society of white southerners in the United States that uses terrorist tactics to suppress African Americans and other minorities, stepped up its violent intimidation of African Americans. Southern congressmen and governors vowed to resist desegregation. In 1957, when nine black students attempted to attend classes at a formerly all-white school in Little Rock, Arkansas, federal troops were required to protect them from the furious white mobs. (See **Little Rock Central High School Desegregation.**)

Even so, *Brown* provided the spark that ignited a movement. African Americans across the country recognized that the highest court had upheld their rights; leaders began to prepare bolder assaults on segregation in the South. One common form of protest is a boycott, an organized refusal to do business with someone. In December 1955, blacks in Montgomery, **Alabama**, organized a bus boycott after the former NAACP secretary of the Montgomery branch, **Rosa Parks** (1913–2005), was arrested for refusing to yield her seat to a white man. (See **Montgomery Bus Boycott.**) The boycott leader was **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968). Only twenty-six years old, the minister from Atlanta was an inspiring speaker who invoked Christian morality, American ideals of liberty, and the ethic of nonviolent resistance in his campaign against racial injustice. In November 1956, despite growing

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white violence, the bus boycott triumphed when a Supreme Court decision overturned Montgomery's laws enforcing bus segregation.

Nonviolent activists organize

In 1957, Congress passed the first Civil Rights Act since the Reconstruction Era. African Americans, however, had seen that court decisions and federal acts had consistently failed to make changes, so during the late 1950s they moved their struggle for equality to the streets. In January 1957, King organized the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC),** a network of nonviolent civil rights activists drawn mainly from African American churches.

In 1960, four African American students began the **sit-in movement**, when they sat at the lunch counter at a Woolworth's store in Greensboro, **North Carolina**, which served only whites. The store closed down the lunch counter. Later that year, several hundred student activists gathered in Raleigh, North Carolina, to form the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC, pronounced "snick") to promote nonviolent resistance to Jim Crow laws. By the summer of 1960, the sit-ins had desegregated dozens of lunch counters and other public accommodations, mainly in southern border states. Guided by King and other nonviolent activist leaders, protesters courageously endured insults, intimidation, violence, and arrest without striking back.



Sit-ins, peaceful demonstrations outside and inside businesses, helped desegregate several lunch counters and other public accommodations. AP IMAGES

The Kennedy administration

Black protests intensified during the presidency of **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63), a Democrat elected in 1960 with heavy black support. Kennedy had started out his administration avoiding civil rights measures that might trigger southern white racial violence and political retaliation. Civil rights leaders stepped up campaigns to pressure Kennedy to fulfill his campaign promises. In 1961, a nonviolent civil rights group called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized the **freedom rides**, in which volunteers rode buses through

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the South, testing compliance with a Supreme Court order to desegregate interstate bus terminal facilities. White mobs beat the riders in Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama. As several hundred more volunteers stepped in to continue the project, Kennedy quietly persuaded southern communities to desegregate their bus terminals.

In 1962, Kennedy again was forced into action. He sent federal marshals to protect a black student named **James Meredith** (1933–), who had registered at the all-white University of Mississippi at Oxford. After mobs killed two people at the campus and besieged the marshals, the president reluctantly called in more troops to restore order.

In 1963, demonstrations throughout the South led to fifteen thousand arrests and widespread white violence. On May 3 and for several days afterward, police in Birmingham beat and unleashed attack dogs on nonviolent followers of King, in full view of television news cameras. The resulting public revulsion over the **Birmingham protests** spurred Kennedy to urge Congress to enact a strong civil rights law.

"I Have a Dream"

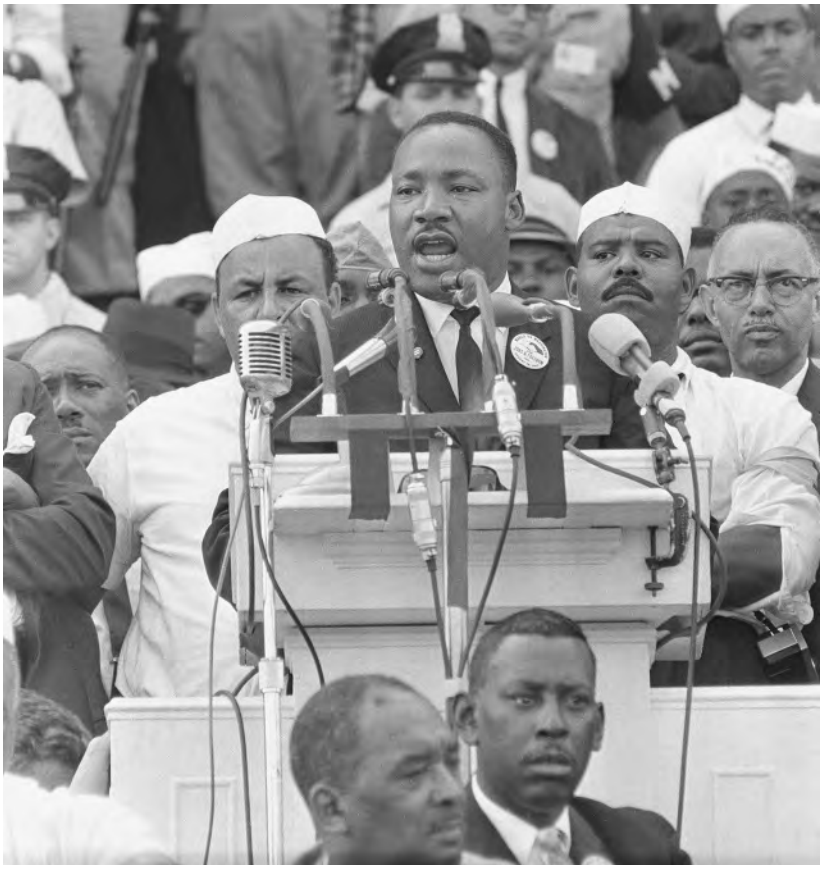
A coalition of African American groups and their white allies sponsored a march on Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, to advance the civil rights bill then before Congress. Standing before the **Lincoln Memorial**, King delivered his famous plea for interracial brotherhood in his "I Have a Dream" speech, enthralling several hundred thousand blacks and whites.

On July 2, 1964, President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which barred segregation in public accommodations, ended federal aid to segregated institutions, outlawed racial discrimination in employment, sought to strengthen black voting rights, and extended the life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Voting rights in the South

In 1964, SNCC initiated **Freedom Summer**, a massive black voter registration and education campaign aimed at challenging white supremacy in the deep South, starting in **Mississippi**. About one thousand college students, most of them white, volunteered. The freedom workers were not well received by a segment of Mississippi's white population. Three

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Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his famous "I Have a Dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963. AP IMAGES

volunteers were murdered by a mob led by the deputy sheriff of a Mississippi town. Nevertheless, the project continued.

In 1965, King led a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to extend voting rights to black Americans. State and local police almost immediately attacked the black marchers, stopping the march. The televised scenes of violence brought about strong national support for the protection of blacks attempting to vote. Ten days later, twenty-five thousand black and white marchers reached Montgomery escorted by federal troops.

After the **Selma-Montgomery march,** Johnson signed a strong Voting Rights Act, which authorized the attorney general to send federal voting examiners to make sure that African Americans were free to register. The examiners were granted the power to enforce national law over local regulations wherever discrimination occurred.

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Black power

After 1965, the civil rights movement began to fragment, primarily over the nonviolent tactics of King and his supporters and the goal of integration into the dominant society. **Malcolm X** (1925–1965), a leader of the religious and sociopolitical group the **Nation of Islam**, questioned the value of integration into a society that had exploited and abused African Americans for centuries. He did not believe that the sit-ins, marches, or other tactics of civil rights activists were effective tools with which to gain rights, especially when confronted with violent resistance in the South. In 1966, SNCC leader **Stokely Carmichael** (also known as Kwame Ture; 1941–1998) ridiculed nonviolent efforts and demanded "black power," a militant slogan that alienated white liberals and divided blacks. The focus of the **Black Power Movement** began to shift to economic injustices in the North. Violent ghetto riots began to break out in large cities like Detroit and Los Angeles. On April 4, 1968, the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. touched off riots that left **Washington, D.C.**, in flames for three days. The movement would continue, but this initial remarkable phase of the nonviolent civil rights struggle was over.

A revolutionary movement

The central goal of the African American civil rights movement—full equality between blacks and whites—remains a distant vision. Neighborhoods, private schools, and jobs remain segregated along racial lines; African American incomes remain significantly lower than those of whites; and job and educational opportunities are not distributed equally. Nonetheless, the civil rights movement of 1954–65 transformed American race relations. In communities throughout the South, "whites only" signs that had stood for generations vanished from hotels, restrooms, theaters, and other facilities. By the mid-1970s, school desegregation had become fact as well as law in more than 80 percent of all southern public schools (a better record than in the North, where residential segregation remains pronounced). The protection of the right to vote represents the civil rights movement's greatest success: When Congress passed the Voting Rights Act in 1965, barely 100 African Americans held elective office in the country; by 2000 there were more than 9,000.

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Civil War

The American Civil War (1861–1865) is also known as the War Between the States or the War of the Rebellion. The issue of whether to expand **slavery** into federal territories and new states provoked existing tensions within the established states. When war finally broke out, the tensions created a geographic split of the states.

The southern states that chose to secede (leave the United States) formed the **Confederate States of America**, also known as the Confederacy. The northern states still considered themselves the United States and strove to restore the rebellious southern states to that union. Their army was called the **Union** army.

The tensions between the states were rooted in a few main issues. The expansion of slavery was an important question that arose from differences between northern and southern economies. Whether or not to expand slavery into new territories also emphasized the constitutional question of how much power the individual states had compared with the federal government. The northern and southern states had different answers to these questions.

Tension between economies

The southern states built their economy on plantation crops of **cotton** and **tobacco**. Plantations thrived in the South with the support of slaves, and the southern economy would collapse if slavery were abolished. Since these states needed to protect their interests, and what they considered to be their property, the southern states were very intent on keeping and expanding slavery.

Southern states wanted state laws, not federal laws, to decide whether slavery was allowed or not. A state's ability to maintain a strong, decisive, and independent government is called "popular sovereignty." Under popular sovereignty, a state's legislation is more powerful than the federal government's legislation.

Northern states built their economy on the labor of immigrants within factories. Paying immigrants to work in factories costs money. Slavery, which did not cost as much to support, was an economic threat to the northern communities and industries. Instead of slavery, they supported the concept of "free labor," which allowed jobs to be available to

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The Battle of Gettysburg was a major defeat for Confederate forces and was an integral part of the American Civil War.
HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

the community. Because factories sent their goods to other states, the northern states wanted a strong union. They favored a strong central government that would unite the states and their economies.

Expansion of slavery

When the United States purchased the **Louisiana** Territory in 1803 (see **Louisiana Purchase**), the question of slavery expansion arose. It quickly became a heated debate but was temporarily calmed when Congress passed the **Missouri Compromise** in 1820. The compromise allowed **Missouri** to be admitted into the Union as a slave state. It also created a geographic line that split the rest of the purchased territory into northern and southern halves. The northern half would not allow slavery, but the southern territories would have the right to choose for themselves.

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In 1854, Congress passed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**. It challenged the Missouri Compromise by allowing the two new northern states of **Kansas** and **Nebraska** to choose for themselves whether slavery would be allowed. The passage of this act sparked tensions that would eventually lead to the American Civil War.

Secession

The presidential election of 1860 was a complicated one that had four candidates. Former U.S. representative **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) of **Illinois**, a Republican, was elected. The **Republican Party** wanted to stop the expansion of slavery. Its members also believed in a strong federal government.

Though the Republican Party had no interest in abolishing slavery where it already was, the southern states feared Lincoln's upcoming administration. Before Lincoln's inauguration, **South Carolina** was the first state to secede from the Union on December 20, 1860. **Mississippi**, **Florida**, **Alabama**, **Georgia**, Louisiana, and **Texas** followed by February. Before Lincoln took office, they formed the Confederate States of America and elected their own president, U.S. senator **Jefferson Davis** (1808–1889) of Mississippi.

The war begins

When he entered office in March 1861, Lincoln was intent on maintaining and protecting federal property throughout the rebellious states. In April, he sent supply ships to the troops at Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, and told the Confederate troops not to interfere. Confederate forces, however, opened fire on the fort; Union officials there surrendered the next day. When Lincoln called for volunteers to put down the rebellion, **Virginia**, **North Carolina**, **Tennessee**, and **Arkansas** joined the Confederacy. The American Civil War had begun.

Battle of Bull Run

Lincoln called seventy-five thousand state militiamen into service for ninety days and later called for men to enlist for three years. Winfield Scott (1786–1866), commander of the U.S. army, crafted Lincoln's military plan to cut off Confederate access to supplies and to respond to re-

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bellious attacks. Scott knew the Confederacy would eventually collapse without the important supplies from the outside.

Though Lincoln incorporated elements of the plan, both he and the public were impatient. He sent General Irvin McDowell (1818–1885) to attack the Confederate capital of Richmond. At the **Battle of Bull Run**, July 21, 1861, the two armies met for the first time. The Union army was soundly defeated and forced to flee back to Washington. With defeat, Lincoln began to prepare for a longer war.

Union general George B. McClellan

General George B. McClellan (1826–1885) was appointed to command the Army of the Potomac (the main eastern army of the Union) in the summer of 1861. When General Scott retired as U.S. army commander in November, Lincoln appointed McClellan to replace him. Though General McClellan was strong in some respects, he proved to be overly cautious. His resistance to mounting a major attack or to pursuing the enemy would frustrate Lincoln.

Confederate general Robert E. Lee

General **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) was a commanding general in the Confederate army. Originally approached by Lincoln to take field command of Union forces, Lee joined instead with his home state of Virginia to fight for the Confederate army. Lee's forces were an aggressive element that enjoyed several key victories. General Lee's surrender to Union general **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885) at **Appomattox Courthouse**, Virginia, in April 1865, however, marked the beginning of the Confederate surrender and the end of the American Civil War.

The Second Battle of Bull Run and the Battle at Antietam

By August 1862, the Confederate army's superior tactics had dealt the Union army multiple defeats. The Confederates had protected their capital of Richmond and were pushing the Union army back towards Washington. The Second Battle of Bull Run, August 28 through 30, was a Confederate victory that inspired Generals Lee and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson (1824–1863) to move their troops into **Maryland**. Union general McClellan followed.

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The two armies met on September 17 at Antietam. The resulting **Battle of Antietam** was the single bloodiest day of the American Civil War. While McClellan forced the Confederates back to Virginia, he refused to pursue them aggressively. The Confederate army escaped damaged, but intact. After the battle, Lincoln removed McClellan from command in November 1862.

Emancipation Proclamation

The victory at Antietam provided Lincoln with the success he waited for in order to announce the **Emancipation Proclamation**. Legally, the Union armies were unable to assist or use any escaped slaves that crossed into Union territory. Federal laws provided that the slaves were property and had to be returned to the owners. Since a few of the Union states were slaveholding states, Lincoln could not ignore these laws without upsetting these states.

The Union army, however, would benefit from the manpower of escaped slaves. Lincoln's solution was the Emancipation Proclamation, which he announced in September 1862 to take effect in January 1863. It declared slaves within the rebel states to be free. While it did not abolish slavery throughout the Union, it allowed the Union army to begin using the manpower of escaped slaves. It also set the tone for the eventual passage of the **Thirteenth Amendment** of the U.S. **Constitution**, which abolished slavery entirely.

Battle of Gettysburg

In June 1863 General Lee moved his army into **Pennsylvania**. Union general George Meade (1815–1872) moved to block him. The two armies clashed on July 1 in the **Battle of Gettysburg**. After three days of fighting, Lee was forced to retreat with a loss of nearly a third of his men. It was a major victory that marked the turning point of the war for the Union.

Union general Ulysses S. Grant and the Battle of Vicksburg

General Ulysses S. Grant was charged with overseeing the Union armies in the west. He experienced many successes, gaining control of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers for the Union. His victory at the

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Battle of Vicksburg in Mississippi in July 1863 was significant. The victory allowed Grant to take the Confederate fortress guarding the Mississippi River and earned him Lincoln's attention. Grant was appointed to general in chief of the Union armies and came east to command the Army of the Potomac.

General Sherman and his "march to the sea"

Union general **William Tecumseh Sherman** (1820–1891) replaced Grant as the commander of the Union's western army. When General Grant began his charge to Richmond in 1864, he coordinated it with an attack on Atlanta, Georgia, by General Sherman. Sherman initially was stopped outside of Atlanta by Confederate troops.



Confederate general Robert E. Lee, seated left, surrenders to Union general Ulysses S. Grant, seated middle, at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia, on April 9, 1865. AP IMAGES

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By September, Sherman cut off Atlanta's supplies and captured the city. Determined to break the South's will to fight, he divided his army in half. As half held off the Confederate army to the north, the other half marched to capture the port of Savannah, Georgia. On their "march to the sea," or **Sherman's March**, the soldiers destroyed everything in their path and took Savannah on December 20.

The siege at Petersburg

In May 1864, General Grant, now in charge of the Army of the Potomac, led his army in a push towards Richmond. They engaged General Lee in several battles and refused to allow him to withdraw. Grant hoped to cut off Richmond and force its surrender by capturing the vital rail junction at Petersburg, Virginia. General Lee, however, refused to surrender Petersburg, and the two armies settled into a siege.

The siege continued into the spring of 1865. On April 1, the last rail link into Petersburg was captured, and Richmond was cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. Grant blocked Lee's retreat into North Carolina. Lee's surrender to Grant on April 9 at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia, was the last major defeat of the war. The remaining Confederate troops surrendered nine days later, and the American Civil War was over.

Election of 1864 and the Thirteenth Amendment

Lincoln's reelection in 1864 was not certain to happen. The Union was growing weary of the war and the Union army was struggling. The victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, however, instilled confidence in Lincoln, and he was elected for a second term. It was a clear signal that the American people valued the Union and were ready to abolish slavery.

With Lincoln's reelection, the Republican Congress presented the Thirteenth Amendment for ratification, or approval by the states, on January 31, 1865. Ratified on December 6, 1865, the amendment officially ended slavery throughout the United States and made emancipation permanent. Ratification took place eight months after President Lincoln was assassinated.

At a great cost to the lives of the nation, the American Civil War produced an entirely different Union than existed before. Not only was slavery abolished, but states were now undeniably linked into a solid

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alliance. State powers were minimized and replaced by a strong, centralized federal government. This demanded that communities and states work together in new ways. The American Civil War changed the nation that Americans had known, and it would be a challenging path to reintegrating and reconstructing a whole nation.

Civilian Conservation Corps

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was a program established by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) and his **New Deal** program in 1933. The New Deal was a series of government-sponsored projects aimed at providing relief to citizens during the **Great Depression** (1929–41). The Great Depression was a time of slow economic growth and high unemployment. The Civilian Conservation Corps hired young men for projects aimed at conserving the nation's resources.

The CCC was part of the Hundred Days Legislation that President Roosevelt signed when he first took office in 1933. The CCC was among the most accepted of his programs, because it proved so successful. First called Emergency Conservation Work, the program fell under the guidance of a national director and involved four federal departments. The Department of Labor worked to select men for the program. The Department of War administered the work camps through a U.S. **Army** officer in command. Organization and supervision of each project fell to the departments of Agriculture and the Interior. Projects included building park facilities, planting trees, cleaning reservoirs, building dams, and fighting forest fires.

The CCC employed only unmarried men between the ages of 17 and 25. They lived at camps run by the Army and were provided with clothing and food. They earned $30 per month, though $25 of it was sent home directly to their families. Minority men were included in the program, but discriminatory practices often limited the number that the CCC actually employed.

At the peak of the program in 1935, the CCC employed about five hundred thousand men in more than twenty-five hundred camps nationwide. Over two and a half million men found employment through the CCC during the course of the program. Congress voted to end the program in 1942 as the demands of **World War II** created employment opportunities for men in factories and the armed forces. The program

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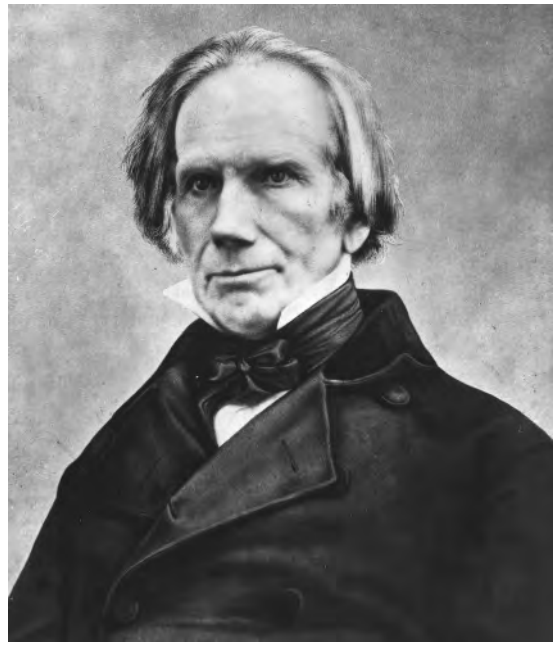
was highly successful, but the CCC was no longer necessary to help save a failing economy.

Henry Clay

Henry Clay was one of the leading American statesmen in the first half of the nineteenth century. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate and also as secretary of state. He ran for the presidency five times and lost each time. Although Clay was a slave owner and often supported the South, he helped craft the compromise that kept **slavery** out of new U.S. territories and played a key role in postponing the **Civil War** (1861–65).

Early years

Henry Clay was born on April 12, 1777, the son of a Baptist minister. His father died in 1781, and Clay's formal education was cut short when his mother remarried and the family moved to Richmond, **Virginia**. There, Clay began working as a store clerk at his stepfather's recommendation. From 1793 to 1797, Clay worked as secretary to a judge, copying and transcribing records. In 1796, he took up the study of law. At age twenty, he moved to **Kentucky**, where he began a practice as a defense attorney. He married into a leading family and prospered, eventually owning a six-hundred-acre estate. Clay became well known for his skill as an orator. He lived the life of a frontiersman in Kentucky and was prone to drinking and gambling.



Henry Clay served in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate and also as secretary of state. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Political career begins

Clay eventually became involved in politics, and in 1803 he was elected to the Kentucky legislature. He briefly served in the U.S. Senate from November 1806 to March 1807 and January 1810 to March 1811, filling vacancies following resignations. Clay was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1811 and was immediately chosen to be Speaker of the House (presiding officer), a position he held six times during his

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tenure in the House, which lasted until 1821. In that year, Clay made his first bid for the presidency. From 1825 to 1826, he served as secretary of state for President **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–29). He was elected to the U.S. Senate again in 1831, serving until 1842.

In his early career in Congress, Clay was a leading "war hawk," someone who supported going to war with Britain in the **War of 1812** (1812–1814). He was not always pro-war, however. He later opposed the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), but he supported the government nonetheless, losing one of his sons to the war.

Clay was a lifetime supporter of business interests and championed protectionism, an economic policy that protects U.S. producers of goods by placing restrictions on foreign competition. He also pushed for federal support of roads and canals. It was Clay's intention to unite the commercial and manufacturing interests of the East with the agricultural and small business interests of the West. He also called for centralizing the country's economy in a federal bank.

Clay's protectionism reached its peak in the so-called tariff of abominations in 1828, an act that placed an extremely high tax on goods coming into the United States from other countries. By making foreign goods less competitive, the act raised demand for goods produced within the country. Southerners strongly objected to the tariff of 1828 because it protected only goods manufactured in the industrial North and damaged the European market for the agricultural goods of the South.

The issue of slavery

Clay was divided in his attitudes about slavery, on the one hand defending the Southern states and owning slaves himself, but on the other hand working hard for slavery's abolition. Clay took part in the failed attempt by the Kentucky constitutional convention to abolish slavery in the new state. In 1816, he founded the **American Colonization Society** (ACS), an organization that advocated freeing slaves and sending them to live in an African colony.

Clay was an expansionist, one who believed in broadening the nation's borders, so he worked for the addition of states and territories to the Union. He strongly believed in preserving the Union. Both of these positions put him at odds with other Southerners, who feared that adding new states would tip the balance of free states (states that did not allow slavery) and slave states.

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Two historic compromises

The free state–slave state controversy came to a head when the territory of **Missouri** applied for admission to the Union as a slave state early in 1819. Clay, earning his nickname as the Great Compromiser, supported a plan known as the **Missouri Compromise**. This compromise allowed Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state while at the same time admitting **Maine** as a free state, thus preserving the balance of free and slave states. It also prevented slavery in states north of the present-day southern border of Missouri. To ensure that free blacks would be allowed to enter Missouri, Clay personally acquired the assurance of the Missouri legislature that it would not pass any laws that would restrict the rights and privileges of U.S. citizens.

In 1849, aligned with statesman **Daniel Webster** (1782–1852), Clay advocated the **Compromise of 1850**, a series of proposals that admitted **California** to the Union as a free state, abolished slavery in **Washington, D.C.**, set up the territories of **New Mexico** and **Utah** without slavery, and established a more rigorous fugitive slave law. The Compromise of 1850 is credited with postponing the American Civil War (1861–65) for a decade.

Clay was a fearless fighter for his political ideas. He was devoted to the Union, even if his compromises only postponed an inevitable clash between the North and the South. He died in Washington, D.C., on June 29, 1852.

Samuel Clemens

Samuel Langhorne Clemens wrote under the pen name Mark Twain, a riverboat term for water that is just deep enough for navigation. He wrote some of the most famous works in American literature, including *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Clemens had literary and financial success and failure during his long career, and died a bitter man in 1910.

Early life

Clemens was born in Florida, **Missouri**, on November 30, 1835. His father, John Marshall Clemens, was a lawyer and businessman. His mother was Jane (Lampton) Clemens. When Samuel was four, the family of four

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boys and two girls moved to Hannibal, Missouri, a small town on the Mississippi River.

Three river steamboats stopped in Hannibal daily when Clemens was young. His childhood involved adventures on rafts, in swimming holes, and in woods and caves. These carefree pursuits ended abruptly at age twelve, when Clemens's father died. This forced Clemens to work as a typesetter to help support his family.

Clemens eventually worked for one of his brothers, Orion Clemens, who owned several newspapers. When the business failed, Clemens traveled throughout the Midwest and East for three years, selling nonfiction to newspapers. He then rejoined Orion in the newspaper business, this time in Keokuk, **Iowa**.

A dream fulfilled

In 1857, Clemens left Keokuk. He planned to travel to the Amazon River, in South America, to make a fortune growing cocoa. Before leaving America, however, he befriended a steamboat captain named Horace Bixby (1826–1912). Clemens trained with Bixby for the next two years and, in 1859, obtained his own pilot's license.

Clemens's years on the Mississippi River provided much material for his writing. After the beginning of the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the **Union** army closed the Mississippi River to private boats so that it could be used as an invasion route instead. Clemens served in the **Confederate States of America** army for a few weeks, then moved to **Nevada**, where Orion was working in the territorial government.

Clemens spent a year in Nevada panning for precious metal. The experience gave him material for a novel he would write, *Roughing It,* published in 1872. In 1862, he moved to Virginia City, Nevada, to write for the newspaper *Territorial Enterprise.* There he began to write regularly under the pen name Mark Twain. A dispute with a fellow journalist caused Clemens to flee to San Francisco, **California**, and a dispute there with the police caused him to flee to the Sierra Mountains, near the California-Nevada border.

Literary success and marriage

When he returned to San Francisco from the Sierras, Clemens wrote a satiric story called "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County."

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The story was published widely and was well received by readers and critics. Success allowed Clemens to spend the rest of the 1860s traveling and writing for various publications. In the book *The Innocents Abroad,* published in 1869, Clemens gave a humorous account of Americans on a five-month tour through Europe and the Middle East.

During the tour, Clemens met a wealthy man named Charles Langdon. While visiting Langdon in New York City and finishing his book, Clemens fell in love with Langdon's sister, Olivia. They married on February 2, 1870, and had a son (who died as a toddler) and three daughters.

The Clemens family soon settled in Hartford, **Connecticut**, where they lived for twenty years. Their neighbors included Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), author of ***Uncle Tom's Cabin.*** After completing *Roughing It,* Clemens was paid to do a lecture tour in England. Lecture tours were important sources of money over the remainder of his career.

Back in Connecticut, Clemens wrote a novel with neighbor Charles Dudley Warner (1829–1900) called *The Gilded Age.* Another tour in England followed. Clemens was on the verge of publishing what would become his most popular works.

The masterpieces

In Hartford, Clemens began writing *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer.* It is the story of young Tom Sawyer's escapades with his friend Huckleberry Finn and his girlfriend Becky Thatcher. Published in 1876, the book was immensely popular with readers of all ages, and well regarded by literary critics.

Clemens next began to work on *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* Picking up where the prior book ended, it tells the story of Finn's journeys on the Mississippi River with a runaway slave named Jim. Many literary critics, including writer **Ernest Hemingway** (1899–1961), consider it to be among the best books in American literature. In it, Clemens used specific, local manners of speech for the different characters. Some critics consider the book to be a masterful statement against **slavery**, though others say it is just a white man's inaccurate account of an African American slave.

Huckleberry Finn was published in 1885. Between *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn,* Clemens published fiction and nonfiction that resulted in strong critical reviews but mixed sales. In 1882, he returned to

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the Mississippi River, traveling on a steamboat piloted by his old teacher, Bixby, and then published the nonfiction *Life on the Mississippi,* which sold poorly. His financial woes climbed as he invested in a publishing company and a new typesetting device, both of which eventually failed.

Later years

Clemens's writing was always humorous. In the later years of his life, however, he became increasingly critical of humanity. Later novels included *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court,* published in 1889, and *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson, and the Comedy of Those Extraordinary Twins,* published in 1894. He revisited the Sawyer and Finn characters in 1894 in *Tom Sawyer Abroad, by Huck Finn.*

In 1896, Clemens's second child, Olivia Susan, became ill with meningitis and died. Clemens's wife Olivia, who battled poor health throughout their marriage, died in 1904. Their daughter Jean drowned in 1909, and daughter Clara eventually suffered a nervous breakdown. The tragedies embittered Clemens.

In 1906, Clemens began to dictate his autobiography to his literary executor. He continued to be paid for lecture tours until settling in New York City and then Redding, Connecticut, for his final years. His humor was often malicious and pessimistic, founded on an extreme dissatisfaction with humanity. He died near Redding on April 21, 1910. His works remain an enduring and beloved part of American literature.

Grover Cleveland

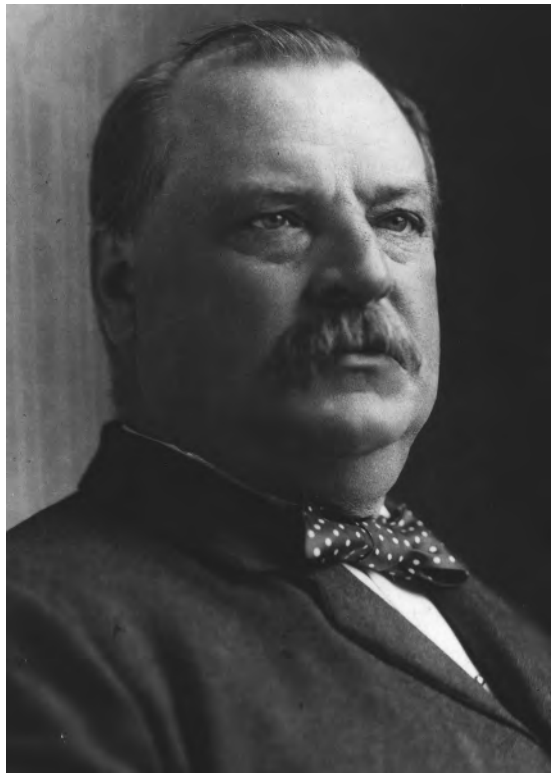
Grover Cleveland was the only president to serve two nonconsecutive terms. He won election in 1884, lost in 1888, then won again in 1892.

Grover Cleveland was born on March 18, 1837, one of nine children born to a Presbyterian minister and his wife. He spent most of his childhood in rural upstate **New York**, where he worked hard and learned the value of a dollar.

Cleveland's father died when the boy was just sixteen; this resulted in Cleveland deciding against attending college, in favor of working to help support his family. He instead moved to Buffalo, New York, where he apprenticed at a law firm, then became a lawyer. The future president avoided fighting in the American **Civil War** (1861–65) by hiring someone else to take his place, a legal practice during that era.

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In 1870, Cleveland was elected to a three-year term as sheriff of Erie County, New York. It was a job well suited to the lawyer, who firmly believed in public law and order. He earned a reputation for telling the truth, regardless of who it affected or involved. It was a characteristic that served him well politically. By the end of the 1870s, the city's upper class admired Cleveland; he was ready to delve further into politics.



Grover Cleveland was the only president to serve two nonconsecutive terms, one from 1885 to 1889 and the second from 1893 to 1897. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

From mayor to president

Cleveland was elected mayor of Buffalo in 1881. He endeared himself to the state's Democrats as he became known as the "veto mayor." By vetoing, or voting against, many of the bills that crossed his desk, Cleveland curbed public spending and helped the city run more honestly and efficiently. The **Democratic Party** nominated the mayor as its choice for governor, and Cleveland won the election in 1882 by a large margin. He continued to use the power of the veto, and by 1884 he was the Democratic favorite to run as president.

Cleveland ran against former U.S. senator James G. Blaine (1830–1893) of **Maine**, a Republican leader with years of political experience. During the campaign, Blaine's supporters brought Cleveland's honesty into question by accusing him of fathering a child out of wedlock. Rather than deny the accusation, Cleveland admitted to being the boy's father and instructed his campaigners to tell the truth.

The scandal did not keep Cleveland from the White House, and he became the first Democrat to lead the country in twenty-eight years. He spent his first years trying to clean up the federal government and rid it of inefficiency and dishonesty. One of the major ways he accomplished this was to veto private pension bills for Civil War veterans who he believed were lying about or exaggerating their injuries. Past presidents had passed these bills without hesitation, and Cleveland's refusal to do the same angered some Americans. Likewise, he refused to give government assistance to farmers in the West, who had lost crops and thousands of dollars to drought.

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Cleveland married twenty-one-year-old Frances Folsom (1864–1947) in 1886. He was the first president to marry while in the White House, and his young wife brought him great happiness. The couple eventually had five children.

Loses, then wins, election

Toward the end of his first term in office, Cleveland began focusing on reducing federal tariffs (taxes) on imported goods. Republicans traditionally were in favor of high tariffs because the money collected allowed the federal treasury to grow. Cleveland believed taxes did little more than increase the profits of big businesses and raise prices for consumers. High tariffs had been a reality for so long, however, that Cleveland was unable to motivate the Democratic Party to support his efforts.

The tariff issue hurt Cleveland, who did not enjoy making speeches and so made little effort to defend himself against the **Republican Party**. He lost the 1888 election to his Republican opponent, former U.S. senator **Benjamin Harrison** (1833–1901; served 1889–93) of **Indiana**. It would not happen a second time, however, and Cleveland returned to the White House for another four years after he defeated Harrison in the 1892 election.

A difficult term

Cleveland's second term was besieged by problems beyond his control. In 1893, he underwent an operation to remove a tumor in his jaw. The operation, performed without the public's knowledge, was successful, but it drained the president of his energy. At the same time, the country experienced its worst-ever economic depression. Hundreds of businesses closed, and foreign investors withdrew their money out of fear.

In response, Cleveland repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act that had been passed in 1890. The act had required the government to purchase twice as much silver as it had before and put into circulation much more money than had previously been available. The abundance of silver in circulation threatened to deplete the treasury's gold reserve. Although the repeal did help replenish the gold supply, Cleveland's fellow Democrats were offended by the way he bullied them into signing the repeal. He lost a great deal of his power and influence by this event.

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Pullman strike

By 1894, the United States was in the worst economic conditions it had ever known. Wages were cut, factories closed, and hundreds of thousands of citizens were out of work. The American working class was angry, frustrated, and frightened. Cleveland sensed this and worried that this attitude would threaten public order.

His fears were realized when workers at the Pullman sleeping car company in Chicago, **Illinois**, went on strike in protest of wage cuts. The American Railway Union joined the Pullman workers to give them more power. In doing so, rail traffic throughout Chicago came to a complete halt. Mail could not be delivered; goods could not be transported in or out of the city, which affected business throughout the country.

Cleveland ordered military troops into Chicago to maintain order, but mob violence ensued for several days after their arrival. The **Pullman strike** was broken, however; it was the first time federal authorities had ever responded to a workers' strike.

The end of the Cleveland administration

Cleveland's administration and the president's lack of response to the horrible conditions Americans were living in were held responsible for the dire economic environment. Cleveland was not chosen by his party as the presidential nominee in 1896, an honor that instead went to lawyer and former U.S. representative William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925) of **Nebraska**. The Democratic nominee lost to the Republican candidate, **Ohio** governor **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) in November.

Cleveland was relieved to leave behind his job as president of the United States. He spent his last years on his New Jersey estate. He died of a heart attack in 1908 with his wife by his side.

Bill Clinton

President Bill Clinton's administration was marked by a series of remarkable successes as well as embarrassing scandals. When he took over the presidency in 1993, the national deficit (the amount the federal government needs to borrow to make up the difference between what it spends and how much it collects in taxes) was the largest in U.S. history. During his two terms in office, the U.S. economy grew and prospered, the

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budget was balanced, and by 1999 there was a national surplus. Among many other successes, Clinton initiated major welfare reform and free trade agreements, helped in the peace process in Northern Ireland, and led an international intervention in Serbia. Though personal scandals and impeachment loomed heavily over his second term, his approval ratings with the American public remained extraordinarily high.

Background

Bill Clinton was born on August 19, 1946, and grew up in **Arkansas**. His father, William Blythe, was killed in a car accident before his son was born. His mother later married Roger Clinton, who legally adopted him. By the age of sixteen, Clinton had already decided on a career in politics. After graduating with an international affairs degree from Georgetown University in 1968, Clinton won a prestigious Rhodes scholarship and studied at Oxford University in England for two years. While he was in England, the United States's participation in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) was at its height. Clinton opposed the war and participated in numerous protests against it. He submitted to the draft upon his return to the United States but only after he had learned that he would not be called to serve in the armed forces. He would later be criticized for trying to avoid going to Vietnam. He earned a law degree from Yale University in 1973.

Clinton rose through the ranks of **Democratic Party** and Arkansas politics. In 1976, he ran the presidential campaign in Arkansas of former **Georgia** governor **Jimmy Carter** (1924–), and he was elected state attorney general. He married Hillary Rodham (1947–) in 1975.

A young governor

In 1978, at age thirty-two, Clinton became one of the youngest governors in the United States. After one term, he failed to win reelection. While practicing law in Little Rock, Arkansas, Clinton went to work planning his political comeback. In 1982, after a heated campaign, he reclaimed the governor's office. He was reelected in 1984 by a wide margin. Successful education reforms, among other accomplishments, built his reputation, and, among his political associates, his name began to arise as a possible presidential candidate.

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The election

When Clinton announced his candidacy for the presidential nomination in August 1991, he joined a crowded group of fellow Democrats. He led a strong campaign and promised active measures to improve the drooping economy, believing, unlike his Republican opponent, incumbent president **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93), that the federal government could play a constructive role in fixing the nation's social problems and stimulating economic growth. Clinton chose U.S. senator **Al Gore Jr.** (1948–) of **Tennessee** as his running mate. Clinton and Gore, both southern Democrats, projected the youthful vigor of the **baby boom generation** (the generation of people born between 1946 and 1964). They considered themselves to be "New Democrats," moderate Democrats who hoped to move the party back to the center (away from political extremes).

During the first few months of his campaign, an Arkansas woman claimed to have had an extramarital affair with Clinton while he was governor. Clinton did not deny the affair, and the small scandal did not seem to affect public opinion of him much. He won the 1992 presidential election with the help of a highly divided **Republican Party**. He became one of the youngest U.S. presidents in history.

A rough start

One of the first issues Clinton attempted to tackle was health-care reform. He appointed his wife, **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, to head the task force on health care. Her proposal to make health care affordable to all Americans failed to pass in Congress. Clinton was also unable to fulfill his campaign promise to lift the ban on gays and lesbians serving in the military.

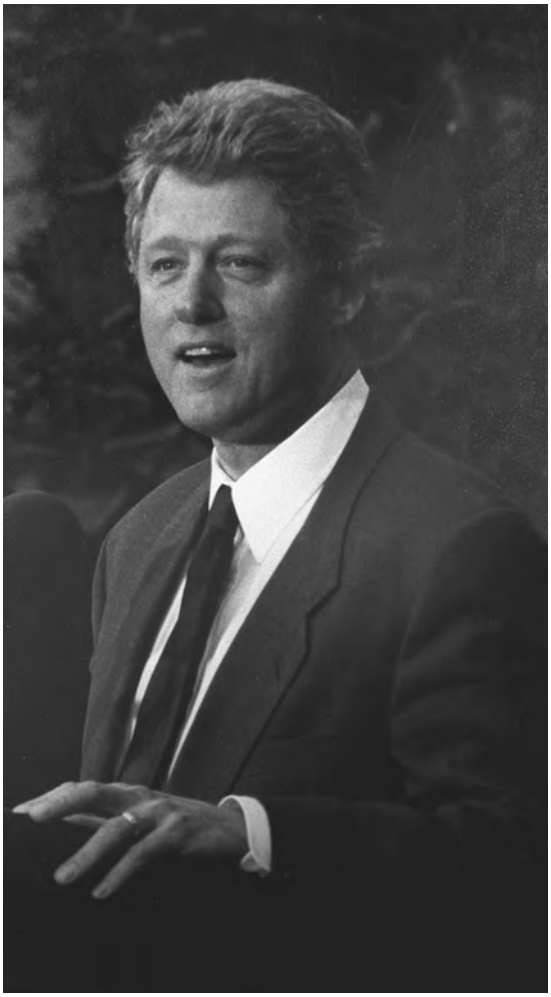
Six months after Clinton took office, his friend and deputy counsel at the White House, Vincent W. Foster Jr. (c. 1945–1993), committed suicide. At the time, Foster had been handling charges that the Clintons had been involved in a suspicious land deal, the Whitewater venture, while Clinton was governor of Arkansas. Investigations into the Whitewater dealings of the Clintons turned up nothing concrete against them, but led to constant inquiries into every aspect of their public and personal lives.

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The biggest blow in Clinton's first term in office was the resounding Republican success in the 1994 midterm elections, in which the Republicans gained control of the House and Senate. The Democratic defeat was widely viewed as a vote on Clinton's performance as president.

Comeback kid

Along with the highly visible defeats, there were some major successes. Clinton convinced Congress to approve the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA; an agreement among the United States, Canada, and Mexico to phase out tariffs, or taxes on imports, and generally encourage free trade between the three countries). The economy was getting stronger; some categories of crime were in decline; welfare reform had been tackled; the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, imposing a waiting period on handgun purchases, was passed; and his national-service program (AmeriCorps) was created.



Bill Clinton's time as forty-second president of the United States was riddled with both success and scandal. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In the months after the disastrous 1994 elections, it had seemed unlikely that Clinton could secure a second term. Earning his nickname, the "Comeback Kid," he successfully campaigned around his positive New Democratic agenda and won reelection over former U.S. senator Bob Dole (1923–) of **Kansas**.

Allegations of wrongdoing

As Clinton's second term began, the U.S. economy soared. In 1997, he reached a balanced budget agreement with Congress that was so successful, by 1999 the major domestic political issue was how to use the ever-increasing budget surplus. But the robust economy was soon overshadowed by allegations of wrongdoing.

In 1998, former Arkansas state employee Paula Jones (1966–) filed a lawsuit charging Clinton with sexual harassment. At the same time, the investigations led by special prosecutor Kenneth W. Starr (1946–) branched out from the

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original Whitewater investigation to look into Vincent Foster 's suicide, Paula Jones's allegations, and new charges of improper conduct with a young White House intern, Monica S. Lewinsky (1973–). These matters increasingly consumed the press coverage of the president to the near exclusion of most matters of public policy.

In August, Starr presented a report to Congress alleging that Clinton had perjured (gave false testimony under oath) himself in the Jones and Lewinsky matters. In December 1998, the House of Representatives voted, largely along party lines, to impeach (charge him with misconduct in office) the president. The dramatic Senate trial was held in January and February of 1999. In order to remove the president from office, two-thirds of the senators would have had to vote "guilty"; Clinton survived the critical votes and remained in office. Throughout the process, opinion polls repeatedly indicated that the public did not want Clinton removed from office. In fact, his approval ratings reached 70 percent during the impeachment trials.



President Bill Clinton was accused of lying under oath about his extramarital affairs and the House of Representatives voted to impeach him. AP IMAGES

Last years in office

During Clinton's administration the United States was called upon to serve as a mediator between the warring sides or to lead a military intervention in countries including Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti. In March 1999, the Clinton administration spearheaded a series of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a political alliance of European nations and the United States and Canada) bombing raids on targets in Serbia, stopping the Serbian government's program of mass murders of Muslims and the expulsion of ethnic Albanians from the Serbian province of Kosovo. In the Middle East, he helped mediate a historic agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors, including Jordan and the Palestinians, though these peace negotiations collapsed in 2000. In Northern Ireland, the Clinton administration mediated talks between the various factions, helping to negotiate a cease-fire and peace agreement.

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In October 1999, Starr stepped down as Whitewater special prosecutor. His successor did not pursue a perjury indictment to follow Clinton's departure from the White House, but Clinton, in exchange, admitted to having made a false statement in the now-settled Jones suit. He paid a fine of $25,000, and his license to practice law in Arkansas was suspended for five years.

It is common for presidents leaving office to exercise their constitutional right to issue presidential pardons for select people charged with federal crimes. In his last days, Clinton issued 140 such pardons. A few of these pardons were highly questionable, even to his loyal supporters, creating a final controversy in his colorful tenure as president.

Post-presidential years

Clinton, one of the youngest presidents to leave office, remained active in politics and world affairs after exiting the White House. He was a driving force in the Democratic Party, working both publicly and behind the scenes. He established a large foundation to help the poor worldwide, particularly in the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic. He and former president George H. W. Bush established a foundation in 2006 to help the victims of Hurricane Katrina. Clinton wrote his autobiography, *My Life,* published in 2004, with an advance from his publisher reported to be over $10 million. Clinton underwent quadruple heart bypass surgery in September of 2004. It did not slow him down for long. By 2006, he was tirelessly campaigning for his wife in her race for U.S. president. As of March 2008, she was in a battle against U.S. senator **Barack Obama** (1961–) of **Illinois** for the Democratic nomination; the winner would face the Republican nominee, U.S. senator **John McCain** (1936–) of **Arizona**, in November.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton was the initial first lady (president's wife), current or former, to be elected to a government office. She was elected and took office as a U.S. senator from **New York** while still first lady. She achieved another historical first when she became the first woman to be a serious contender for the office of U.S. president.

Hillary Diane Rodham was born to a conservative, upper-class family on October 26, 1947. She and her two brothers were raised in a sub-

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urb just outside Chicago, **Illinois**, with traditional, mid-American values that emphasized family, church, education, and social obligations.

After graduating from public high school in 1965, Rodham attended the prestigious Wellesley College, where she majored in political science and minored in philosophy. Rodham was elected president of the student government in her senior year of college and graduated with highest honors in 1969. She was accepted to the Yale School of Law and graduated in 1973.

Real life experience

While at Yale, Rodham realized that her primary social concerns were related to children, particularly those with social and cultural disadvantages. She participated in several organizations that assisted children and their families. An extra year of study at Yale gave her time to hone her expertise in child law.

After graduation, Rodham moved to **Washington, D.C.**, and worked as a staff attorney for the Children's Defense Fund. She excelled at her job. In late 1974, Rodham accepted a teaching position at the University of Arkansas Law School. While there, she married future U.S. president **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001), a former classmate from Yale.



U.S. senator and former first lady Hillary Clinton rallies support for her campaign to be the Democratic presidential nominee. AP IMAGES

After her husband was elected attorney general of **Arkansas** in 1976, the couple moved to Little Rock, where Hillary Clinton joined the reputable Rose Law Firm. In January 1978, her husband was elected governor, and she became Arkansas's first lady. That same year, she became the first woman to achieve partner status at the Rose Law Firm. In February 1980, the Clintons celebrated the birth of their only child, Chelsea Victoria.

From Arkansas to the White House

Clinton was the first lady of Arkansas for nearly eleven years. During that time, she continued to participate in public service and policy reforms

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at the state level, focusing her efforts on education. In 1985, she established the Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters, which brought tutorials and instruction to impoverished homes that included four- and five-year-olds. It was a highly successful program, with more than twenty-four hundred mothers participating.

Clinton and her husband were awarded the National Humanitarian Award from the National Conference of Christians and Jews in 1987, and she served tirelessly on the boards of directors of several national corporations, including Wal-Mart. In 1988 and 1991, the *National Law Journal* hailed her as one of the "One Hundred Most Influential Lawyers in America."

Clinton became the nation's first lady when her husband won the 1992 presidential election. In that position, she continued advocating for many of the programs and issues she had long supported. She provided much-needed leadership, particularly as head of the Task Force on National Health Care. Her responsibilities included preparing legislation, lobbying before Congress, and developing a comprehensive health-care reform package. Although the reform failed to pass, the opportunity gave Clinton valuable experience.

Clinton provided vital advice and perspective to her husband throughout his two-term presidency. She stood by her husband in 1998 as he was accused of having an extramarital affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky (1973–). The Republican-controlled House of Representatives voted to impeach the president for matters related to the sex scandal. Although the president eventually admitted to the affair, the Senate voted to acquit him in 1999, and he completed his term in office. Hillary Clinton herself was the subject of an investigation in the mid-1990s. In the late 1970s, she and her husband had lost money in a business called Whitewater Development Corporation. Concern arose when it came to light that the legal firm Clinton worked for had provided services to the bank whose owners were the Clintons' business venture partners. Several independent counsels investigated the situation and found that there was insufficient evidence to prove that either Clinton had engaged in criminal wrongdoing.

After the White House

In 2000, before her husband's second presidential term was over, the couple purchased a home in New York, establishing residency in the

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state. In May, Clinton received the state convention's appointment as Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate, and Clinton beat her opponent, U.S. representative Rick Lazio (1958–), who stepped into the race when New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani (1944–) dropped out after being diagnosed with cancer. On November 7, 2000, Clinton became the only active first lady to win an elected office.

As 2002 came to a close, many people believed Clinton would run in the next presidential election (2004). The senator denied any such intention and instead won reelection to the U.S. Senate in 2006. By early 2007, however, she was strategizing her run for the White House and publicly announced her plan. Early opponents included former U.S. senator John Edwards (1953–) of **North Carolina**, **New Mexico** governor Bill Richardson (1947–), and U.S. senator **Barack Obama** (1961–) of Illinois. Many Democrats had hoped former vice president and 2000 Democratic presidential nominee **Al Gore** (1948–) would run in the 2008 election. Citizens in grassroots campaigns in **New Hampshire**, **California**, and New York tried to convince him to enter the race, but he declined to run. Eventually, the contest for the nomination was whittled down to Clinton and Obama.

The polls in 2007 showed Clinton as the front-runner for the nomination, but by 2008 it was clear that Obama was not going to go down without a fight. In the **Iowa** caucuses, Clinton placed third, behind Obama and Edwards (who had been the **Democratic Party**'s vice presidential nominee in 2004). But five days later, Clinton took New Hampshire.

On February 5—a day known as Super Tuesday, when about half of the states hold their primaries and caucuses—votes and delegates were almost equally split between Clinton and Obama. Two states, **Michigan** and **Florida**, had broken Democratic Party rules by staging early primaries and therefore lost their delegates (later negotiations resulted in the party giving these delegates half-votes). This especially hurt Clinton because she had won both primaries, though neither candidate campaigned in the two states and Obama even chose to leave his name off the Michigan ballot. In order to secure the Democratic presidential nomination, Clinton or Obama needed to secure 2,118 delegates.

On June 3, the final primaries were held in **Montana** and **South Dakota**. By the end of the day, Obama had finally secured enough votes to go over the required 2,118 tally. Four days later, Clinton suspended

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her campaign and asked supporters to use "our energy, our passion, our strength" to elect Obama. "I endorse and throw my full support behind him," she said. Obama would face the Republican nominee, U.S. senator **John McCain** (1936–) of **Arizona**, in the November election.

Clinton on the issues

Clinton's stance on most of the major issues of the 2008 presidential race was in keeping with Democratic Party lines. She supported abortion rights and was in favor of educational and health care reform. Where she differed from Obama most significantly was in her voting record on the **Iraq Invasion** (2003–). Clinton initially voted to use military force in Iraq but then changed her mind after the war began. Obama consistently voted against waging war on Iraq. Political experts considered this a key foreign policy issue in the primary elections.

Coal Mining

The primary industry of **Pennsylvania** in the 1860s was coal mining. The number of mine workers peaked in 1870 at around fifty-three thousand, compared with twenty-five thousand in 1860. Of these thousands, one-third were Irish immigrants. (See **Irish Immigration**.)

The Irish were targets of discrimination and prejudice during those days, both in the United States and elsewhere. Many Americans disliked the Irish because of their Catholic roots and because they were the least educated of all the immigrant groups in general. In addition, unlike other foreign workers in the coal mines, the Irish did not accept unfair treatment as just another part of the job. Instead, they fought back when anyone tried to take advantage of them. They did not hesitate to speak out in their own defense because they knew no one else would speak for them.

Some of the biggest mines in the coal regions were British-owned. The English stockholders appointed white, American Protestants (non-Catholic Christians) to run these mines. These white Protestants, in turn, hired Welsh and English miners who worked on a contract basis, meaning they were paid per ton of coal mined. The more coal mined, the higher the wage. These contract miners hired laborers to do the hardest work. Most of the laborers were Irish, and they were paid only a fraction of what the contract miners received.

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Mine bosses were usually Welsh, though some were English. When a top mining job opened up, these supervisors usually filled it with another Welshman or Englishman. The Irish laborers, who worked harder yet received lower pay, constantly saw others being promoted while they remained in the lowest positions. Normally, a worker can go to a boss to complain of unfair treatment, but in this case, those Irishmen who complained were blacklisted—that is, their names were put on a "do not hire" list that was shared among all mines throughout the coal region, and they could not get jobs at all. They had no way to change policy and procedures.

No life of leisure

The life of a miner was one of intense hardship. Some men began working the mines at the age of eight. Before electricity was commonly available, their work in mines 1,200 feet below the ground was in total darkness except for the tiny flame on the front of their helmets. Mine shafts were so cold that miners' fingers would crack and bleed daily.

Miners faced great danger every day. The lamp on a miner's cap was fueled with fish or whale oil, and its light was poor and dangerous.



Coal mining was an incredibly dangerous profession, with workers frequently dying from accidents in the mines and also from respiratory conditions contracted from the dirty conditions. POPPERFOTO/GETTY IMAGES

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Mines were filled with the earth's natural gases, and many gas explosions were ignited by the flame from a miner's cap. Mines were damp and filled with carbon dioxide, gas, dust, and smoke. Miners in general did not live long lives. Many died of black lung, a disease that results from breathing coal dust. For the most part, the younger the man was when he began working the mines as a boy, the younger he was when he died.

Perhaps the biggest injustice of all was the miner's wage. The average laborer earned less than twenty-five cents an hour until 1913, when his wage was raised to an even quarter an hour. With this money, he had to buy all his own mining tools and supplies, including lamp oil, clothing, gloves, and picks. There was little left to buy his family food and other necessities. To make matters worse, wages at some mines were paid in scrip that was redeemable only at mine-owned company stores, where prices for basic goods were higher than at regular general stores and shops. These miners earned less money than laborers in many other industries, and they were forced to pay higher prices for everyday items.

The anthracite coal strikes of 1900 and 1902

Anthracite (hard) coal mining was much more treacherous and difficult than bituminous (soft) coal mining. Anthracite coal lies deeper beneath the earth's surface, and it was harder to pick out of the mines. Between thirty-two thousand and thirty-five thousand men died in Pennsylvania anthracite coal mines between 1870 (when these statistics were first recorded) and the early twentieth century. John Mitchell (1870–1919) was a bituminous coal miner from **Illinois** when he was elected in 1898 as president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), a labor union. Labor unions are formally organized associations of workers that advance members' views on wages, work hours, and labor conditions. Mitchell had taken part in a successful coal strike in 1897 that resulted in better wages and working conditions for the miners.

As president of the UMWA, in 1900 Mitchell tried to negotiate with anthracite coal mine operators in Pennsylvania for a settlement similar to the bituminous coal miners' settlement three years before. The mine operators refused to negotiate, so Mitchell called for a strike on September 17. Eighty percent of all anthracite coal miners joined in the strike. It did not last long. On October 29, 1900, the strike ended in victory for the miners, who received a 10 percent wage increase, their first in twenty

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years. Still, mine operators refused to recognize the UMWA as their employees' representative.

By 1902, the UMWA was ready to order another strike. The 10-percent wage increase granted in 1900 was only a temporary solution to the grievances of the miners. Work conditions were still poor and dangerous, and the days were still long. The UMWA still was not officially recognized by mine operators.

On May 12, 1902, anthracite coal miners walked off the job; the strike had officially begun. This bold move had far-reaching effects. Anthracite coal was used for fuelling trains, running factories, and heating homes and businesses. The strike may have been limited to Pennsylvania, but the entire nation would feel the consequences.

Newspaper coverage of the strike fed Americans' fears of a coal shortage for the coming winter. Cartoonists and journalists focused on the power struggle between mine management and laborers. October arrived, and it was apparent that the strikers were not going to give up; drastic measures had to be taken.

On October 3, President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) called union leaders and mine operators to a meeting at the White House. UMWA president Mitchell agreed to negotiate, but the mine operators refused. Weeks passed and no progress was made on either side. Americans needed coal to survive the coming winter and keep their factories and trains running. Roosevelt made history by becoming the first president to get involved in the arbitration of a labor dispute. He threatened to have the U.S. **Army** seize the coal mines and operate them until the owners agreed to negotiate. Mine management did not want this to happen, so they backed down and agreed to arbitration (discussion with the laborers). Roosevelt appointed financier **J. P. Morgan** (1837–1913) to head a commission to arbitrate the dispute. On October 23, after 164 days of striking, miners returned to work. They received a 10 percent increase in wages and a reduction in the number of hours worked each day. To their disappointment, their union still was not recognized as their representative, and the issues of hazardous working conditions and child labor were not addressed.

The strike was a major turning point in history because it was the first time the federal government had tried to settle a strike rather than break it. Although it would be another decade before labor reform truly took hold, the laborers finally felt they were beginning to be heard.

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After ten thousand miners went on strike in Ludlow, Colorado, the company guards, Colorado troops, and others opened fire on the miners and their families, killing twenty people, including two women and eleven children. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

The Ludlow massacre

Unfortunately, the 1902 coal strike was not the last. In September 1913, more than ten thousand coal miners went on strike in Ludlow, Colorado. Led by the UMWA, the workers demanded, among other things, union recognition, a wage increase, enforcement of the 8-hour-day law as well as state mining laws, and the right to choose where they shopped and lived.

The leading mine operator was the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, owned by **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937). Rockefeller had the miners and their families evicted from company housing and used the National Guard to keep the mines operating.

Without shelter, the mining families set up tents in the Colorado hills and continued striking throughout the winter. Conditions were

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harsh and food was scarce. But Rockefeller showed no sign of changing his mind; there would be no arbitration.

April 20, 1914, was Easter on the calendar of the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Greek immigrants among the miners were celebrating. Despite the strike, the mood around the tent camp that morning was festive. At 10 AM, however, Colorado troops surrounded the camp and opened fire on the miners' tent colony, which had been set up on public property. Company guards, strikebreakers (people hired to replace striking workers), private detectives, and soldiers had planned the attack. They brought with them an armored car mounted with a machine gun called the Death Special. As bullets sprayed the colony, tents caught on fire. Later, investigations revealed that kerosene had been poured on the tents.

By days' end, twenty people, including two women and eleven children, were dead. Three strikers were taken prisoner and executed. Hundreds of miners were arrested and blacklisted in the coal industry. None of the attackers was ever punished. John D. Rockefeller Jr. (1874–1960), who by this time was in charge of the mine, denied the massacre ever occurred and publicly stated that no women or children had died in what he described as a fight started by the miners. He spent the next decade trying to repair the damage done to the Rockefeller name by the Ludlow massacre. He gradually came to acknowledge the atrocity of the massacre, and through his efforts to right the wrongs that had been done, Rockefeller increased his family's social awareness. The Rockefellers eventually became one of the most philanthropic (generous, through charitable donations) families in the United States.

Coast Guard

The U.S. Coast Guard is America's oldest maritime agency. It was formed in August 1790 to enforce trade laws, prevent smuggling, and protect shipping from pirates. The Coast Guard was called by many names over the years. It received its current name on January 28, 1915, when it was officially established as a military service and branch of the armed forces. The Coast Guard became part of the **Homeland Security Department** in 2003.

Like other branches of the armed forces, the Coast Guard serves its country in time of war. But it does much more than that. In the late

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Minorities in the Coast Guard

Beginning in the 1830s, women were first officially accepted in the Coast Guard as keepers of lighthouses. This continued until 1947. During **World War II** (1939–45), the U.S. Coast Guard Women's Reserve, commonly known as SPARs, was created. As more and more men were required to fight on foreign soil, the Coast Guard recognized the logic of filling jobs on the American shore with women. More than ten thousand women volunteered for Coast Guard service between 1942 and 1946. Starting in 1944, African American women were recruited as well.

In 1983, the Coast Guard established a formal policy on women in combat. It was determined that the men and women function as a team, and to remove women during wartime would degrade operational readiness. In the early twenty-first century, women work alongside men in the Coast Guard and attend the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

The first African American to command a vessel of the federal government was First Lieutenant Michael Healy of the Coast Guard in 1877. In 1942, the Coast Guard recruited its first 150 African American volunteers. More than five thousand African Americans served with the Coast Guard in World War II. By the time U.S. president **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) ordered the integration of the armed forces in 1948, the Coast Guard had already opened up all of its ranks to qualified personnel, regardless of race.

Hispanic Americans have served in the Coast Guard since the early 1800s, Native Americans since 1877, and Asian Pacific Americans since 1908.

1700s, it was assigned the task of preventing the transport of slaves from Africa to the United States. Between 1794 and 1865, it captured around five hundred slave ships. In the 1880s, the Coast Guard transported reindeer to Alaska, providing a much-needed source of food for the people who lived there.

The Coast Guard is often called on to perform search and rescue after natural disasters. The Mississippi River flooded in 1937, and the Coast Guard rescued nearly forty-nine thousand people and more than eleven thousand head of livestock. In 1952, a severe storm damaged two tankers off the New England coast. The Coast Guard saved sixty-two people from the broken ships. Twenty-four guardsmen earned medals that day.

Drug interception became increasingly important in the 1970s. Between 1963 and 1979, the Coast Guard seized 304 vessels and confiscated more than $4 billion in contraband. As the illegal narcotics import trade grew throughout the 1980s, the Coast Guard expanded its interception efforts.

The Coast Guard has served in nearly every war in American history since the late 1700s. During wartime, the organization has two primary roles. Its first is to help the U.S. Navy by providing additional ships and manpower. Its second role is to participate in special missions. Following the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**, when terrorists hijacked four American airliners and crashed them into the World Trade Center in **New York**, the Pentagon in **Virginia**, and a field in **Pennsylvania**, Coast Guard units were among the first to respond, providing assistance and security.

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As of 2007, the Coast Guard had just over forty thousand men and women on active duty and another eight thousand in the reserves.

William "Buffalo Bill" Cody

William Frederick Cody was born on February 26, 1846, in **Iowa**. His family moved to Fort Leavenworth, **Kansas**, when he was seven years old. When Cody was eleven, his father died, and the young boy went to work to support his family.

The young Cody took a job as a herder and horseback messenger. A year later, he accompanied a wagon train to distant Fort Laramie in **Wyoming**, the military post on the **Oregon Trail** that served as the gateway to the Rocky Mountains. During the next two years, he trapped beaver, trekked to the gold fields of **Colorado**, and found time for several months of schooling. He also joined in some of the "border war" mischief committed by antislavery gangs called the Jayhawkers, raiders who crossed from Kansas into **Missouri** to raid the homes of supposed **Confederates** (supporters of **slavery** and the possible secession of the South from the Union) and liberate their slaves.

Earns his nickname

In 1864, Cody enlisted in a volunteer **Union** regiment with many of his Jayhawking comrades to fight in the American **Civil War** (1861–65). He married after the war and he and his new wife moved to Kansas.

Cody had developed a taste for adventure and seldom stayed long at home. After a stint as a stagecoach driver and a halfhearted effort at innkeeping near Leavenworth, he set out to make a living on the Great Plains (the vast expanse that stretches east from the Rocky Mountains). His talents, physical gifts, and fearlessness made him successful at contract jobs for the army and the railroads. Hired as a hunter to supply buffalo meat to feed railway construction workers, Cody claimed to have killed 4,280 buffaloes during eight months in 1867–68. That earned him his nickname, "Buffalo Bill."

In 1868, Cody became a chief scout for the U.S. Army's Fifth Cavalry. During his years as scout, he fought in nineteen battles and skirmishes and was cited several times for his valor and good service.

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Becoming a legend

Cody enjoyed talking about (and exaggerating) his adventures and feats. His stories inspired writer E. Z. C. Judson, better known as Ned Buntline (1823–1886), to write about Cody's heroic deeds in a series of successful dime novels, an inexpensive form of popular literature. Buntline even wrote a play, *The Scouts of the Prairie,* about Cody's exploits and convinced Cody to play the part of himself. The play opened in Chicago, **Illinois**, in 1872. Other dime novels starring Cody appeared, all of which helped keep his name in the public eye.

The Wild West Show

In 1883, Cody began organizing "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show." The show featured **cowboys** performing feats of skill and daring, scenes portraying stereotyped Native North Americans attacking white settlers, and well-staged battle scenes between the U.S. Cavalry and Indian warriors. In the early shows, Cody was the star and other talented marksmen and riders supported him.

By 1884, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show was a permanent touring show that also performed for extended periods in amusement parks and at World's Fairs. At various times, the show also featured sharpshooter Annie Oakley (1860–1926) and Lakota chief **Sitting Bull** (c. 1831–1890). Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show toured the United States and Europe for almost thirty years. A master showman, Cody displayed the West as a place of glory and adventure, an enormous territory reserved for Native Americans, cowboys, and outlaws.

Last days

Cody invested his earnings from the Wild West Show in ventures such as mining in **Arizona**, ranching in **Nebraska**, town building in Wyoming, filmmaking, and tourism. Most failed. When his Wild West show closed down in 1913, his financial problems forced him to tour as an attraction in other people's shows.

Upon his death in Denver, Colorado, in 1917, Buffalo Bill Cody was accorded an enormous state funeral. Many felt that with his passing, the romance of the Western frontier had disappeared, too.

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Coercion Acts

The Coercion Acts, or Restraining Acts, were a series of four acts passed by the English Parliament between March and June 1774. Parliament passed the laws to punish colonial acts of rebellion, especially the **Boston Tea Party**. The colonists called the laws the Intolerable Acts.

Three of the four acts were aimed at the colony of **Massachusetts**. Parliament passed the Boston Port Act in March 1774 in direct response to the Boston Tea Party. During that incident in December 1773, colonists had boarded three ships owned by the East India Company to dump its tea into the harbor. The Boston Tea Party had been a protest against English laws that favored the company at the expense of the colonists. In reaction, Parliament passed the Boston Port Act of 1774 to close Boston Harbor to all shipping, in and out, until the town repaid the East India Company for the destruction of its tea, including the tax due on it.

The second measure was the Massachusetts Government Act. It altered the colony's charter of 1691 by reducing Massachusetts's powers of self-government. Severe restrictions were placed on town meetings, elected posts were replaced by royal appointees, and the English governor of the colony received much greater power over the colony's affairs.

The other two acts increased royal powers to protect the English who served in Massachusetts and elsewhere. The Administration of Justice Act moved trials out of Massachusetts for British officials or soldiers accused of capital offenses there. The act allowed the trials to be moved to other colonies or back to England if necessary. This act was meant to ensure a fair trial for the English by avoiding hostile local juries. It angered the colonists, however, who felt it enabled the British to escape colonial justice for horrendous crimes.

The last of the four Coercion Acts was the **Quartering Acts**. Parliament passed them to ensure that British soldiers would be hosted in colonial areas where British control was most needed. Unlike an earlier Quartering Act, these acts included a clause that enabled colonial governors to require that soldiers be housed in private homes if needed. The Quartering Acts were the only part of the Coercion Acts that extended beyond Massachusetts to all of the colonies.

Another act passed in June 1774, the Quebec Act, was sometimes counted as an Intolerable Act. It was not meant to be part of the puni-

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tive Coercion Acts passed by Parliament, but colonists did not recognize the distinction. Among the most disagreeable aspects of the Quebec Act were limitations it placed on the westward expansion of the colonies. The limitations sometimes affected expansion rights that colonial governments had in their original charters. Though the Quebec Act was intended to give more liberties to the former province of French Canada (another British colony at the time), American colonists counted it in their list of English offenses against their own liberties.

The four Coercion Acts represented the strict and punitive measures the English government was willing to take to maintain order within the colonies. By isolating Massachusetts for acts of resistance to English policies, Parliament hoped to send a message to the rest of the colonies that would discourage acts of rebellion elsewhere. The Coercion Acts instead enraged most of the colonists and became a justification for their calling the First Continental Congress (see **Continental Congress, First**) in September 1774 to begin discussions about forming a new, independent government.

Cold War

The Cold War was a decades-long rivalry between the Western powers (led by the United States) and the Soviet Union. It began in 1945 and ended in 1991. It grew out of the ideological differences between **communism** (a system of government in which the state controls the economy, and all property and wealth are shared equally by the people) and capitalist democracy (a government system in which businesses may be privately owned and compete against one another, and leaders are elected by the people).

Long before the onset of the Cold War, the United States and Russia shared a distrust of one another as a result of their competition over the economic development of Manchuria in the 1890s. That competition turned into an ideological rivalry after Russia's Bolshevik Revolution (1917). Russia was a communist country whereas the United States was (and is still) a capitalist democracy. The two countries did join forces to fight **World War II** (1939–45) against Germany, Italy, and Japan, but even then, they disagreed over military strategies and postwar plans for Germany.

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As leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) was determined to use his military forces to control Poland and keep Germany from regaining its strength after World War II. Germany had invaded Russia twice, costing the communist nation almost twenty-five million casualties; Stalin would not forget that. President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53), however, was intent on rebuilding Europe's economic infrastructure on a capitalist foundation, and his plans included rebuilding Germany. After the war, the United States and other Western nations considered the expansion of the Soviet Union a threat. At the same time, the Soviets worried that the Western powers would overthrow their communist regime. This is how the Cold War began.

The Berlin airlift

Europe's economy was in crisis after World War II. By 1947, the Soviets had taken over much of Eastern Europe using the strength of the Red (Soviet) Army. As communism spread throughout Eastern Europe, the United States began a postwar recovery program known as the **Marshall Plan.** The plan helped restore Western Europe's economy. The Soviet Union and nations of Eastern Europe opposed the plan, fearing the revival of Germany.

After World War II, the victorious **Allies**—the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union—had agreed to divide defeated Germany into four zones, each of which was occupied by one of the Allies. Germany's capital, Berlin, was similarly divided into four sectors. Because of the city's location in the Soviet-occupied part of Germany (what later became communist East Germany), the U.S., British, and French sectors of Berlin were completely surrounded by the Soviet occupation zone. In 1948, the Soviet Union restricted access into West Berlin in 1948 by setting up blockades into the city. As of June 24, the city was not accessible by road, train, or canal. It had enough coal to last forty-five days and enough food to last thirty-six days. President Truman had to maintain a Western presence in the city if the Marshall Plan was to be successful. On June 26, he officially approved what became known as the Berlin airlift. During the airlift, which lasted 321 days, planes delivered daily supplies of coal, food, and other necessities to the more than two million people living in Berlin behind the blockade. By May 12, 1949—the end of the airlift—1,592,787 tons of supplies had been delivered to

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The Soviet Army, also known as the Red Army, helped the Soviet Union gain control of much of Eastern Europe by 1947. AP IMAGES

Berlin. It was a magnificent achievement that cost very few lives. When the Soviet Union realized that the airlift could continue indefinitely, Stalin was forced to back down and remove the blockades.

A divided Germany

When the United States refused to give the Soviet Union some western German factories as war reparations (compensation paid for damages caused by war), the Soviets reacted by securing their occupation zone, eastern Germany, as a communist state. On September 21, 1949, the former Allied countries declared their zones in western Germany the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, or West Germany), and set about paving the way for civilian control. A furious Soviet Union soon did the same, announcing on October 7 the formal German Democratic Republic (GDR, or East Germany). Germany was now divided by what Great Britain's leader, Winston Churchill (1874–1965), called the Iron Curtain.

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The year 1949 also saw the establishment of the **North Atlantic Treaty** Organization (NATO), the purpose of which was to defend Western Europe against the spread of communism. The United States joined eleven other countries in the effort. In response, the Communist bloc formed the Warsaw Treaty Pact in 1955.

The spread of the Cold War

The Cold War spread to Asia in 1950, the year the Soviet Union negotiated an alliance with China. Communist North Korea attacked South Korea and started the **Korean War** (1950–53). The United States assisted South Korea by helping to establish the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and providing neutral Asian countries with military support.

Stalin's death in 1953 eased Cold War tensions. Both the Soviets and the Americans had developed an **atomic bomb** in 1949, but the possibility of a ban on nuclear weapons now seemed likely. Relations became strained again in 1957, however, with the launch of the Soviet satellite *Sputnik*. The two countries now competed in missile production and space exploration. Officials from both countries threatened retaliation for any aggression on the other's part. Meanwhile, Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America continued to struggle with the Cold War. Both the United States and the Soviet Union provided military and financial support to often corrupt and brutal regimes in these areas in hopes of securing their allegiance.

In 1961, East Germany built the Berlin Wall along the boundary separating East Berlin from West Berlin. In addition, the entire length of the boundary between East and West Germany was closed off by walls, chain-link fences, barbed wire, or minefields. The purpose of the walls and fences was to keep East Germans from moving to West Germany.

When the United States discovered Soviet missile bases in Cuba in 1962, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) sent U.S. ships to intercept Soviet vessels carrying rockets to Cuba. This event became known as the **Cuban Missile Crisis**, and it led to the eventual agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States for a ban on nuclear testing.

Both superpowers began to weaken as alliances deteriorated. The United States became involved in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) and made great efforts to help the South Vietnamese government fight communist North Vietnam. Early in the 1970s, U.S. president **Richard Nixon**

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This aerial shot shows Soviet missiles being loaded onto ships at a Cuban naval port.
AP IMAGES

(1913–94; served 1969–74) signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) with the Soviet Union to reduce the need for spending money on weapons. The two countries also agreed to strengthen economic bonds; this period of relief was known as *détente*. Tensions resumed when political clashes erupted in the Middle East, Angola, and Chile as the two superpowers competed for influence in those war-torn areas.

The end is near

President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) antagonized the Soviet Union in the early 1980s by calling the country the "evil em-

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pire." He increased military spending and intensified the nuclear arms race as well. After Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1906–82) exercised his authority against Poland, Reagan imposed economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. Relations between the two superpowers were the worst they had been since the late 1940s.

When Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) took office in Moscow in 1985, tensions began to ease. He made major economic reforms that encouraged restructuring and openness within the European communist countries. Although his intention was to implement these reforms gradually, they had a major impact almost immediately. In 1989, the Berlin Wall came down. The same year, the United States accepted military arms and economic agreements, and Gorbachev announced that the postwar period was over.

By 1990, many communist governments in Europe had been overthrown. The dissolution of the Soviet Union into fifteen independent states in December 1991 put an end to the Cold War.

Colonies

See **Thirteen Colonies**

Colonization

There are several theories on who discovered America. **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) was not the first foreigner to land on its shores, but he was among the first to encourage Europeans to establish regular channels of contact with the New World. In the decades following Columbus's journey of 1492, many European countries explored the New World. While their exploration and trading efforts were generally successful, establishing settlements and permanent colonies were more difficult tasks.

Spain

Columbus's voyage was funded by the monarchs of Spain. Spain continued to explore the New World after Columbus's success. It concentrated on Central and South America, where gold and silver were abundant. While Spain explored the geography and populations in North America,

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the lack of gold and silver deposits discouraged Spain from focusing its efforts there.

As Spanish fleets carried New World treasure back to Spain, they tended to stay along the **Florida** coast before heading out to sea. For this reason, the Florida coast became a haven for pirates. In 1565, the Spanish government created a permanent settlement as a base for warships to protect the Spanish sailing ships. Called St. Augustine, it was the first European settlement in what became the United States.

Spain made early forays into the area of **New Mexico**, but since it too lacked riches, no permanent settlements were pursued for some time. In 1598, a group of missionaries arrived among the Native Americans and opened a small outpost. The missionaries worked to convert the Native North Americans to Christianity. A greater Spanish settlement eventually evolved with the founding of Santa Fe in 1610. Isolated from the major centers of the Spanish colonies, these settlements were never too important in the power struggle to control North America.

France

Impressed with the Spanish importation of wealth, France undertook its own exploration of the New World. In 1524, King Francis I (1494–1547) commissioned a Florentine navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano (c. 1485–1528), to search for the elusive "Passage to the Orient," an all-water route from Europe to Asia. Though he did not find one, Verrazano did map much of the east coast of North America.



After seeing Spain's success with exploring the New World, French king Francis I commissioned his own exploration in 1524. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Later voyages by Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) brought the French expeditions into Canada from the St. Lawrence River. Attempts to settle this area were abandoned after harsh winters, and the French never committed to creating colonies like the English did.

The history of France in America is really a history of trade based mainly on furs. Expansion of **New France**, which went into regions now known as **Minnesota**, down the Mississippi River, and into **Louisiana** by 1700, were motivated mostly by trade interests.

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Netherlands

Dutch claims in America stemmed from the trading posts and commercial centers of the **Dutch West India Company**. Around 1625, it established its first settlement at **New Amsterdam** (the area that would become **New York**). Challenged by Indian wars and slow growth, the colony was nearly devastated by 1645.

Under new leadership, the colony grew to almost four thousand by 1650. It became an important base for the Dutch maritime fleet, which dominated world trade at the time. Conflicts in 1664 with the English forced the Dutch out, and its areas would become English.

England

Like France and Spain, England's initial efforts to build settlements in the wilderness of the New World met resistance from Native Americans. English persistence eventually brought success, and colonies began to flourish.

In 1585, a colony supported by a charter granted to English adventurer and writer Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) was established along the Carolina coast. Called the **Roanoke Colony**, its settlers were ill-prepared to do the work required to build a viable community. In 1590, relief ships arrived from England, but the colony had mysteriously vanished. It is often referred to as the Lost Colony.

The failure of Roanoke delayed further English colonization efforts until the early 1600s. A single charter was granted to two companies, the **Plymouth Company** and the London Company, to plant two colonies. The Plymouth Company's settlement on the **Maine** coast at Sagahadoc failed quickly.

The London Company, however, established a colony in 1607 on the James River, calling it **Jamestown**. Though it encountered many difficulties, it managed to survive, and eventually the settlers mastered living in the New World. Jamestown was the first permanent English settlement in America, the successful beginning of a large movement of English settlers to the New World.

In 1620, another group of settlers sailed to America aboard the ***Mayflower***. Several of the passengers were **Puritans**, or Pilgrims, who were seeking religious freedom in the New World. Though their original intentions were to settle in **Virginia**, the group landed and stayed at

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Plymouth (eventually **Massachusetts**). The success of this colony quickly attracted others who settled in the area of New England.

By 1630, Jamestown and Plymouth were quite successful, and there were fur trading and fishing villages scattered along the New England coast. In 1629, a group of English merchants organized another venture and moved the Massachusetts Bay Company to New England. In early 1630, seven hundred passengers arrived in Massachusetts to start the **Massachusetts Bay Colony**. Within a year, they had established seven towns, including Boston. This effort sparked the beginning of the Great Migration, in which over twenty thousand people emigrated to America by 1642.

By 1650, English settlements had a population of almost fifty-five thousand. Another proprietary, or business-owned, colony had been established near the Chesapeake colony of Virginia. Called **Maryland**, it competed in the production of **tobacco** and was a haven for Catholics in the New World. Similar proprietary colonies established **Pennsylvania**, the Carolinas, and New York. Religious dissenters from the Massachusetts Bay Colony established **Rhode Island**, **Connecticut**, and **New Hampshire**.

By the end of the seventeenth century, twelve of the original **thirteen colonies** (excepting **Georgia**) had been founded. Five major cities developed as centers of trade and commerce along the Atlantic seaboard between Maine and **South Carolina**. The English colonies were thriving.

Conflict and motivation

Choosing to live in the colonies meant living a difficult and dangerous life. Challenging weather, illness, and conflict with Native Americans made life perilous. For many colonists, however, the benefits of life in the New World made the efforts worth the risks. Many Protestants found religious freedom to practice their Christian faith in supportive, like-minded communities. Those who could not find enough work in Europe were assured of land and work in the New World. Business investors knew the riches to be had from the natural resources and new crops.

While ultimately beneficial and profitable for many Europeans, colonization of the New World proved harmful to other societies. Native Americans, who had lived in the New World for hundreds of years be-

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fore the arrival of Europeans, lost the power struggle for control of North America. Most Native American societies perished, and the few that survived did so barely on often marginal lands. At the same time, the need for cheap agricultural labor in the New World resulted in the enslavement of Africans until **slavery** in the United States was abolished in 1865.

Colorado

Colorado entered the Union on August 1, 1876, the thirty-eighth state to do so. Its capital is Denver and it is nicknamed the Centennial State because it became a state one hundred years after the signing of the **Declaration of Independence**. Colorado is the eighth largest state in the nation, with a total area of 104,091 square miles (269,596 square kilometers). It is located in the Rocky Mountain region, surrounded by **New Mexico**, **Utah**, **Wyoming**, **Nebraska**, **Kansas**, and **Oklahoma**. The southwest corner of the state touches the northwest corner of **Arizona**.

By 800 CE, the Pueblo lived in the region now known as Colorado. These Native Americans were advanced in agricultural know-how as well as pottery making. Their homes were elaborate apartment-like dwellings built into the cliffs of canyons. Various Spanish explorers visited the area in the 1700s, but the French claimed most of the region east of the Rocky Mountains. The eastern region remained a wilderness for several decades.

In July 1858, gold was found in Cherry Creek (today's Denver). Reports of the gold strike were greatly exaggerated, and they brought thousands of people to Colorado. They developed mining towns such as Boulder, Central City, and Gold Hill. The population of what would become Colorado exceeded thirty thousand by 1860.

The 1860s were host to the most severe conflict between Native Americans and white settlers in the state's history. After being forced into ceding most of their tribal lands to the federal government, the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes returned to their nomadic lifestyle. They hunted buffalo and often clashed with the white settlers who were taking over their land. In an effort to stop the violence, state officers offered the tribes amnesty if they reported to army forts. Believing themselves to be protected, the Native Americans set up camp and flew the **American**

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flag and white flag (a sign of truce). On November 29, 1864, U.S. military forces brutally massacred two hundred Native Americans, most of them women and children, as they camped. This was known as the **Sand Creek Massacre**.

Colorado became a popular tourist destination even in the 1860s, as resorts opened near some of the state's mineral springs. After a decline in the silver market caused an economic depression in the 1890s, farmers returned to the land at the beginning of the twentieth century. The establishment of the U.S. **Air Force** Academy and the North American Air Defense Command in Colorado Springs stimulated the growth of defense and aerospace-related industries.

Current-day Colorado relies on tourism and manufacturing for the bulk of its income. Major industries include food, computer and electronic products, and beverage and tobacco products. Tourism provides more than two hundred thousand jobs in the state.

Colorado cemented a place in the history of American tragedies in 1999 when two teenage students at **Columbine High School** went on a shooting rampage and killed twelve students and one teacher before killing themselves. Many more students were injured, and the event heightened the national debate on gun control and the effects of media violence on youth.

Columbian Exposition

Fairs were popular events in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Manufacturers used fairs to introduce new products and demonstrate their uses. States and provinces set up booths and competed for new citizens and investments. For the price of 50 cents for adults and 25 cents for children ages six through twelve (about $10 and $5 in today's money), fair goers could spend a day being simultaneously educated and entertained. It was the equivalent of Disney World, the Olympics, and the Super Bowl all rolled into one event, so great was the impact of fairs on American society.

One of the most famous and influential fairs in history was the World's Columbian Exposition, also known as the Chicago World's Fair. The Columbian Exposition was held at Jackson Park in Chicago, **Illinois**, from May 1 through October 31, 1893.

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The first Ferris wheel, shown at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. AP IMAGES

The fair itself was huge, with fourteen main buildings and two hundred additional buildings. The fairgrounds included a system of lagoons and waterways fed by Lake Michigan. Architects designed the layout, and the exposition was nicknamed the "White City" because all the buildings were painted white.

Each main building at the fair had a different theme, including government, mining, machinery, agricultural, and manufacturing and liberal arts. In each building, fair goers could see the latest trends and inventions. Several popular and enduring products made their debut at the fair, including Juicy Fruit gum, Aunt Jemima syrup, Cracker Jack

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popcorn, Shredded Wheat cereal, Pabst beer, the hamburger, diet carbonated soda, postcards, and the Ferris wheel.

Once attendees tired of walking through buildings, they could enjoy entertainment in the midway (amusement park), where countless rides, musicians, and refreshments enhanced the carnival-like atmosphere. In addition, the midway contained a hot-air balloon ride, a zoo, recreations of traditional Japanese and German villages, a swimming pool, and a wax museum. It was not possible to get through the entire fair in one day. To the delight of Chicago's innkeepers and hotel owners, millions of people stayed overnight for at least one day, and usually for several more.

The Columbian Exposition was a financial success. It earned back more than the $28 million spent on developing it; the concession stands alone brought in $4 million. In fact, the fair was so successful that it became the model for most of the fairs to follow. The fair met its goals in other ways as well. The purpose of the exposition was to encourage American unity in the face of cultural change and to celebrate technology and commerce. By showing the American public that ethnic differences and the changes resulting from immigration and increased contact with foreign countries have a positive impact on society, the fair had a major influence on cultural attitudes.

The fair promoted consumerism as well. On the fairgrounds, millions of Americans were introduced to a vast array of products ranging from food to soap to home decorating materials. This awareness led directly to "conspicuous consumption," or the buying of expensive products as a way to display a person's wealth. Although the term was not coined until 1899, the fair set in motion the attitude that the higher the price, the better the product.

Directly related to conspicuous consumerism was advertising. For months following the fair, advertisements for products that had won awards at the event used that fame to sell the products and gain brand recognition (in which consumers recognize a brand name and automatically link it to the idea of high quality or superior craftsmanship). Advertisers also took advantage of the new perception that buying is fun. They subtly reinforced the idea that the more a consumer spent, the happier he or she would be.

The Chicago World's Fair had other social effects as well. It was responsible for a new holiday—Columbus Day. Thanks to the fair, schoolchildren began each day in the classroom with a burst of patriotism by

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reciting the Pledge of Allegiance in front of the **American flag**. Some historians claim that *Wizard of Oz* author L. Frank Baum (1856–1919) modeled his famous fictional city, Oz, on the glamour and sensory experience of the fair. The event found its way into novels as well as songs, and a new musical genre called ragtime was introduced on the fairgrounds by Scott Joplin (c. 1867–1917).

The midway of the fair had a major impact on American culture at the turn of the century. With its exotic foreign villages and native tribal performers featured in displays created to replicate their rural (primarily African) villages, the midway inspired the idea of a modern carnival with various forms of live entertainment. By 1910, thousands of amusement parks dotted the U.S. landscape. All the parks were modeled on the Chicago Fair's midway. The most popular amusement parks of the twenty-first century—Disneyland and Disney World—also were modeled on the fair.

The rapid changes in technology and industry in the late 1870s and early 1880s stirred fear in many Americans. The fair invited Americans to learn more about advancing technology, especially electricity, in a leisurely way, and it helped shift the nation's attitude toward technology in a more hopeful direction. More and more, technology was being viewed as the new symbol of progress. The Columbian Exposition highlighted the United States's shift from an agrarian (agricultural-based) society to a more technological, consumer-based country.

Columbine High School Shooting

On April 20, 1999, two students at Columbine High School in Littleton, **Colorado**, shot and killed twelve fellow students and a teacher and wounded twenty others before turning their guns on themselves.

The planned attack

That morning, seniors Eric Harris (1981–1999) and Dylan Klebold (1981–1999) went to school clad in black trench coats. Beneath their coats, they had hidden many weapons, including an assault rifle, sawed-off shotguns, handguns, and homemade grenades. At 11:15 AM, Klebold and Harris opened fire in the parking lot, shooting randomly at fleeing students. Walking slowly, they made their way into the building, leaving behind the bodies of those they had shot. Once inside, they entered the

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cafeteria, and one of them tossed a pipe bomb into the room. Both attackers began firing on the students, who fled in panic.

Throughout the building, students scrambled for hiding places in closets, bathrooms, and any spots that offered the hope of shelter from the killers. Some called 911 from cell phones. Many managed to escape the building. The sheriff's deputy on duty full-time at the school radioed for backup.

In the next few minutes, the two killers attacked the high school's choir room, auditorium, gymnasium, and library. Students later reported that Harris and Klebold entered the library and demanded that all "jocks" stand up. Then they shot them.

The shooting stops

The police arrived within twenty minutes, and they found several explosive devices around the school building. At noon, forty-five minutes after the shooting began, ambulances began transporting wounded students to hospitals as the parking lot filled with bomb teams, SWAT teams, fire trucks, and paramedic units. At about 12:30 PM, the shooting stopped.

By the time it was over, the gunmen had killed thirteen people, twelve students and a teacher. Then, in the library, Klebold and Harris shot themselves. Their bodies were not located until 4:30 that afternoon.

The killers

Klebold and Harris had come from upper-middle-class families. Classmates remembered them as fairly normal, though aloof. In recent months, the boys had developed a number of disturbing interests, including Nazism (the day of the shooting was the 110th anniversary of the birth of Nazi Germany leader Adolf Hitler), firearms, and an extreme version of alternative heavy-metal music. Klebold and Harris had spent countless hours on the Internet. Their parents apparently did not notice their computer usage or their recent interest in guns and white supremacist ideology (the belief that white people should rule over people of other races). As a result, some people perceived the parents as neglectful and they would later become the focus of lawsuits associated with the shooting.

The Columbine shooting was not the worst in American history. The worst school massacre occurred long before, in **Michigan** in 1927,

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when a deranged school board treasurer killed thirty-eight students and six adults with explosives. Nor was Columbine to be the last school shooting in the United States, as witnessed in 2007 at Virginia Tech in Blacksburg, **Virginia** (among other similar incidences), when a lone emotionally disturbed gunman killed thirty-two people and wounded many more. Columbine stood out because it took the country by surprise. In the prosperous 1980s and 1990s, most middle-class parents felt safe when their children were at school. After Columbine, parents and school personnel across the country were startled into discussions about how to prevent another such tragedy, and steps were taken to provide better communication and counseling. While the discussions led to improved safety on the one hand, there was bad news as well. Columbine almost immediately provoked copycat killings by students around the nation who had seen all the attention given to the dead killers and wanted their own moment of celebrity.

Christopher Columbus

Christopher Columbus was an Italian explorer who sailed in the service of the king and queen of Spain. Between 1492 and 1504, he made four voyages to the Caribbean and South America, lands unknown to Europeans at that time.

Goes to sea as a teenager

Columbus was born some time in the fall of 1451 to a humble family in Genoa, Italy. He became a seaman at a young age. By the time he was in his twenties, he was a skilled sailor with enough knowledge to pilot his own boat. In 1476, Columbus traveled to Lisbon, Portugal, where his younger brother, Bartholomew Columbus (c. 1461–1515), operated a book and map store. Columbus educated himself in the store, studying navigation and the art of cartography, or mapmaking. A devout Catholic, Columbus also studied religion.

Enterprise of the Indies

During the 1470s and early 1480s, Columbus participated in several long voyages that took him as far as Iceland and Africa. Trade with Asia (then called the Indies) was very profitable at the time, and he began to formulate the idea that it would be faster and easier to travel to Asia by

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Italian explorer Christopher Columbus sailed on behalf of the king and queen of Spain, hoping to spread Christianity around the world. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

sailing westward from Europe, going across the Atlantic Ocean, than by traveling east, as was commonly done. Contrary to legend, all educated fifteenth-century Europeans knew that the earth was round, but no one had any idea about its size; most theories underestimated the size of the earth by about one-third. Most people also believed the earth was one huge landmass, consisting of Europe, Africa, and Asia, surrounded by water. It was not surprising that Columbus guessed incorrectly at the distances between continents.

Naming his plan to reach Asia on a westward route "The Enterprise of the Indies," Columbus tried unsuccessfully to persuade Portuguese king John II (1455–1495) to support an expedition proving his theory. In May 1486, Spanish queen Isabella I (1451–1504) agreed to hear his plan.

Besides finding a new trade route and untold riches, part of Columbus's goal in his enterprise was to bring Christianity to the world's peoples. This appealed to Queen Isabella, who wished to create a vast, worldwide, Spanish empire that would spread the Christian religion to every corner of the earth.

In April 1492, Queen Isabella and her husband, King Ferdinand II (1452–1516), signed an agreement with Columbus to fund his voyage. Columbus secured three ships—the *Niña,* the *Pinta,* and the *Santa Maria*—and a crew of about ninety men and boys. The *Santa Maria,* at 100 feet in length, was the largest of the three ships.

The first voyage

The fleet sailed on August 3, 1492. By chance, Columbus found the best possible Atlantic route to the New World and the weather was good. Still, the voyage took weeks. Finally, on October 11, signs of land became apparent—branches with green leaves and flowers floating in the water. Very early on the morning of October 12, the lookout on the *Pinta* saw land.

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The grateful crew landed on a small island in the present-day Bahamas. Columbus named the island San Salvador (Holy Savior). Columbus stayed on the island for two days, meeting with its inhabitants, members of the peaceful Arawak-speaking Taino tribe. Not knowing where he was, and always assuming that he had reached the Indies, he called these people Indians.

Columbus spent several days exploring the Bahamas, but the Taino told him about another much larger island named Colba (Cuba), and he set off for it, thinking it must be part of China or Japan. He landed on Cuba on October 28, 1492, and for the next month sailed along its north coast. After leaving Cuba on December 5, 1492, Columbus sailed



Christopher Columbus landed on the island he named San Salvador in 1492, thinking that he was somewhere in the Indies when he was actually in an area of the present-day Bahamas. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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to another large island, which he named Hispaniola because it reminded him of Spain.

Meets Native Americans

In Hispaniola, Columbus met a young Arawak chief who was wearing gold ornaments, which he was willing to trade for European goods. Farther east, Columbus met a more important chief who had even larger pieces of gold. Columbus entertained him and his people on board the *Santa Maria* on Christmas Eve. After the festivities, while everyone was asleep, the ship hit a coral reef and began to sink. Helped by the chief and his followers, the Spanish were able to unload most of the ship's goods and carry them to shore. Making the best of a bad situation, Columbus founded the first European settlement in the Americas. He named it La Navidad (The Nativity) after the birthday of Christ.

Honored for achievement

In January, Columbus sailed for Spain, leaving twenty-one men behind in La Navidad. He returned with spices, slaves, and a small amount of gold. He had written a pamphlet praising the lands he had found. They were, he exclaimed, filled with amiable natives and vast riches. Columbus stayed in Barcelona for three months. For having discovered a new route to the Indies, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand gave him titles and honors and agreed to sponsor a second voyage.

Second voyage

Columbus's second expedition to the Americas in 1493 was much larger than the first, with seventeen ships and about twelve hundred to fifteen hundred men aboard. After a smooth crossing, the ships sailed through the Caribbean islands. There they encountered the native Caribs, a war-like people who were skilled navigators and made raids upon others from their large dugout canoes. After a brief fight, some of the Caribs were captured and sent to Spain as slaves.

When the Spanish fleet reached the settlement at La Navidad, they found it in ruins with the unburied bodies of Spaniards everywhere. Many historians assume that the once-peaceful Arawak Indians rebelled against Spanish abuses and killed the Spaniards. Abandoning the site, Columbus took his new colonists seventy-five miles to the east where he

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built a trading fort called Isabela in what is now the Dominican Republic. It turned out to be a poor location, but Columbus laid out a main square with a church and "royal palace" and constructed 200 huts for the settlers. Within four days, the settlers found gold near Isabela. Columbus then sent twelve ships laden with gold and spices back to Spain.

Fights with Native Americans

In 1494, Columbus's brother Bartholomew arrived from Spain. The Arawak, who were traditionally a peaceful people, had by that time realized that the arrival of the Spanish meant their destruction. Columbus and his men took the Arawaks as slaves; his men also sexually assaulted the Arawak women. In addition, the Europeans brought with them epidemic diseases that were deadly to the natives. So the Arawak put together a large force to try to drive the intruders off the island. At the end of March 1495, Columbus and his brother led a force that defeated the Native Americans and enslaved many of the survivors.

Despite Columbus's personal promise to Queen Isabella not to use unnecessary violence with the natives, many of Columbus's men were abusive to the Native Americans. Columbus, unsuccessful in imposing order, decided to return to Spain in 1496. He left his brother in charge of the colony, but Bartholomew quickly abandoned Isabela and moved the Spanish headquarters to the south side of the island at Santo Domingo.

News had already reached Spain of the trouble in Isabela. It took Columbus two years to convince Ferdinand and Isabella to send him out on a third voyage. The royals finally agreed. The small fleet did not actually leave until May 30, 1498, because Columbus had trouble finding ships and supplies.

Third voyage

Columbus landed on the island of Trinidad on August 1, 1498. The next day, he sailed to the mouth of the great Orinoco River in Venezuela, realizing almost at once he had reached a continental landmass. This was his first view of the mainland of the Americas.

When he returned to Hispaniola, Columbus found trouble. Isabella and Ferdinand had sent a new governor to replace Columbus in

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Hispaniola. When the new governor arrived, finding the Spanish inhabitants in a state of rebellion, he immediately arrested both Columbus brothers. He put them in chains and sent them back to Spain, where they arrived in October 1500. Columbus stayed in chains for five weeks after his return until he was released by Ferdinand and Isabella on December 12.

Final voyage

Columbus was granted one more expedition in 1502. He arrived in Santo Domingo in the middle of a hurricane, but its new governor would not let him enter the harbor. Columbus sailed across the Caribbean to the coast of Honduras and journeyed southward along the coast of Central America looking for a passageway west. When he reached Panama, he was close to the Pacific Ocean. It is possible that Columbus may then have realized the continent he had found was not Asia, but there are no records to prove this.

Columbus tried to found a new colony in western Panama. As one of the rainiest places in the world and inhabited by Native Americans hostile to the Europeans, it proved unsuitable for settlement. After great delays due to leaky ships, Columbus chartered a boat and left for Spain in September 1504.

Back in Spain

Columbus's biggest supporter, Queen Isabella, died in 1504. Ill himself, the disgraced navigator continued to try to convince King Ferdinand to sponsor another voyage, but he failed. Columbus moved into a house in the Spanish city of Valladolid in 1506 and died there on May 20.

Communism

Communism is a socioeconomic policy that advocates a classless society in which the government owns and controls all property and means of production. It is the opposite of capitalism, which is the policy upon which the U.S. economy is based. Within communism, there is no business competition, and wealth is distributed equally among people. Another primary difference between communism and capitalism is its leadership. Communism requires authoritarian, single-party rule, which sometimes results in force to control opposition.

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The concept of communism dates back to ancient Greece, when philosopher Plato (428 BCE–348 BCE) advocated it as a kind of communal living. The real father of communism, however, is German philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883). Marx wrote *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848, in which he outlined and explained his theory of communism. The author worked closely with Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), a German social scientist and philosopher. Engels helped Marx write the *Manifesto.* The men referred to communism as "scientific socialism."

Socialism

Communism is based on the theory of socialism, which developed in Europe during the working-class rebellions of the nineteenth century. Supporters of the theory argued that those in power had forgotten the ideals of liberty, equality, and the right to existence. Until political rights included economic and social equality, these ideals could never be realized. Therefore, the gaps between the wealthy and the poor must be destroyed.

Marx and Engels considered communism the highest form of socialism. Because history was full of struggles between capitalists (those who own property and/or money) and the working class (known as proletariats), they believed that society must be on the path toward communism: To them, communism was inevitable. Marx believed that the working class would ultimately rule in a socialist society that would eventually evolve into a communist society—one without poverty, government corruption, and class distinctions. His view of socialism is sometimes referred to as Marxism.

Leninism

Russian statesman Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), one of the twentieth century's most revolutionary thinkers, was another supporter of communism. He took Marxism one step further and developed his own brand of communism, known as Leninism.

Lenin explained his beliefs in a political pamphlet, titled *What Is to Be Done?* (1902), in which he argued that the proletariat can achieve a revolutionary consciousness only if it forms a political party comprised of full-time, professional revolutionaries. He also said that goals could be reached only through democratic centralism, whereby decisions are

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made democratically by the group, but once made, those decisions must be supported without exception and actively promoted.

Lenin insisted that capitalism could be overcome only through revolutions, not through reforms. The ultimate goal of Lenin and his followers was to overthrow the existing Russian government, and in 1917, he did just that as he led the Bolshevik Revolution (also known as the October Revolution or Russian Revolution). The Bolsheviks were professional revolutionaries organized by Lenin, and they represented the struggling proletariats of Russia at the time.

On October 25, 1917, Lenin led the uprising in St. Petersburg, Russia's capital. The Bolsheviks met with little opposition in taking over the Winter Palace (home of the Russian czar and his family). The victory brought several improvements for Russia's working class. Workdays were shorter and wages were higher. Private bank accounts—held mainly by the wealthy—and the church's property and bank accounts were seized. Private land—owned only by the wealthy—was seized and redistributed among the peasantry (rural working class). Russia became a socialist nation. In 1922, Russia joined with other republics to become the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.), or the Soviet Union.

After Lenin

In his lifetime, Lenin never proclaimed that the Soviet Union had become socialist; he merely stated that the communists had come to power. Upon Lenin's death in 1924, a great power struggle began between dictator Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) and revolutionary Leon Trotsky (1879–1940). Stalin was a Leninist and Trotsky considered himself a Marxist. When Stalin's view became the law of the land, Trotsky was expelled from his country.

Stalin was a ruthless dictator whose campaigns of political repression claimed the lives of millions. During his rule, the Soviet Union helped defeat Germany in **World War II** (1939–45) and so became one of the world's two superpowers (with the United States) in the postwar era. By 1937, the Soviet Union had developed into the world's second most industrialized nation.

The 1930s were devastating for Russians who disagreed with Stalin's doctrine. Stalin put into action what became known as the Great Purge, a campaign of intense political repression, persecution, and execution. Where once he called his policy Marxism-Leninism, the dictator now re-

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ferred to it as Stalinism. To punish those who were against him, Stalin confiscated grain and other food, sending his country deep into famine from 1932 to 1934; millions of people starved to death or died by execution or in brutal prison labor camps.

Stalin died from the effects of a stroke in 1953 and was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), who denounced the fallen leader and began a process called "de-Stalinization."

Communism in Asia and Cuba

Communism was not found only in the Soviet Union. Before World War II, it existed in other countries, but it did not control the government. In China, the philosophy of statesman Mao Zedong (1893–1976) influenced communism. In 1949, Mao led the Communist Party of China to victory over the Kuomintang in the Chinese Civil War. As a result, he ruled the People's Republic of China (PRC) from 1949 until his death in 1976.

Mao's theory was based on Marxism-Leninism, but he put his own spin on it to allow for practical application. According to him, the peasantry was viewed as a major force in any revolution. Unlike Russian communism, which relied upon working-class city dwellers, China's communism relied upon rural-based peasants.

Cuba was another communist country that based its theory on Soviet communism, but revised it to fit the needs and wants of Cuban economic and social circumstances. In 1959, revolutionary leader Fidel Castro (1926–) and his followers overthrew the government of Cuba. Shortly afterward, he was sworn in as the prime minister of Cuba, and became the first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1965. Although some Cubans hated Castro, who became president of his country in 1976, others praised him as a charismatic leader who did much good for Cuba. His opponents described him as a dictator whose rule was illegitimate because it was not established through legal means. After several years of poor health, in February 2008 Castro resigned his position, and the National Assembly elected his younger brother, Raúl Castro (1931–), to succeed him as Cuba's president.

America's greatest fear

Communism in any form has long been the greatest fear of the U.S. government. Shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, an anticom-

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munist **Red Scare** gripped the United States. So great was this fear that innocent people were imprisoned for merely expressing their political views. Any labor strikes or unrest were immediately associated with a lack of patriotism, if not with an outright support of socialism and communism.

In 1919, **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972) headed up the newly created General Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Investigation, eventually called the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI). He and his team spied on organizations and individuals they suspected of having communist ties or sympathies. Civil liberties were ignored, and the division eventually compiled more than two hundred thousand information cards on suspects. Thousands of people were arrested on absurd charges. For example, in Newark, New Jersey, a man was arrested simply because he looked like a radical.

The national mood shifted when the injustices perpetrated by the FBI were made public. By the summer of 1920, the Red Scare had run its course.

McCarthyism

The Second Red Scare began in the late 1940s and lasted for about a decade. Although the United States had sided with the Soviet Union during World War II, the establishment of new communist regimes in Eastern Europe shortly after the war, the Soviet Union's development of an **atomic bomb**, and a highly publicized spy case in the United States raised fears and led to what is known as the **Cold War**. A cold war is when there is no physical fighting, but political relations between countries are strained and tense. The Cold War lasted from 1945 to 1991.

On February 9, 1950, U.S. senator **Joseph McCarthy** (1908–1957) of **Wisconsin** made a speech to a Republican Women's Club in **Virginia** in which he claimed to have a list of members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring who worked for the U.S. State Department. Within a month, the hunt for communists within the United States was labeled "McCarthyism."

In addition to numerous local, state, and federal government anti-communist panels and committees, private agencies were hired to carry out investigations for companies that suspected that communists were lurking within their ranks. The most active government committee was the **House Un-American Activities Committee** (HUAC), which had

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been formed in 1938. In October 1947, the HUAC began summoning **movie** industry professionals to appear to testify about their alleged communist affiliations or beliefs and to implicate their colleagues. Although some actors were subpoenaed, most of those persecuted were screenwriters and directors.

Among the first called to testify were ten men who refused to cooperate. They became known as the Hollywood Ten, and all were sentenced to jail for terms of six months to one year. The day after the Hollywood Ten were cited for contempt of court, the president of the Motion Picture Association of America announced that his group would not knowingly hire a Communist. This was the beginning of **Hollywood blacklisting**, a process that eventually banned hundreds of actors and writers from working in the film industry. The film studios denied them employment, but they never admitted the blacklist even existed.

Beginning in 1940, various laws had been passed to protect America from communist subversion. Under these laws, hundreds of people were prosecuted legally but unjustly. McCarthy headed the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations from 1953 to 1954, and he used the committee for anticommunist investigations. McCarthy's relentless and unethical pursuit and persecution of individuals caused him to lose supporters. As the movement became more extreme, its opponents became more outspoken. One such opponent was well-known CBS newscaster Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965). In 1954, Murrow aired two television programs on the horrors and injustices of McCarthyism, the second of which focused on Senator McCarthy himself. He was portrayed as dishonest and abusive, and that broadcast was praised as a key factor in ending the era of McCarthyism.

An end to the witch hunts

By the end of the 1950s, the American public had begun to doubt the righteousness of McCarthyism. The U.S. **Supreme Court** almost singlehandedly ended the era with several court decisions. In 1956, a **New York** college professor had been fired for invoking the **Fifth Amendment** when McCarthy's committee questioned him. The Supreme Court declared this firing illegal. The following year, the convictions of fourteen communists were reversed, and the Supreme Court revoked the power of HUAC to punish uncooperative witnesses. In 1958, the State Department was stripped of its authority to deny or re-

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voke passports based on an individual's communist ties or beliefs. McCarthyism had come to an end.

Communism remains a threat to the U.S. government for the same reason it once did: The cornerstone of American society and economy is based on capitalism, and communism goes against every belief of capitalism.

Compromise of 1850

The United States expanded westward at a rapid pace in the 1800s. Expansion of the country raised the question of whether **slavery** would be allowed in new territories and states. It was a difficult question with moral and economic issues. For free whites living in the South, slavery provided a stable economy. For whites in the North, slavery was incompatible with the economic needs, and many also believed it was immoral. The complexity of issues often meant passionate debates in Congress that threatened the union of states. Several compromises preserved the Union throughout the first half of the 1800s, but they often provided inadequate solutions. The Compromise of 1850 was one of the last great efforts in Congress to appease all sides (except the slaves, who had no representation in government). For awhile, the measures helped to avoid secession and to preserve the Union.

With the **Missouri Compromise** of 1820, Congress set a boundary allowing slavery in **Missouri** and the states below it but prohibiting slavery in areas to the north. This compromise only covered areas that had been within the Louisiana Territory, the largest portion of the **Louisiana Purchase** (approximately 530 million acres of land acquired from France in 1803).

By the end of the 1840s, after the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), U.S. territories extended beyond the former Louisiana Territory, all the way west to the Pacific Ocean. The discovery of gold in 1849 led to a rush of people to **California** (see **California Gold Rush**). **Westward expansion** revived debates over the expansion of slavery in the United States. Some southerners began to talk about seceding from the United States if slavery was not allowed to expand.

Many in Congress believed compromise on the expansion of slavery was impossible. U.S. senator **Henry Clay** (1777–1852) of **Kentucky**, however, made the first concrete proposal for compromise in January

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1850. Originally hoping to present five separate bills, he organized them all into one, the Omnibus Bill, to avoid vetoes by U.S. president **Zachary Taylor** (1784–1850; served 1849–50).

Stipulations of the Omnibus Bill proposed to admit California as a free state and to reduce the boundaries of the slavery state of **Texas**. **New Mexico** would compensate Texas for land it would gain in the boundary adjustment. The territories of **Utah** and New Mexico would have no restrictions on slavery. The Omnibus Bill provided a stricter **fugitive slave law** for the return of runaway slaves, and it would abolish the slave trade in **Washington, D.C.** Debate surrounding the bill was dramatic and passionate. The bill proved to be too controversial, and it failed to pass.

U.S. senator Stephen A. Douglas (1813–1861) of Illinois took charge of the measure in the summer of 1850. Douglas had been working hard to reduce division among the politicians on other legislative measures. Choosing to break up the Omnibus Bill into five modified bills, Douglas presented the proposals to Congress again in September. The success of the various measures depended on different interest groups, and all eventually passed. Called the Compromise of 1850, the legislation temporarily quieted talk of secession. Abolitionists continued to advocate ending slavery everywhere, and the issue would erupt again in the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Concord, Battle of

See **Battle of Lexington and Concord**

Confederate Flag

During the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the **Confederate States of America** abandoned the Stars and Stripes, the official flag of the United States. (See **American Flag**.) The Confederates instead created their own version of a national flag. Over the course of the war, the Confederate Congress adopted three different official flags.

The first flag was adopted on March 14, 1861. It included seven white stars to represent the seven states that had seceded. By the end of the year, that number had increased to thirteen. No official proportions or arrangement of stars were established, and flag makers often defined the design themselves as a result. Though the first flag was intentionally similar to the Stars and Stripes, the Confederate Congress eventually

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Confederate Legacy

The Confederate flag has been a source of controversy since the Confederate States of America ceased to exist. Many Americans still use the flag personally, and some state flags arguably include Confederate flag designs. Many Americans consider use of the Confederate flag to be a matter of pride in their southern heritage, a symbol of state power, and an exercise of free speech. Many other Americans consider the Confederate flag to be a symbol of **slavery**, bigotry, and racial oppression.

abandoned the design in search of something less reminiscent of the **Union**.

On May 1, 1863, the Confederate Congress adopted a new flag. This flag had a dominating white field and included the battle flag of the eastern Confederate armies. This flag earned the nickname the "Stainless Banner" for its dominating white field. That trait is also what led the Confederate Congress to adopt another version of the flag, because in calm weather, the Stainless Banner was often mistaken for a flag of truce.

On March 4, 1865, the Confederate Congress revised the second design to include a noticeable red bar along the end. This flag was short-lived. Confederate forces surrendered in April 1865, and the Confederacy came to an end.

Confederate States of America

The Confederate States of America was a separate government set up by the southern states that seceded from the United States after the presidential election of 1860. Commonly called the Confederacy, it contained thirteen states that united in war to establish independence from the remaining states, called the **Union**. The American **Civil War** (1861–65) tore the nation apart and was the bloodiest conflict in the nation's history.

Secession

In 1860, the nation was struggling with many political issues. The most difficult involved the protection and expansion of **slavery**. The United States was expanding into new territories across the West. Whether slavery would be permitted sparked intense argument on both sides of the question in Congress and across the nation.

The southern economy depended very much on slavery, so there was great southern interest not only in protecting slavery in existing states but in allowing it to expand to new territories. Since northern state economies depended on employed immigrants instead of slaves, there was little support there for allowing slavery to expand into new territories.

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Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865; served 1861–65) was elected to the presidency at the end of 1860. As he opposed the expansion of slavery, many in the South feared his election was the first step in the complete abolition of slavery throughout the nation. These fears triggered plans for secession.

Independence

Soon after Lincoln's election, the state legislature of **South Carolina** organized a state convention to consider secession. On December 20, 1860, convention delegates voted in favor of secession and made plans to meet again in **Alabama** to form a southern republic. Beginning on January 9, 1861, six more states followed South Carolina: **Mississippi**, **Florida**, Alabama, **Louisiana**, **Georgia**, and **Texas**.

The states that seceded believed they had the right to do so. They believed each state voluntarily entered the nation and, therefore, had the right to leave whenever they wished. As far as the southern states were concerned, their constitutional right to have slavery and to control other political issues was in jeopardy, so being part of the United States no longer served their interests.

In February 1861, delegates from the first seven states to secede met in Montgomery, Alabama, to create a united southern government. They quickly drafted and adopted a provisional constitution, and on February 8 the Confederate States of America was born. The constitution provided a temporary government for one year. **Jefferson Davis** (1808–1889), a U.S. senator from Mississippi and a former secretary of war, was elected to become the interim president until a permanent government could be established. He was inaugurated February 18, 1861.

The constitution the Confederacy adopted was similar to the U.S. **Constitution**, but with important differences. It established similar branches of government but emphasized the independence of states within the Confederacy. It put all the legislative power in a Congress. It gave the confederate president more power than the U.S. president had, but the position was limited to only one term of six years. The confederate judiciary was similar to the federal judiciary, but to protect its own power, Congress never passed legislation to allow the confederate Supreme Court to function. In light of the political issues that led to secession, the confederate constitution explicitly protected slavery and forbade the government from imposing protective tariffs, or taxes.

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The active Confederacy

An incident at the federally owned Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina, sparked the American Civil War in April 1861. The Confederate states fired on the fort to force the federal government to leave South Carolina soil. In response, President Lincoln called for troops from the Union states to organize against the rebellious attacks. In reaction to Lincoln's call, the southern states of **Virginia**, **North Carolina**, **Tennessee**, and **Arkansas** joined the Confederacy in April and May. Citizens of **Missouri** and **Kentucky** were sharply divided over the issue of secession, so those states were claimed by both the Union and the Confederacy.

The Confederacy moved its capital to Richmond, Virginia, on July 20, 1861. In elections that November, Davis was elected as the first president of the permanent Confederacy. Davis struggled to establish a united Confederacy. The task was difficult because Confederate states were intent on protecting state's rights and independence.

Davis led the Confederacy throughout its fight for independence, but eventually the Confederacy lost the Civil War to the Union in April 1865. The Confederate States of America dissolved with surrender, and all states eventually renewed their ties with the United States of America.

Congress of Industrial Organizations

See **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations**

Congress

See **Legislative Branch**

Connecticut

On January 9, 1788, Connecticut became the fifth state to enter the Union. At 5,018 square miles (12,977 square kilometers), it ranks forty-eighth in size. Located in the northeastern United States in the region known as New England, Connecticut is surrounded by **Rhode Island**, **Massachusetts**, and **New York**.

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In spite of its small size, Connecticut has six thousand lakes and ponds. New England's longest river, the 407-mile (655-kilometer) Connecticut River, divides the state in half.

The state's population in 2006 was just over 3.6 million, with 28 percent of them in the 25 to 44 age range. Connecticut's population is predominantly white (81.2%). Hartford, the capital, is the state's third-largest city, behind Bridgeport and New Haven.

In the early 1600s, Connecticut was home to six to seven thousand Native Americans divided into sixteen tribes. By the 1770s, white settlers and the European diseases they had brought with them left fewer than fifteen hundred Native Americans.

Between 1630 and 1642, about twenty thousand English **Puritans** migrated to Connecticut Colony. These Puritan roots made Connecticut a patriot stronghold during the **American Revolution** (1775–83). The state's most famous Revolutionary War hero was Nathan Hale (1755–1776), who was executed as a British spy.

Connecticut was an antislavery state long before the American **Civil War** (1861–65), and it was a major stop on the **Underground Railroad** (the secret system by which slaves escaped to freedom). By the twentieth century, the state's textile industry ranked sixth in the nation. Connecticut was also a major firearms manufacturer. These developments changed the state's agrarian society into an industrial one.

In the 1980s, Connecticut was the nation's wealthiest state. This prosperity came about, in part, because of the expansion of the U.S. military budget: 70 percent of Connecticut's manufacturing sector was involved in making weapons. But the gap had increased between the standards of living enjoyed by the state's wealthy residents and those who lived in poverty. By 1992, the median family income in many suburbs was almost twice that of those in the urban areas. In the twenty-first century, 8.8 percent of the residents lived below the federal poverty level, compared to the national average of 12.4 percent.

Connecticut's voters usually vote Democratic. The primary religion is Roman Catholic. The state'economy is driven by six areas of industry: aerospace; communications, information, and education; financial services; health and biomedical; business services; and tourism and entertainment.

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Conscription Acts

Conscription is the act of selecting people to serve in the military. It is also known as the draft. Prior to the American **Civil War** (1861–65), states determined when and how to use conscription, such as during the **American Revolution** (1775–83) and the **War of 1812** (1812–15). During the Civil War, the congresses of both the **Union** and the **Confederate States of America** imposed national drafts, causing much controversy.

The Civil War began in April 1861, when the Confederate army attacked Fort Sumter in **South Carolina**. The Union had an army of just sixteen thousand men at the time. President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) called for seventy-five thousand men to volunteer for militia service for three months, a show of force that Lincoln expected would end the rebellion. So many men answered Lincoln's call that the Union army turned away volunteers.

Confederate president **Jefferson Davis** (1808–1889) raised one hundred thousand volunteers at the start of the war. One year later, the number of new volunteers was dwindling, and the Confederate congress passed a Conscription Act in April 1862. The act compelled military service by men ages eighteen to thirty-five, and it was later expanded to cover ages seventeen to fifty.

Conscription was controversial among members of the Confederacy. The law contained an exception for one white man on every plantation who owned at least twenty slaves. A conscript also could hire a substitute to serve for him by paying the government $300. These provisions offended working-class whites who did not own plantations or who had small farms, no slaves, and little money. Conscription by the Confederacy also violated the Southern concept of states' rights, which was the cause for which the Confederacy was fighting. Many Southerners believed states, not a federal government, had sole power to decide when and how to impose a military draft.

Volunteers and conscripts allowed the Confederacy to succeed in the Civil War well into 1863. The prospect of defeat led the Union congress to enact its own Conscription Act that year. It compelled service by men ages twenty to forty-five. There were certain medical, hardship, and high official exceptions. As in the South, a Northern conscript could pay $300 or find a substitute to avoid service. Many Northerners criticized

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the exceptions, saying they favored the rich over the middle-class and poor.

African Americans offered to volunteer in the North at the outbreak of the Civil War. The army refused to accept them until after Lincoln imposed the **Emancipation Proclamation** in January 1863. By then, Union defeats allowed the need for more soldiers to trump the racism that had kept African Americans out of service. Racism, however, prevented them from serving as officers, and black regiments received inferior wages, equipment, and assignments.

In the last months of the Confederacy, the Confederate congress voted to enlist black soldiers in its army too. The war ended, however, before that process began.

New York Draft Riots

The conscription acts led to many riots across the country. One of the worst was in New York City in July 1863. On July 4, New York governor Horatio Seymour (1810–1886) gave a speech criticizing President Lincoln for violating state liberty during the war. From July 13 to 15, angry whites rioted in the city, attacking a draft office and African Americans and their property, including the Colored Orphans Asylum. About a hundred people died in the riots.

Conservation Movement

Prior to the dawn of the **Gilded Age** (a period in history following the American **Civil War** and **Reconstruction**, roughly the final twenty-three years of the nineteenth century), the U.S. federal government had already begun to recognize, thanks to concerned citizens, conservationists, and scientists, that steps must be taken to preserve the nation's natural resources. In 1872, for example, Congress passed an act to set aside a tract of land at the headwaters of Yellowstone River in **Wyoming**, thereby establishing Yellowstone National Park. This **national park** was the first park of its kind in the United States. There were other apparent motives for establishing such an attraction. The Union Pacific Railroad hoped the park would attract tourists from all over the world who would ride their trains and stay in their hotels. The company hired artists to paint grand pictures of the geysers and wilderness of Yellowstone. That same year, Arbor Day was founded when future secretary of agriculture Julius S. Morton (1832–1902), a member of the **Nebraska** state board of agriculture, declared April 10 "tree planting day." (Other states individually followed suit through the years, until President **Richard Nixon** [1913–1994; served 1969–74] declared Arbor Day an official national "day" in 1970.) These acts marked the beginning of a collective thought of preserving nature for beauty's sake.

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One of the most influential figures in the conservation movement was naturalist John Muir (1838–1914). Born in Scotland, Muir immigrated to the United States at the age of eleven, where he spent his free time exploring the backwoods of **Wisconsin**. Muir worked long hours helping his family plow the land and dig wells. Through his work he developed a strong sense of his union with nature; he learned to respect and love the land.

Muir traveled to Yosemite Valley, centered in eastern **California** and western **Nevada**, in the late 1860s and took jobs that kept him close to nature. Even while working in the sawmills and the fields, he was studying his outdoor surroundings. He stayed in the mountains until 1880, at which time he married and moved away from the area. Though he traveled occasionally, Muir mostly stayed home, tending to his pear orchard and vineyard (grape crops). He acquired wealth through his farming, but as his riches increased so did his discontentment. With each trip to the mountains, Muir realized something must be done to save the wilderness or it would not last.

Founding of the Sierra Club

In an effort to awaken the public and the government to the importance of preserving nature, Muir began writing papers and essays. His writing brought him in contact with Robert Underwood Johnson (1853–1937), editor of *Century* magazine, one of the most important and influential conservation publications of the era. Muir published two essays on Yosemite in which he called for the establishment of a national park. Johnson supported Muir's idea, and the two men approached Congress with the proposal. On October 1, 1890, Yosemite National Park was established. This was the first time a major conservation reform had come about because of the efforts and actions of a private citizen.

The friendship between Johnson and Muir produced another lasting organization, the Sierra Club. The club was established in 1892 with Muir as president. Its purpose was to preserve and make accessible the Sierra Nevada mountains in eastern California and western Nevada. The Sierra Club still thrives in the twenty-first century, and its efforts have extended to include conservation issues of all kinds.

Throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century, other strides were made in the conservation movement. The first Audubon Society was formed in 1886 to protect birds (though it disbanded after

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two years and reformed in 1905 as the National Audubon Society). The following year, sportsmen concerned with conservation founded the Boone and Crockett Club. It was the first conservation organization to include big-game (large animals) hunters.

Other major changes included the passing of legislation in 1894 that prohibited hunting in national parks. The forest service shifted its focus from tree protection to scientific management of all forests. Scientific management was a policy that allowed natural resources (in this case, trees) to be used but which also protected the resources in a way that allowed for timely regrowth and development. In 1898, U.S. president **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) named conservationist Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946) as chief of the Division of Forestry (later called the Bureau of Forestry) within the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Pinchot helped shift public awareness from saving trees to managing their growth.

In 1900, the Lacey Act was passed. Named for U.S. representative John F. Lacey (1841–1913) of **Iowa**, the act outlawed the interstate shipment of wild animals and birds that had been killed or obtained illegally. That year also marked a milestone in women's activism in the conservation movement. The California Club, a San Francisco women's organization, urged Congress to pass an act allowing the government to purchase two endangered groves of giant sequoia trees (redwoods). Although the measure failed, it was evidence of the public's growing awareness of the importance of preserving and protecting resources as well as of the increased influence of women in politics.

The conservationist president

When **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) took over the presidency in 1901 following the assassination of President McKinley, he made conservation a cornerstone of his administration. Roosevelt was an avid outdoorsman and big-game hunter. Under his leadership, five national parks were established, as were four big-game refuges (protected areas), fifty-one national bird refuges, and the National Forest Service (in 1905).

Conservation was more than just a way to preserve the United States's resources and landscape for Roosevelt. He believed big-game hunting was an elite, or upper-class, sport; he did not want game-animal stock depleted by subsistence hunters (those who hunted to feed their

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President Theodore Roosevelt was an avid outdoorsman and established five national parks, four big-game refuges, and the National Forest Service to promote conservation in the United States. SHUTTERSTOCK

families, rather than for sport). So part of Roosevelt's motivation was to protect his own leisure activities as well as that of his wealthy friends.

Roosevelt also considered conservation a tool for maintaining democracy. With an eye on the future, he considered it morally irresponsible to exploit natural resources for immediate gain and chose instead to develop policies that would insure future generations the same benefits as what the present generation enjoyed. Conservation, then, was inherently democratic to Roosevelt's way of thinking.

Nature was an essential part of U.S. history for Roosevelt. Since the nation lacked the historic and cultural traditions of European countries, the land took on a greater significance in its relation to the country's identity. The many monuments and diverse wildlife throughout the United States were a source of great national pride, worthy of preserva-

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tion and protection. As noted by Daniel Filler in the Internet article "Theodore Roosevelt: Conservation as the Guardian of Democracy," the former president wrote in a 1916 essay titled "Bird Reserves at the Mouth of the Mississippi," "Birds should be saved because of utilitarian [practical] reasons; and, moreover, they should be saved because of reasons unconnected with any return in dollars and cents. A grove of giant redwoods or sequoias should be kept just as we keep a great and beautiful cathedral."

With a look to the future

Under Roosevelt's administration Pinchot added millions of acres of land to the national forests. The government controlled these forests and determined how they would be used. Both Pinchot and Roosevelt agreed that public lands should never be used for private gain. Congress began caving in to pressure from the private sector, though, and in 1907, it refused to allow Roosevelt to purchase forest reserves in the western states. When **William Howard Taft** (1857–1930; served 1909–13) took over the presidency in 1909, Pinchot lost much of his authority and was fired by the new president in 1910.

Taft was not against conservation; the issue simply was not one of his priorities. He did continue to establish national parks. In 1911, Congress passed the Weeks Act, named after U.S. representative John W. Weeks (1860–1926) of **Massachusetts**, which authorized states to work together to protect their water and forest supplies. The act also provided funds to the U.S. Department of Agriculture to use with states in a cooperative effort for providing fire protection of watersheds of navigable streams (streams able to be traveled by boat).

Constitution

The U.S. Constitution is the document written in 1787 that established the frame of government for the United States of America. It was written by a group of delegates at the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**. Their goal was to create a stronger federal government than the **Articles of Confederation** had provided.

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The U.S. Constitution, written by a group of delegates, established the framework for U.S. government. SHUTTERSTOCK

Calling for a convention

When America's original **thirteen colonies** declared independence in 1776, they wrote the Articles of Confederation to create a central government for the new United States of America. The nation functioned informally under the articles until they were adopted officially in 1781. The articles created a government run by Congress without a separate president or judicial system.

By 1786, government under the Articles of Confederation was proving to be insufficient to some Americans. Congress's inability to enforce taxes, regulate commerce between states, and compel state cooperation was causing many problems. Efforts to amend the articles seemed doomed to failure because approval of all states was required for amendments. As criticism grew, it became evident to many that the desired changes might best be accomplished by writing an entirely new constitution.

The call for a Constitutional Convention grew out of two other meetings, the Alexandria and Annapolis Conventions. In November 1785, delegates from **Virginia** and **Maryland** met in Alexandria, Virginia, to reconcile some boundary and commercial disputes along the Potomac River. The success of their meeting motivated Virginia to call for another meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, the following year. Nine states were invited to discuss additional common problems, but only five sent delegates.

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The delegates in Annapolis made plans for another convention to assemble in Philadelphia in May 1787. All states were requested to send delegates so that problems with the government under the articles could be addressed.

Opposing forces

The Constitutional Convention first met in Philadelphia on May 25. Of the seventy-four men who had been appointed as delegates by their states, fifty-five attended at one time or another, and thirty-nine signed the final document. Many political leaders of the time attended, including **Benjamin Franklin** (1706–1790), **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804), and **James Madison** (1751–1836). **George Washington** (1732–1799) was the presiding officer. Each of the original thirteen states except **Rhode Island** sent delegates.

From the beginning, there were two political focuses at the convention. One group of delegates was intent on creating an entirely new constitution to set up a new government. Their aim was to create a national government with powers adequate to promote the security, financial stability, commercial prosperity, and general well-being of all of the states.

Another small, but significant, group of delegates sought to preserve states' rights and were firmly opposed to creating a strong national government. They recognized the need for constitutional reform but believed that government under the articles could be improved simply by granting Congress additional powers.

There were no women at the convention, and nobody represented the interests of African Americans, Native Americans, and people without property who lacked voting rights.

When debates between delegates began, two plans gathered most attention. One was a series of resolutions put forth by the Virginia delegation. The Virginia Plan called for a wholly new constitution that would establish a strong national government. In opposition, a proposal called the New Jersey Plan called for a continuation of the Confederation Congress (the governing body of the United States, with representatives from each of the thirteen colonies, that was in place from 1781 until the ratification of the U.S. Constitution). Eventually the proposal to pursue a whole new constitution gained more support, and the delegates began the long debates to write the details of it.

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Designing and writing the Constitution

The decision to write a new constitution required the delegates to design a new government. It was the first time in history that people set their minds to crafting a permanent government on the principles of democracy without a monarchical (a government with a ruling king or queen) component. The articles had created just a loose confederation of the states in 1776, when the permanence of independence from Great Britain was far from decided. In 1787, the United States had been independent for eleven years, so it needed a durable constitution.

Among those who wanted a strong central government, there was general agreement that it should contain three parts: a **legislative branch** for making the laws, an **executive branch** for enforcing the laws, and a **judicial branch** for deciding cases under the laws. Dispute and debate centered on the construction and powers of each branch and how they would interact.

Some delegates, primarily from the larger states, wanted the legislative branch to be filled with members based on a state's population. Delegates from smaller states wanted each state to have an equal vote in the legislature. The Congress they designed included both aspects: a House of Representatives with membership based on population, and a Senate with equal membership of two senators per state.

One of the most infamous parts of the Constitution is the "Three-Fifths Clause." The delegates had to decide how slaves would count toward determining how many members a state was allowed to have in the House of Representatives. Delegates from **slavery** states wanted slaves to count fully, and delegates from free states wanted slaves not to count at all. The compromise they reached to induce both northern and southern support for the Constitution was to count each slave as just three-fifths of a person in determining population for calculating House membership. Native Americans, called Indians, who did not pay taxes were not to count at all. Also to ensure southern support, the delegates wrote a clause to prevent Congress from outlawing the migration of slaves before 1808.

The delegates also disagreed on construction of the executive branch. Some, including Alexander Hamilton, wanted a president to serve for life upon election. Others wanted to limit presidential terms. There also was disagreement over how much power the president should have to veto, or reject, laws passed by Congress. The presidency the con-

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vention created allowed a president to be elected to an unlimited number of four-year terms. (In practice, two terms was generally regarded as the norm. Franklin D. Roosevelt [1882–1945; served 1933–45] is the only president to serve more than two terms. The Twenty-second Amendment, ratified in 1951, stated that a person could be elected to no more than two terms and could also serve not more than two additional years if that person is finishing out a predecessor's term.) The president may veto laws passed by Congress, but Congress may override a veto if two-thirds of each chamber vote to do so.

Constructing the judicial branch was the least controversial job the delegates faced. They wrote the Constitution to allow the judiciary to decide cases and controversies under the laws. A **Supreme Court** would sit on top of the federal judicial system. The Constitution left it up to Congress whether to create other federal courts.

Ratification

In mid-September 1787, the convention put its various decisions into a finished draft and submitted the Constitution to the states for approval. In a bold change, the provision for ratification was altered from the unanimous vote demanded by the Articles of Confederation. Instead, a majority of nine states was needed for approval.

State conventions were held, and over the next ten months all but two states, Rhode Island and **North Carolina**, ratified the Constitution. The new government as defined by the Constitution of the United States convened for the first time in April 1789. The last two of the original thirteen states ratified the Constitution after the new government had begun: North Carolina in November 1789, and Rhode Island in May 1790.

Constitutional Convention

In 1787, delegates from the individual states gathered at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, to change the nation's government. Under the **Articles of Confederation**, which had been adopted in 1781, Congress proved to be weak and ineffective. As a result of a weakening economy and growing opposition to Congress, the states decided to hold a convention to address the situation. Instead of revising the Articles of Confederation to strengthen the

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The final draft of the Constitution was signed by thirty-nine delegates at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

current government, however, the delegates proposed replacing it with an entirely new government under the **Constitution** of the United States.

Commercial conventions

The idea for calling a statewide convention to solve the problem of a weak Congress came from the success of two other conventions. In November 1785, delegates from **Virginia** and **Maryland** held a convention in Alexandria, Virginia, to solve certain boundary and commercial disputes.

The success of the Alexandria Convention prompted the two states to call another convention in September 1786 in Annapolis, Maryland.

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Virginia and Maryland hoped that all states could be encouraged to develop a common interstate commercial policy. Only five states sent delegates to Annapolis. The result of the Annapolis Convention, however, was another invitation for the states to gather in Philadelphia in May 1787. This time the delegates would focus on the issues surrounding the powers of Congress and possible reforms to the Articles of Confederation.

At one time or another from May to September, every state except **Rhode Island** sent delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. (Rhode Island was against a powerful national government.) Seventy-four delegates were appointed by the states to attend, but only fifty-five attended. The conference quickly turned from discussing reform measures for the Articles of Confederation to establishing an entirely new government.

The convention

The decision to replace rather than revise the Articles of Confederation happened nearly immediately. After the delegates had established a process for conducting business, Virginia delegate Edmund Randolph (1753–1813) submitted a proposal to be the basis for further deliberations. The proposal, which became known as the Virginia Plan, had fifteen components that together set forth an entirely new design for the nation's government. The convention delegates agreed to discuss this new plan.

There were several issues to be resolved by the delegates. The first was to establish the strength and specific powers of the federal government as compared to the state governments. Another was to establish fair representation in the federal government. Smaller states were mostly interested in establishing a fixed number of equal representatives for each state. Larger states wanted representation to reflect the population of each state. The issue of how to count slaves for representation and taxation also had to be resolved. This issue divided the northern states, where slavery was being abolished, from the southern states. Northern states did not want slaves to count at all for representation in Congress, while southern states wanted them to count fully.

Main proposals

The Virginia Plan was the basis for discussions throughout the convention. It proposed a genuinely national government with broad powers. A

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two-house legislature was to replace the one-house Congress set forth in the Articles of Confederation. Representation in both houses would be based on population. A lower house would be elected directly by the people. In turn it would elect the upper house out of nominations made by the state legislatures. A separate **executive branch** was to be led by an officer elected by Congress. The officer's term was unspecified, but the officer could be elected for only one term. There was also a provision calling for a national judiciary. The government set forth by the Virginia Plan would have had the power to override any state laws.

The New Jersey Plan was introduced as an alternative by **New Jersey** delegate William Paterson (1745–1806). It proposed equal representation for all states in a one-house legislature, as existed already under the Articles of Confederation. It defined, however, the powers of the legislature to include the ability to collect revenue and regulate commerce. The New Jersey Plan otherwise protected the right of state governments to control business in the states. Though the proposal was quickly dismissed by most delegates, it officially set forth the small states' claim to an equal vote in Congress.

After strenuous debates, the framers settled on a few compromises. The Great Compromise set forth the provision that two houses of Congress would exist. The lower house would be apportioned representatives according to population, and they were to be elected directly by the people. The upper house would consist of two representatives for each state chosen by the state legislatures. Another compromise defined that three-fifths of the slave population would be counted for the purpose of representation and taxation. In defining the powers of Congress, delegates enumerated a much broader list of legislative powers than Congress had under the Articles of Confederation. Much of the responsibility for regulating the daily governmental business of American life, however, remained with the states.

In mid-September 1787, the convention put its various resolutions and decisions into a final draft. The Constitution set forth a powerful central government balanced within by three branches of responsibility. The **legislative branch** had two chambers in Congress, the House of Representatives and the Senate, and was given the responsibility for making the laws. An executive branch, led by an elected president, was to oversee the enforcement of those laws. Finally, a **judicial branch** headed

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by a **Supreme Court** was to decide cases under the laws through a system of independent federal courts.

The final draft of the Constitution was signed by thirty-nine delegates to the Constitutional Convention. It needed only nine states of the thirteen to ratify it to replace the government under the Articles of Confederation. **New Hampshire** was the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, on June 21, 1788. Several states submitted their approval with recommendations for a Bill of Rights to protect the liberties, or freedom, of people from unfair governmental action. Both **North Carolina** and Rhode Island rejected the Constitution fully until after the addition of the **Bill of Rights**.

Continental Congress, First

The First Continental Congress was a meeting held by men representing England's **thirteen colonies** in America in 1774. At that time, the English government was imposing increasing control over the American colonies with unpopular laws, such as taxes on imports and requirements that English soldiers in America be housed in colonists' homes if necessary.

England's unpopular laws stirred discontent among colonists, and tensions rose. Many colonists felt England was taking away colonial rights and liberties. Of particular concern was the fact that the colonists had no representation in the British Parliament that was imposing the laws. **Massachusetts** alone faced a series of punitive laws imposed by England after protesting colonists dumped British tea into Boston's harbor in December 1773 in what became known as the **Boston Tea Party**. Punishment of Massachusetts raised concerns in the other colonies for the well-being of their own communities.

To address these issues, the colonists called a convention in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**. From September 5 to October 26, 1774, fifty-six delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies assembled at the First Continental Congress to discuss their troubles. Only **Georgia** did not elect or send delegates.

The delegates' primary intention was to unite in calling for a change in England's policies toward the colonies. In carefully worded resolutions, the delegates asked England to repeal, or withdraw, a series of policies and laws reaching as far back as 1763. To punctuate the sincerity of their position, the delegates resolved to ban imports from Great Britain

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and to stop exports from the colonies if their grievances were not redressed by September 1775.

Finally, during the course of the convention, the delegates produced a series of declarations and addresses to King George III (1738–1820), to the people of Great Britain, and to the American colonists in hopes of gaining support for their position. Before adjourning, the delegates planned to convene a Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia in May 1775. (See **Continental Congress, Second**.)

Continental Congress, Second

In 1774, representatives from England's American colonies convened in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, at the First Continental Congress. (See **Continental Congress, First**.) Their mission was to address problems with English rule, particularly that England seemed to be removing the colonists' right of self-government. From September through October, the delegates at the Congress passed a series of resolutions calling for a change in English policy and appealing to British and colonial citizens for support. The delegates left the Congress with plans to reconvene in May 1775.

Wartime convention

When the delegates returned to Philadelphia for the Second Continental Congress, matters with England had worsened. The delegates were tasked with organizing diplomatic efforts to recover the rights and liberties being threatened by English rule. Reports of military clashes between the colonists and British soldiers in **Massachusetts** reached the delegates early in the convention.

This changed the mood of the delegates. Congress began to prepare for war. It resolved to give aid to Massachusetts, to take over the provincial army in Boston, and to raise a colonial army to be overseen by **George Washington** (1732–1799).

While efforts to improve relations with England continued, hopes began to dwindle as military clashes increased. The conviction gathered strength that only war against England would preserve the rights and liberties of the colonists. On July 2, 1776, Congress adopted a resolution to become independent from England. Two days later, it announced the American Declaration of Independence, the formal document declaring independence from British rule.

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Forming a government

American independence meant that the Second Continental Congress became the unifying governmental body for the **thirteen colonies**. The responsibility for raising funds, building an army, and organizing the colonies for the fight for independence fell to the members of Congress. To provide a structure for this effort, the delegates began at once to craft a framework for a government in which all thirteen colonies would have representation.

After a year and a half of work and debates, on November 15, 1777, Congress proposed a governmental structure under the **Articles of Confederation**. The articles would create a government run by Congress without an independent president or a full-fledged judicial branch. Approval of the articles required ratification by the individual colonies, which were now called states.

While ratification was in process, Congress conducted itself as set forth by the rules in the articles. Getting state cooperation for raising funds, supplies, and militias for the revolutionary effort proved difficult. Only when France and Spain joined the American cause did the former colonies muster the strength necessary to defeat England. Fighting ended in September 1781 (though a peace treaty was not signed until 1783).

Months before fighting ended, on March 1, 1781, **Maryland** became the last of the thirteen states to approve the Articles of Confederation. While the articles established a unifying body of government, it proved inadequate in many ways. Fearful of excessive governmental power, Congress had written the articles to prevent the central government from being too strong. The result was a government that lacked enough control to run the nation as some people wanted. In 1789, the states replaced Congress and the articles with a new federal government under the **Constitution** of the United States, which delegates wrote at a federal convention in 1787.

Calvin Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge was born in the backroom of his father's general store in Plymouth, **Vermont**, on the Fourth of July in 1872. His only sister died when she was fifteen, and without close neighbors in his rural hometown of Plymouth, Coolidge formed close relationships with both

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Calvin Coolidge, the thirtieth president of the United States, took over when President Warren Harding died in office; he was later elected to his own term. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

of his parents. As a child, he was painfully shy, a trait he struggled with throughout his life.

Coolidge graduated from Amherst College and was admitted to the bar in 1897. His law practice was in Northampton, **Massachusetts**, but work as a lawyer soon took a back seat to politics. Within a year, he became a city councilman, and from there he worked his way up through local and state offices. Coolidge was governor of Massachusetts from 1919 to 1921.

Coolidge attracted national attention as governor when he called in the National Guard to end a Boston police strike that had become violent. This move made him unpopular with labor unions (formally organized associations of workers that advance their members' views on wages, work hours, and labor conditions), but it also made him a hero to Americans who considered labor protests a threat to public safety.

From vice president to president

Warren G. Harding (1865–1923; served 1921–23) was elected president in 1920. Coolidge was his vice president, and the two balanced each other well, with Harding being the more outgoing, social politician. When Harding suddenly died of heart failure in 1923, Coolidge, known to Americans as "Silent Cal," took over the presidency and reassured the mourning nation.

Coolidge inherited from his boss an administration that was rife with scandal and corruption. He managed to distance himself from the scandals, of which he was not a part, and earned himself a reputation for honesty and frugality. His successful efforts improved the much-tarnished image of the **Republican Party**, and he was easily elected to a full term as president in 1924.

Continues in the Harding tradition

Coolidge ran his presidency along the same basic lines as Harding: The role of government was not to get involved in business and industry. To

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that end, he kept taxes low, protective tariffs (taxes on imported goods) high, and immigrants to a minimum. The U.S. economy during Coolidge's presidency was strong. In foreign relations, he made sure European war debts were paid and focused on peace-keeping treaties and alliances to help prevent another war.

Coolidge did not seek reelection in 1929. Instead, he returned with his wife to Massachusetts, where he wrote his memoirs and published magazine articles explaining his philosophy of limited government. The former president died in his home of coronary thrombosis (obstruction of blood flow to the heart due to a clot) in January 1933.

James Fenimore Cooper

James Fenimore Cooper was a pioneer of American literature. The first writer in the newly formed United States to make a living solely by his pen, he established some of the most important early American literary themes.

Early years

Cooper was born on September 15, 1789. His family was of old **Quaker** stock. His mother was an heiress, and his father used her wealth to purchase thousands of acres of land near Otsego Lake in central **New York** to develop into farm parcels. He sold these to immigrants flooding into the country. When Cooper was fourteen months old, the family moved to the settlement near Otsego Lake named Cooperstown in his father's honor.

The Cooper family lived a privileged life in a fine brick mansion. Cooper's father became a judge and a U.S. representative. Cooper spent many of his early years in the wild, playing and exploring in the deep woods surrounding his home. At age eleven, he was sent to boarding school in Albany, and at age thirteen, he entered Yale College. He was a mischievous young boy and got expelled from Yale after two years for blowing in another boy's door with gunpowder.

After Yale, Cooper joined the crew of a merchant ship, beginning a career as a seaman. He had risen to the position of midshipman in the navy in 1809 when his father died. Cooper inherited a share in his father's large estate and took up the life of a gentleman farmer. He married in 1811.

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For the next decade, Cooper and his growing family lived mostly on a farm in Westchester County. There was no hint of the writer's life that was soon to come. Slowly at first, and then more rapidly, the worth of the Cooper estate dwindled. By 1819, Cooper's mother and brothers were dead. Their debts, and in some cases the welfare of their offspring, had been left to Cooper.

First writing attempt

In 1819 or early 1820, Cooper decided to try his hand at writing and self-published his first novel, *Precaution*, which was English in style and subject matter. It was mostly ignored in the United States and had modest sales in England. Cooper's second novel, *The Spy* (1821), was based on a true account of the exploits of a peddler who served General **George Washington** (1732–1799) behind the lines during the **American Revolution** (1775–83). *The Spy* is considered one of the first truly American novels, and it established Cooper overnight as an important novelist. Royalties from the popular book saved him from bankruptcy.

Introducing Leatherstockings

Cooper moved his family to New York City, then a town of about 100,000 inhabitants. His third novel, *The Pioneers*, came out in 1823 and was the first of what became known as his Leatherstocking Tales. *The Pioneers* takes place sometime around 1793 and is set near Otsego Lake in a place strikingly similar to Cooper's childhood home. Its protagonist, Natty Bumppo, nicknamed Leatherstocking because of the way he dressed, is an old scout and hunter who despises the ways of civilization and the destruction it entails, such as the leveling of forests for farm land and the slaughter of wildlife. Cooper, early on, had found one of his most important themes: the settling of the continent and the costs of such settlement.

After writing less successful novels on different themes, Cooper returned to his popular character, Natty Bumppo. In *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), Cooper portrays the hero in his earlier years as a scout during the **French and Indian War** (1754–63). In his next novel, *The Prairie* (1827), Leatherstocking appears in his old age as a fur trapper, living in the remote regions west of the Mississippi, beyond the corrupting influences of civilization.

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The Last of the Mohicans and *The Prairie* were grounded in a view of the forest as the site of heroism and wisdom. The various Indians in the Leatherstocking books were never, even by Cooper himself, considered realistic. They always stood as symbolic figures, creatures of the wild standing in opposition to the non-Indian creatures of civilization.

Writing in Europe

Cooper took his family to Paris in 1826, where he wrote *The Prairie*, *The Red Rover* (1828), considered one of his best sea tales, and *The Water-Witch* (1830), another sea story. Cooper's attentions then turned to more political matters. He wrote his first nonfiction book, *Notions of the Americans*, a strong defense of American democracy intended primarily for the aristocratic-minded British reading public. Cooper's subsequent novels concerning European politics in the early 1830s were unpopular at home, with poor reviews and even poorer sales.

Return to Leatherstocking

In 1840, Cooper brought back Natty Bumppo as a young man for a new novel, *The Pathfinder*, in which Leatherstocking fails to win the girl of his choice. He surrenders her to another man with good grace, a sign that he is married to his wilderness. In 1841, Cooper penned the final Leatherstocking tale, *The Deerslayer*, in which Natty finds himself with human blood on his blameless hands for the first time. Once again, the Leatherstocking tales brought Cooper a large and grateful readership.

Cooper continued to write to the very end of his life, but his popularity faded. Increasingly, Cooper placed himself on the side of the wealthy elite, and critics agree that he had lost touch with the magical wilderness setting that had once stimulated his imagination.

Legacy

There was basically no such thing as American literature when Cooper began writing. By the time of his death in 1851, he had supplied several of what would become major American literary themes: the cost of progress, the ethics of expansion, or **Manifest Destiny,** and adventures on the sea. Many modern critics find his writing style to be pompous and ornate, his plots far-fetched, and his facts lacking. Nonetheless, he holds a place as one of the great American novelists of the nineteenth century.

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Aaron Copland

Aaron Copland was one of the most innovative and highly respected American classical composers of the twentieth century.

Teenage musician

Copland was born in Brooklyn to a family of Lithuanian Jewish descent on November 14, 1900. Although never directly encouraged by his parents, Copland demonstrated an interest in and talent for music by his teenage years. He took piano lessons from his older sister and, while in high school, began studying music in Manhattan with Rubin Goldmark (1872–1936), a private instructor who taught Copland the basics of music theory and composition. Copland also attended many concerts, educating himself in the great works written for orchestra.

Copland left **New York** at the age of twenty to study at the Summer School of Music for American Students in France. There he found a home within a musical community, and he sold his first composition to the most well-known music publisher in the country. In 1925, he composed a piece for the Boston Symphony Orchestra at the request of conductor Serge Koussevitsky (1874–1951). His Symphony for Organ and Orchestra marked Copland's entry into professional American music.

Jazz and folk influences

Copland's compositions were heavily influenced by jazz. The young composer incorporated the techniques and sounds of jazz—which he saw as the first truly American musical movement—to develop a new type of symphonic music. He hoped this new American music would distinguish itself from its European roots.

Copland moved away from jazz in the late 1920s and concentrated instead on the popular music of other countries, including the folk music of Mexico. Certain that classical music could be as popular as jazz in America, he joined various composers' organizations to promote music and build audiences. Copland wanted to help lead the way as a music pioneer. To that end, he partnered with his friend Roger Sessions (1896–1985), also a composer, to present the works of young composers in the Copland-Sessions concerts.

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Around this same time, Copland began planning the first American music festival. Europe had been hosting such festivals for years, and Copland felt it was time for America to catch up to Europe, musically speaking. The Yaddo Festival of American Music made its debut in 1932.

Ballets, movies, and a fanfare

By the mid-1930s, Copland was one of the most popular composers in America. He applied his talent to writing music for ballets and movies, hoping to win wider audiences. His collaborations with modern dance choreographers Agnes de Mille (1905?–1993) and Martha Graham (1894–1991) produced two of the most beloved works of American dance—de Mille's *Rodeo* (1942) and Graham's *Appalachian Spring* (1944), for which Copland won the Pulitzer Prize. Some of his most famous **movie** scores are those he wrote for *Of Mice and Men* (1939), *Our Town* (1940), and *The Heiress* (1949), for which he won an Academy Award for best score.

During this period, Copland also wrote what has become his most familiar work. Written in 1942 for the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, *Fanfare for the Common Man*, for brass and percussion, has often been played at national political events and by various rock bands.

Conductor, teacher, writer

In the 1950s, Copland turned his attention to conducting, and his output as a composer began to slow down. He toured the world for the next twenty years, conducting his own work as well as that of other composers. During this time, he also made many important recordings that preserve the major works of mid-twentieth-century American music.

By the early 1970s, Copland's career as a composer of original works was behind him. He conducted his last symphony in 1983. His other major contribution to American music was as a teacher at colleges and music festivals, where he inspired many young composers and musicians. He also earned acclaim as a scholar of music, writing more than sixty articles and essays and publishing five books by the time of his death in 1990. Because of his own compositions as well as the ardent support he lent to other American composers, Copland is recognized as one of the major influences on American music.

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Cotton

In the early history of the United States, southern farms produced a diverse number of crops. **Tobacco**, sugar, cotton, and rice were all leading exports from southern growers. In the early nineteenth century, however, several factors made cotton the crop of choice for growers.

In the late 1700s, new production methods made making cotton cloth much easier and faster. As a result, there was a greater demand for cotton, particularly in England where there were many factories. Though cotton grew well in the southern United States, growers could not meet the growing demand for cotton. Most of this was due to difficulties presented by the two different types of cotton that grew well in the South.

Cotton fibers sprout from cotton seeds much like the hair on a person's head. The black-seeded variety has fibers that are easily cleaned from the seeds. This variety, however, only grew along the coastal regions of the South. The green-seeded variety could be grown inland throughout the region, but the fibers were very difficult to remove from the seed. As a result, cotton was only raised as a business crop where the black-seed variety could be grown.

In 1793, American inventor **Eli Whitney** (1765–1825) was visiting a friend's plantation in **Georgia**. When he learned of the difficulty with harvesting green-seed cotton, he worked to create a machine to make the process easier. Within only days, he had a model for his **cotton gin**. It was perfected within a few months, and Whitney obtained a patent for the cotton gin in 1794.

The gin enabled cotton, then in high demand, to be grown as a lucrative business throughout the South. Production rose impressively after the invention, and cotton became the leading domestic export. In 1790, only four thousand bales of cotton were exported from the United States. By 1860, the South exported over four million bales, more than 60 percent of the world supply.

The boom in cotton boosted the national economy. Financing cotton businesses and transporting cotton stimulated northern banking and transportation industries. Increased southern wealth created a demand for northern manufactured goods and midwestern farm produce. The economic influence of the crop was so vast that many southern politicians and plantation owners referred to it as King Cotton.

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The largest immediate downside to the cotton boom was the impact it had on prolonging **slavery**. Cotton crops needed to be tended around-the-clock, and the large fields required many laborers. So while northern states were banning slavery in the wake of the United States's freedom from Great Britain, white southerners held tightly to the institution for their financial well-being.

With the invention of the cotton gin, cotton became a major force in the rapid economic development of the United States. The young nation gained a substantial global role when the crop became so easily prepared. The crop continued to dominate the economy throughout the South until the twentieth century. With the challenges of the **Great Depression** (1929–41) and **World War II** (1939–45), crop diversification and industrialization became necessary.

Cotton Gin

In 1793, American inventor **Eli Whitney** (1765–1825) invented a machine that made harvesting **cotton** much easier. His cotton gin enabled a laborer to separate a lot of cotton from the seeds with little effort. A la-



The cotton gin became an integral part of plantation culture, ensuring slaves were processing more cotton than ever. AMERICAN SCHOOL/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES

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borer working by hand could once expect to produce only one pound of cleaned cotton per day. With the help of a cotton gin, fifty pounds could be cleaned in a day.

Whitney did not invent the very first machine to separate cotton from its seeds. The machine that existed at that time, however, did not work on all types of cotton. It crushed the seeds of the green-seeded cotton that grew easily throughout the South, staining the product. Black-seeded cotton, which was easy to clean, only grew in the southern coastal areas. As a result, the South's production of cotton was limited by the inability to easily clean the cotton that grew best inland from the coast.

New processes for making cloth created a growing demand for cotton, including in Europe. Knowing that a machine capable of processing the green-seeded cotton could help growers meet that demand, Whitney turned his focus to making one. Within a few months, he had perfected a design. He obtained a patent in 1794, though he would benefit very little from the rights. Many imitations of his design arose throughout the South, and Whitney had little success protecting the patent in court.

The effect of Whitney's cotton gin was vast and unforgettable. Cotton quickly became the dominant crop in the South. Its entire economy was revitalized as green-seed cotton became a profitable crop. The United States became a powerful global force as the crop grew. Southern exports of cotton filled more than half of the world's demands.

The downside to the cotton boom was the effect it had on prolonging **slavery** in the United States. The crop demanded constant attention, and the large fields required many laborers. While Northern states moved toward emancipation at the end of the eighteenth century, the cotton boom cemented the South to slavery in a way that other crops did not.

Country Music

Until the 1950s, country music was more commonly called **folk music**, or sometimes hillbilly music or old-time music. After folk singer Pete Seeger (1919–) was forced to testify before the U.S. Senate in 1955 about his alleged communist sympathies, some professionals in the music industry stopped using the label "folk" in order to distance themselves from the political controversy. Instead, they began to call the music country and western, or just country.

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Early in the 1920s, the music industry wanted to tap into the rural market. **Jazz** music was popular in urban regions across the country, but recording companies wanted a different sound, especially in the American South. Ralph S. Peer (1892–1960), an employee of the RCA Victor Company in 1927, was determined to discover that new sound. He went to **Tennessee** that year and "found" Jimmie Rodgers (1897–1933), who became the first country music star and is still considered the father of country music. Rodgers used banjo, guitar, and sentimental lyrics in his music. He also yodeled in a style known as "blue yodeling."

In the same year, Peer discovered another recording group, the Carter Family, who hailed from **Virginia** and initially included three family members: Maybelle Carter (1909–1979), Sara Dougherty (1898–1979), and Sara's husband A. P. Carter (1891–1960). In 1942, the trio disbanded and Maybelle joined her three daughters to form Mother Maybelle and the Carter Sisters. This group included June Carter (1929–2003), who eventually married one of country music's greatest stars, Johnny Cash (1932–2003). The original Carter Family trio recorded approximately three hundred country tunes in their seventeen-year history together.

Early country music led directly to another style of music, bluegrass, or "mountain music," in the mid-1940s. This type of music is played on acoustic instruments such as bass, fiddle, banjo, guitar, and mandolin. Vocalization is usually in two- to four-part harmony, and themes are often sentimental or even religious. Famous early bluegrass musicians include Bill Monroe (1911–1996), who is considered the father of bluegrass; Earl Scruggs (1924–); and Lester Flatt (1914–1979). Flatt and Scruggs met when they were members of Monroe's band, the Blue Grass Boys. They later formed the Foggy Mountain Boys.

Bluegrass was first played by rural African American bands who later abandoned that sound in favor of jazz and blues. White musicians began playing bluegrass, and the sound incorporated instruments such as harmonica and jaw harp as well as the washboard. Like jazz, bluegrass often features improvised (made-up) solos.

As the years progressed, the line separating country from bluegrass blurred, and many of today's most famous country musicians play a mixture of the two. Some of these artists include Ricky Skaggs (1954–), Dolly Parton (1946–), and Patty Loveless (1957–). The soundtrack to

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Bill Monroe, right, commonly known as the father of bluegrass music, is shown playing with renowned musician Earl Scruggs. AP IMAGES

the 2000 film *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* revived the public's interest in bluegrass and won a Grammy Award for Album of the Year in 2001.

Country music, which by the 1950s and 1960s included strains of bluegrass and gospel, was played in honky tonk bars throughout the nation, but its center was Nashville, Tennessee. During those decades, country music took on the "Nashville Sound," which was polished and smooth, almost pop-sounding. Leading artists included Chet Atkins (1924–2001), Patsy Cline (1932–1963), and Charlie Rich (1932–1995).

Rockabilly was the rage in the mid-1950s, when **rock and roll music** burst onto the scene and musicians combined rock with country music to create a new form. "Heartbreak Hotel" by **Elvis Presley** (1935–1977) and Johnny Cash's "I Walk the Line" were examples of this sort of music. By the end of the decade, country artists had moved away from the rock and roll influence to return to a more traditional sound.

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Johnny Cash embodied the image of rockabilly with his rock and roll country sound.
AP IMAGES

Throughout the rest of the twentieth century, the country music "sound" changed as electric guitars were added, giving the music a harsher tone. The late 1960s saw the "British Invasion" of new bands, including the immensely popular Beatles (see **Beatlemania**), and a new genre called country rock was born. Bands such as the Byrds and the Eagles represented this genre, as did the Charlie Daniels Band and Lynyrd Skynyrd. The 1970s brought a cross between soft rock and country called country pop that brought fame to performers such as John Denver (1943–1997) and Olivia Newton-John (1948–).

The sounds of Reba McEntire (1954–) took America's country music fans by storm in the mid-1980s. Her records went platinum, and critics praised her ability to combine modern-day storylines with traditional country sounds. In the 1990s, country music was influenced by line dancing, a form of group dancing that required strong rhythms and beats. Country music became slick sounding until the end of the decade,

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when a more traditional version of country music returned to the airwaves. Country music charts in the 1990s were dominated by the songs of Garth Brooks (1962–), whose albums sold millions.

In the twenty-first century, country remains one of the most popular and best-selling music genres. It is supported by the "Grand Ole Opry," a country music radio program that has been running since 1925. The Opry is the broadcast of a live show attended by audience members, and its impact on country music is similar to the influence of Dick Clark (1929–) and his *American Bandstand* rock and pop music television show. Entertainers must be invited to become members of the Opry and perform, and musicians consider an invitation one of the highest honors possible. Famous Opry members include Emmylou Harris (1947–), Tom T. Hall (1936–), and Loretta Lynn (1934–).

Another emblem of country music is the city of Branson, **Missouri**. Branson is home to more than fifty theaters that produce more than one hundred live concerts annually. The largest theater, the Grand Palace, seats four thousand. Although entertainment in Branson is not restricted to country music shows (the city also has golf courses, lakes, museums, and a winery), the majority of theaters were established by and feature country music stars.

Cowboys

After the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the states located just west of the Mississippi River experienced a boom in the cattle business. Those who were hired to tend the cattle and guide them across open lands on drives from pasture to ranch to market were called cowboys. The golden age of the cattle drives in the 1870s and 1880s increased the number of cowboys and established them as part of western folklore. While the work of cowboys was not new, it gained attention as a romantic and heroic livelihood during this time.

The first cattle were unloaded in America during Spanish explorer Hernándo Cortés's (1485–1547) conquest of Mexico in 1519. A tradition of tending the cattle arose, and the first cowboys, known as *vaqueros,* developed methods for herding and handling cattle in open lands. Americans adopted these practices as the cattle industry moved north through the southwest to the northern Great Plains.

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The most familiar aspects of the vaquero tradition were maintained in the unique but highly practical dress of cowboys. The high crown and broad brim of a felt hat kept the sun out of a cowboy's face, provided a scoop for water, and, doubled over, served as a pillow at night. A bandana protected the cowboy's nose and mouth from dust and debris while leather chaps protected his legs from brush, thorns, and cacti. Boots with spurs, the design of the saddle, and lassos were all similarly practical and essential to the cowboy's needs.

A cowboy was a hired hand with a long and difficult job in a challenging environment. Although their work required skill, cowboys were not highly respected, and their pay was often minimal. A cowboy typically did not own land or cattle and usually claimed his horse, saddle, and gear as his only possessions.

Early stereotypes of cowboys were often negative, with images of unhindered celebrations in saloons, illiteracy, and lawlessness. Adventure books, Western exhibitions and shows, and popular movies all helped to change that image. Eventually, cowboys became respected for the long hours and tough nature of their work. By the 1950's, cowboys had become folk heroes.

The cowboy glamorized by legend, however, began to disappear in the 1890s. As the free and open ranges became more and more settled and fenced, the role of the cowboy changed. Cattle became confined to pastures on ranches, and railroads and trucks transported cattle to markets. Today cowboys are ranch hands who enjoy ranch-cooked meals, the shade of a truck, and a bed every night.

Crazy Horse

Crazy Horse was a Native American in the Oglala clan of the Eton Sioux Indians. He lived during the middle of the nineteenth century, when the federal government attacked Native Americans to take their lands. Crazy Horse worked as a warrior to defend his people and their homelands and communities.

Crazy Horse was probably born in 1842 along Rapid Creek near Rapid City, **South Dakota**. His father, also called Crazy Horse, was a medicine man in the Oglala Sioux clan. His mother, Rattle Blanket, was a member of the Brulé Sioux.

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Crazy Horse was known as Curly as a young child. In his teens, he was called Horse Stands in Sight. When he was around seventeen, his father observed how hard and well he fought in a battle against other Native Americans. At this time, Crazy Horse received his father's name as his own.

In the late 1840s, the **California gold rush** and the American victory in the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) led to massive settlement of the western portion of the continent. Such settlement led to decades of conflict with the Native American populations who already lived there. By 1857, Crazy Horse had seen American soldiers destroy three Native American villages. That year, he attended a council of Native Americans near Bear Butte at the eastern edge of the Black Hills, South Dakota, to discuss the federal problem.

Resistance

In the 1860s, Crazy Horse joined forces of Native Americans who resisted passage for the American military and settlers through the Powder River region, which is in **Montana** and **Wyoming**. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 temporarily ended this dispute between the Sioux and the federal government. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874, however, led the government to disregard the treaty in favor of gold prospecting.

During the Black Hills gold rush, Native American tribes joined to oppose the taking of their lands. On March 17, 1876, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds (1822–1899) destroyed the village in which Crazy Horse lived. Crazy Horse led his people on a raid to recapture the horses taken by Reynolds and his men. On June 17, Crazy Horse and his men deflected forces led by General George Crook (1828–1890) near Little Bighorn, a river in Montana. On June 25, Crazy Horse fought the famous battle of the Little Bighorn, also called **Custer's Last Stand**, at which the Native Americans killed General George Custer (1839–1876) and all 264 of his men.

Defeat

The Native American victory at Little Bighorn did not win the war. Crazy Horse's people went into winter quarters in the Wolf Mountains near the headwaters of the Rosebud Creek in Montana. On January 8,

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1877, Colonel Nelson A. Miles (1839–1925) led an attack on the village. Crazy Horse continued to fight for four more months, but his people ran low on food for themselves and their horses. They surrendered to federal authorities on May 6, 1877.

Four months later, Crazy Horse was in custody at Fort Robinson in **Nebraska**. The federal government had not honored its promise to move Crazy Horse and his people to a reservation in Wyoming. The government, in fact, might have had plans to exile Crazy Horse, perhaps to **Florida**.

On September 5, 1877, Crazy Horse pulled a knife when he thought he was about to be imprisoned in a guardhouse. He was stabbed in the ensuing scuffle, either by his own knife or by a soldier's bayonet. Crazy Horse died hours later in the presence of his father and a man named Touch the Clouds. He supposedly was buried near Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Within a few weeks, his people were sent to reservations in South Dakota.

Creek War

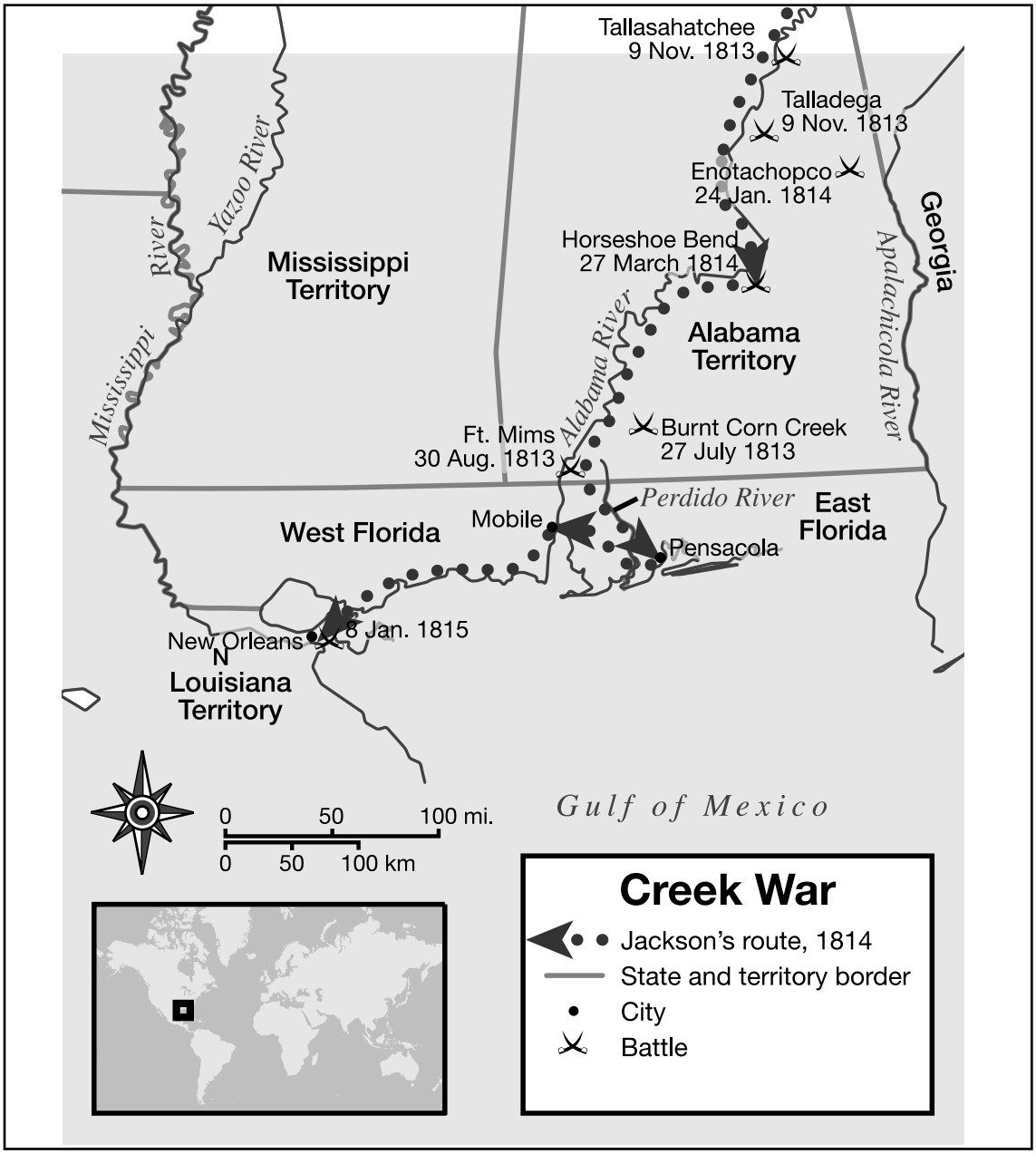
The Creek War of 1813–14 began as a civil war among the Creek people. At the time, the United States was fighting a larger conflict, the **War of 1812**, and the U.S. government and its military became heavily involved in the Creeks' war, too.

Creek background

The Creek Confederacy was an alliance of independent tribes formed for protection against attacking Northern tribes long before Europeans arrived on the continent. Creek Indian groups lived throughout present-day **Alabama**, **Georgia**, and **South Carolina**. As Europeans settled in North America, the Creek found themselves living in territories claimed by the Spanish, French, and English. English traders frequently married Creek women. The children of these mixed marriages, who understood both European and Creek culture, often rose to positions of leadership in the tribal groups.

A portion of the Creeks became allies of the British during the American Revolution (1775–83). When the war was over, the new U.S. government forced the Creek tribes that had sided with England to give up some of their land. An agent was appointed to push them to adapt to

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This map shows various battles and generals' routes in 1814 during the Creek War. THE GALE GROUP

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European ways. A hostile split developed between two Creek factions: the Lower Creek or White Sticks, who were willing to cooperate with the U.S. government, and the Upper Creek or Red Sticks, who were not.

Red Sticks v. White Sticks

Most Red Sticks lived in central Alabama. They were highly influenced in 1813 by a visit from Shawnee chief **Tecumseh** (c. 1768–1813), who preached anti-Americanism, resistance to further encroachments by the whites, and unity among the Native American tribes. In February 1813, a small party of Red Sticks traveling along the Ohio River massacred two families of settlers. The U.S. government demanded that the Creek turn over the murderers. Instead of handing them over to the federal agents, the White Stick chiefs decided to execute the murderers themselves. Their decision ignited civil war between the Creeks.

The Red Sticks immediately conquered several lower towns within the Creek Nation. The lower towns had taken conscious steps to assimilate into (become part of) white culture by raising domesticated animals, farming, and using spinning looms. The Red Sticks destroyed everything that seemed to have come from the white man: domesticated animals, pots and pans, and homespun cloths. The only objects from the white culture they kept were guns and steel blades.

Red Sticks vs. the United States

The first clashes between Red Sticks and U.S. soldiers took place when a group of soldiers stopped a party of Red Sticks returning from **Florida** in July 1813. The Red Sticks had received arms from the Spanish governor in Florida. The Battle of Burnt Corn that followed broadened the Creek Civil War to include American forces.

On August 30, 1813, the Red Sticks sacked and burned an American stockade, Fort Mims, on the Alabama River, killing more than 350 Americans and pro-white Indians. Soon U.S. forces were assembled in **Tennessee**, Georgia, and **Mississippi**. General **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845) led the principal attack against the Red Sticks with a force of Tennessee soldiers aided by White Stick Creek and pro-white Cherokee. Jackson vigorously pursued the Red Sticks, sacking the Indian village of Tallasahatchee and crushing a Creek force at Talladega. Another U.S. force of Georgians and White Stick Creek attacked the Creek village

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of Auttosee on the Tallapoosa River, burning the village and killing 200 Creek. At the Battle of Econochaca in northern Alabama in December 1813, Mississippi volunteers burned the village of Red Stick leader William Weatherford, also known as Red Eagle (1780–1824).

On March 27, 1814, Jackson almost wiped out the Red Stick forces at the Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River in eastern Alabama, killing an estimated 850 or 900 warriors and taking 500 women and children as prisoners. This defeat effectively broke the power of the Red Sticks. Many fled to join the Seminole Indians in Florida. The White Sticks, despite having aided Jackson in the war, were compelled to sign the Treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814. Under the terms of the treaty, they were forced to cede to the United States more than twenty million acres in the present states of Georgia and Alabama.

Davy Crockett

Davy Crockett was a respected, but unremarkable, frontier politician, who was killed in the struggle for **Texas** independence from Mexico. Due to tall tales of his heroic feats as a frontiersman, Crockett became a legend in his own time and a central character in American folklore.

Political career

David Crockett was born in a cabin in **Tennessee** in 1786. As a young man, he enlisted twice with the Tennessee militia (an army made up of trained civilians rather than professional soldiers) commanded by General **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845). He fought in the **Creek War** (1813–14).

Later, Crockett began a career in politics. He served as a justice of the peace and a Tennessee state legislator before becoming a Democratic congressman from Tennessee in 1827. He served two terms and lost the election for a third term in 1831. Two years later, he ran again and won, returning to Congress to serve a third term.

Early death

After losing his battle for reelection to a fourth term in 1835, Crockett moved to east Texas in search of a new home. At the age of forty-nine, he participated in the defense of the **Alamo**, a mission converted into a fort by Anglo-American (non-Mexican) soldiers in Texas's war of inde-

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pendence with Mexico. Mexican forces killed Crockett and all of the two hundred other defenders of the Alamo in March 1836.

The folk hero

During his lifetime, Crockett's frontier drawl and his tendency to tell folksy stories always drew the attention of journalists. As a politician, he told exaggerated stories about his feats as an Indian fighter and bear hunter to gain votes. He wrote an autobiography in 1834 full of these tall tales. In the 1830s, publishers released dozens of Davy Crockett books. Filled with coarse language and remarkable (and almost certainly untrue) exploits, the books were popular. The myth of the heroic frontiersman continued to grow even after his death. Hollywood discovered the tall tales, resulting in many popular movies and television shows, keeping the legend of Davy Crockett alive.

Cuban Missile Crisis

The Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) was the closest the world has ever come to nuclear war.

Despite the fact that wealthy Americans vacationed in Cuba in the 1950s and before, spending vast amounts of money there, most of that money went to the country's ruler, Fulgencio Batista (1901–73). Most Cubans remained devastatingly poor while Batista and his brutal henchmen prospered.

Fidel Castro (1926–) became dictator of Cuba in 1959. Castro had led the revolution that unseated Batista, and he implemented major health care and land reforms that helped Cuba flourish. He made sure money that was made in Cuba, stayed in Cuba. At the same time, he showed no mercy to those who had supported Batista and oppressed the poor. Those found guilty often were executed, and some Cubans fled to Florida.

These exiles in Florida told the U.S. press exaggerated stories about how Castro was mistreating Cubans. As a result, the United States refused to do business with Cuba, which caused serious problems for the island because U.S. trade had been its biggest source of income. The U.S. trade embargo (blockade) forced Castro to rely on support from the Soviet Union, a communist country. (See **Communism**.)

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Bay of Pigs invasion

Fearing that Cuba would become communist, and that a communist country just 50 miles from the coast of **Florida** would be a threat to the United States, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–63; served 1961–63) chose to support the anti-Castro Cubans living in Florida. With funding from the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA), in 1961 Kennedy sent an armed group of Cuban exiles to the Bay of Pigs in Cuba to overthrow Castro.

The invasion was a series of one error after another, however. Jeeps were brought in without fuel, maps of the area were not distributed, and exiles began shooting at fellow exiles. It was a major embarrassment in U.S. history, but Kennedy never apologized for the fiasco.

Castro was uneasy with having such a powerful enemy as the United States, and he looked to form a more solid relationship with the Soviet Union. In September 1962, a group of anti-Castro Cuban exiles reported to the CIA that the Soviet Union was building military bases in Cuba. A U.S. spy plane flew over the island and snapped aerial photos of what turned out to be nuclear missiles. A few days later, the CIA told Kennedy that the missiles had the potential to kill 80 million Americans. Twenty Soviet ships carrying nuclear weapons were spotted heading for Cuba.

More photographs were taken, and it was clear that the bases would be fully functional by the end of October. The United States was in serious trouble.

The missile crisis

On October 27, 1962, a Soviet missile shot down a U.S. U2 plane, and its pilot was killed. All totalled, the Soviet Union had sent sixty-six missiles to Cuba along with twenty-two thousand troops and technicians.

Kennedy, still reeling from the botched Bay of Pigs invasion, needed to make a decisive move. Matters were made more confusing when the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), sent Kennedy two letters with different messages: One told him the missiles would be removed if he promised not to invade Cuba; the other indicated that because the United States had military bases in Turkey (near the Soviet Union), there should be no problem with the Soviets having bases in Cuba. If Kennedy would get out of Turkey, the Soviet Union would get out of Cuba.

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In response, Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba and to resume trade with the island. Kennedy gave Khrushchev until October 29 to answer, and if he did not meet the deadline, the United States would invade Cuba. Khrushchev contacted Kennedy on October 28, and war was averted.

The Cuban Missile Crisis was a major incident of the **Cold War**, a period in history in which tensions ran high between the United States and the Soviet Union, but no actual fighting ever broke out.

Currency

After winning its independence in the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the United States had a bewildering variety of forms of money. American merchants who engaged in foreign trade dealt in British pounds, Spanish dollars, Portuguese johannes, or French livres. Each of the colonies also issued its own paper money, either in dollars or pounds. In addition, private banks or other businesses issued notes that circulated as yet another form of currency. Most of the American economy, however, was conducted in barter, or the trade of goods and services without any form of money passing hands. It was clear to the nation's first leaders that a new monetary system was needed.

In 1792, the new U.S. government adopted the Coinage Act, which set up the U.S. Mint (the institution responsible for producing the nation's coins) and created a "bimetallic" monetary system, meaning that both gold and silver were used as money. In this monetary system, the value of money was based on the value of the material—the gold or silver—from which the money was made. Because it was difficult to carry around large amounts of gold and silver, local banks soon issued banknotes. These were paper certificates promising to pay the bearer a precise amount of gold or silver on demand. Thus for each banknote in circulation, there was supposed to be a given amount of gold or silver stored away in a vault.

Despite the Coinage Act, the American economy continued to use other currencies: bartered products, foreign currencies, banknotes, and bills of exchange (a sort of credit system). The nation would not issue its own paper currency until the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

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Pre–Civil War monetary policy

A uniform currency throughout the different states required a strong federal financial institution. A central bank of sorts did exist during the first third of the nineteenth century—the First Bank of the United States from 1791 to 1811 and the Second Bank of the United States from 1816 to 1836. Under Nicholas Biddle (1786–1844), a president of the Second Bank, the bank actively managed currency exchange throughout the nation. But federal banking ceased with the presidency of **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37), who hated banks due to unfortunate financial deals he had made early in his life.

Even with the presence of the first federal banks, state banks formed the backbone of the nation's money system, and they generally did not work together. In 1816, there were 250 state banks, and many of these institutions issued their own paper currency. By 1860, more than fifteen hundred state banks were issuing an average of six different denominations of notes. Currency printed by local banks commanded up to twice as much value as notes issued elsewhere, partly because people knew the reputation of local banks and partly because of transportation costs to redeem "foreign" (from another state or territory) currency. Caution was necessary with banknotes because counterfeits and notes of broken banks corrupted the currency.

In 1837, the United States experienced a devastating financial panic (a time when people fear their banks will be unable to pay, and therefore many people withdraw their money at once, frequently breaking the bank). Banks, finding the cost of precious metals much higher than anticipated, could not redeem their own notes for gold. This led to a major loss of confidence among note holders.

Greenbacks help pay for war

When the Civil War began in 1861, financial demands quickly depleted the nation's supply of gold and silver. This forced the government to pass the Legal Tender Act of 1862, which provided for the issue of paper money that was not backed by gold or silver. About $430 million in notes were issued. Because the bills were supported only by the government's promise to pay, people observed that the bills were backed only by the green ink with which they were printed. This resulted in the name greenbacks being used. The **Confederate States of America** (or South)

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also financed its war with the printing press. Confederate notes had blue security printing on the back, so they were called "bluebacks."

The value of the greenbacks depended on the peoples' confidence in the U.S. government and its future ability to convert the currency to coin. As the fighting between the **Union** (the North) and the Confederacy raged, confidence in government went up and down. When the Union suffered defeat, the value of the greenbacks dropped—one time to as low as 35 cents on the dollar. In general, greenbacks caused relatively high inflation—increases in costs of goods and services and a low value to money.

Gold and silver standards

After the war, the United States needed a universally approved monetary standard in order to resume international trading. Congress decided to reinstate the metal standard by backing the nation's greenbacks with a specific amount of metal. The Coinage Act of 1873 eliminated the silver dollar as a medium of exchange and placed the United States on a virtual gold standard. The elimination of the silver dollar came about in part because Britain and other foreign countries had decided to adopt a gold standard. In the United States, gold would remain the reigning medium of exchange until the 1930s, but not without great controversy.

Gold standard advocates believed the nation's money supply would never be stabilized under the bimetallic standard. They contended that because the open market value of each metal (gold and silver) was constantly changing, the undervaluation or overvaluation of either metal by the mint would impact the supply of coins in circulation. For example, when the U.S. Mint undervalued silver coins, people opted to sell their silver coins on the open market for more than their face value. When silver was overproduced and the government issued too many silver coins, the price of silver dropped and people eagerly traded in their silver coins for gold coins, thereby exhausting federal reserves.

Those opposed to the gold standard were concerned about the nation's continuing deflation, a general decrease in the cost of goods and services that plagued the country in the last part of the nineteenth century. Demand for gold expanded greatly as a number of countries went on the gold standard. Discoveries of gold deposits lagged behind, so gold's market value went up substantially. By 1896, the market value of gold relative to silver was thirty to one. If the United States had kept a

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bimetallic standard, people simply would have sold their gold coins at the market rate and used silver as a medium of exchange. Because Americans could not switch to silver, deflation occurred. Prices fell at the rate of nearly 5 percent annually from the end of the Civil War to 1879.

Foes of a gold-backed currency included silver producers and almost anyone whose livelihood involved incurring debt. The deepest opposition to the gold standard came from farmers, who entered into loans at a time when money was worth more and were forced to pay them back in the deflated economy in which their crops were worth less. Silver became the major issue of the 1896 presidential election. Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925) demanded that humankind not be "crucified on a cross of gold." Bryan lost the election to **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901), and in 1900 the United States officially adopted the Gold Standard Act.

National bank

The federal financial crisis during the Civil War had pointed to a need for a national bank system. In 1863, a bill calling for a banking system that would provide the country with a truly national currency was introduced in the Senate. Many people objected, fearing that the national government would gain too much control over local government by entering into the banking business. Nevertheless, in 1865 a national bank system was established. The federal government eliminated state banknotes, and national banks issued currency amounting to $300 million.

A series of devastating economic panics between 1873 and 1907 drew public attention to the need for more extensive banking and monetary reform. As a result, in 1913 the U.S. government passed the **Federal Reserve Act** to promote economic stability. The legislation established federal governmental regulation of currency supply and federal distribution of currency to banks. The Federal Reserve Board was charged with regulating the amount of gold reserves held against Federal Reserve notes (paper money) and supervising the issue and retirement of notes, among its many other functions.

Gold remained the standard of the U.S. monetary system until April 1933. In the midst of the **Great Depression** (1929–41; a worldwide economic downturn), Congress abandoned the gold standard because the United States could no longer guarantee the value of the dollar in gold. The 1933 legislation enabled the Federal Reserve to expand the nation's

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money supply without regard to gold reserves. At the same time, structural changes were made to the Federal Reserve, giving it almost total power over the nation's currency. The Federal Reserve System continued to grow and undergo adjustments, generally bringing stability to the U.S. currency.

Custer's Last Stand

On June 25, 1876, the Seventh U.S. Cavalry rode along the Little Bighorn River in southeastern **Montana** in pursuit of the Sioux and Cheyenne Indians that had left their reservation. With a regiment numbering about six hundred men, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer (1839–1876) attacked an Indian settlement of nearly two thousand warriors from two sides. The Battle on the Little Bighorn River became known as "Custer's Last Stand" because Custer and the two hundred men directly under his personal command were killed within the first hour of battle. It was a significant event in the Great Sioux War of 1876 and a major Indian victory.

Conflict

By 1875, many Indian tribes had been forced to live on reservation lands defined by treaties with the U.S. government. The Sioux and Cheyenne tribes were among those that had been settled in the Dakota Territory, present-day **South Dakota**. Conditions on the **Indian reservations** were failing, due mostly to maladministration by the federal government's **Bureau of Indian Affairs**, so the people faced starvation. As a result, members of both tribes left the reservation to engage in their annual buffalo hunt.

Leaving the reservation was a bold move that contradicted the federal government orders, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs directed all Indians to return to the reservation by January 31. If they failed, they would likely be attacked as rebels and forced to return by the U.S. **Army**. The improbability of getting word to the hunters, even if they were willing to return, made confrontation probable.

The true cause of the federal government's aggressive tactics stemmed from the discovery of gold in the Black Hills, part of the Great Sioux Reservation. The lands had been guaranteed to the Indians by treaty, but white miners were ignoring the boundaries and settling in to

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prospect for gold. The government was doing little to discourage the invasion onto Indian lands, but angry tribes were unwilling to sell their land. Using the notion that occasional Indian attacks on white settlements released them from the treaty, the government wanted to reclaim the mineral rich land from the reservation and sell it for profit to white miners. In hopes of destroying the Indians' independence and weakening their ability to resist the sale of the Black Hills, the government chose to force the Sioux and Cheyenne hunters back onto the reservation.

Early in 1876, General Philip Sheridan (1831–1888) ordered troops on the upper Yellowstone River to capture or disperse numerous bands of Dakota who were hunting there. The army organized an offensive from three directions, one of which was led by General Alfred Terry (1827–1890) and included Colonel Custer. Custer was eventually detached to lead twelve companies of men against the Indians while the rest of the regiment would prevent flight of the Indians as he attacked.

On June 25, Custer located the Indian village. He divided his regiment into three battalions. Though Custer's approach was successful in the beginning, it quickly turned in favor of the Indians when one of the battalions retreated, leaving Custer and his men to bear the brunt of the Indian's counterattack. Within an hour, Custer and all of his men were slain. Over the course of the next day, the rest of the troops arrived and forced the Indians to retreat to the south.

The Battle of Little Bighorn was an empty victory for the Sioux and Cheyenne. News of the death of Custer and his men stunned the American people and led to greatly intensified military efforts. By the spring of 1877, most of the Sioux and Cheyenne had surrendered and resettled on the reservation. The federal government forced them to give up the Black Hills. The Great Sioux War marked the end to major Indian fighting in the American West.

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D-Day

On June 6, 1944, the Allied troops of **World War II** (1939–45) invaded German-occupied France. The **Allies** arrived on the beaches of Normandy in hopes of pushing their way into France. The date of the invasion is remembered in history as D-Day.

D-Day is a term used in military planning before dates are decided. D-Day refers to the target date for an operation. Events planned on days before or after may be referred to with a plus or minus. For example, two days before an operation would be referred to D-Day minus two.

The events at the invasion of Normandy were so monumental that the term D-Day has been applied permanently to that date. The Germans, led by dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), had occupied France since 1940. The Allied powers did not have the resources until 1944 to try to push the Germans back out.

A combination of resources, full moon, and low tide were all important to a successful invasion from the English Channel. On June 6, 1944, the Allied forces stormed the beaches at Normandy. Five thousand Allied ships carried nearly one hundred thousand men. Over a thousand heavy bombers and more than two thousand fighter planes flew overhead. It was the largest combined air, sea, and land operation in history.

Fighting at Normandy was intense and brutal, even though the Germans were poorly prepared. The Allied troops persisted, and in the end of July, they were able to break out of the beach area and advance across France. By August 25, the Germans had been pushed back with another bombardment, and Paris was liberated. By September 14, the Allies had pushed the Germans back to the Franco-German border.

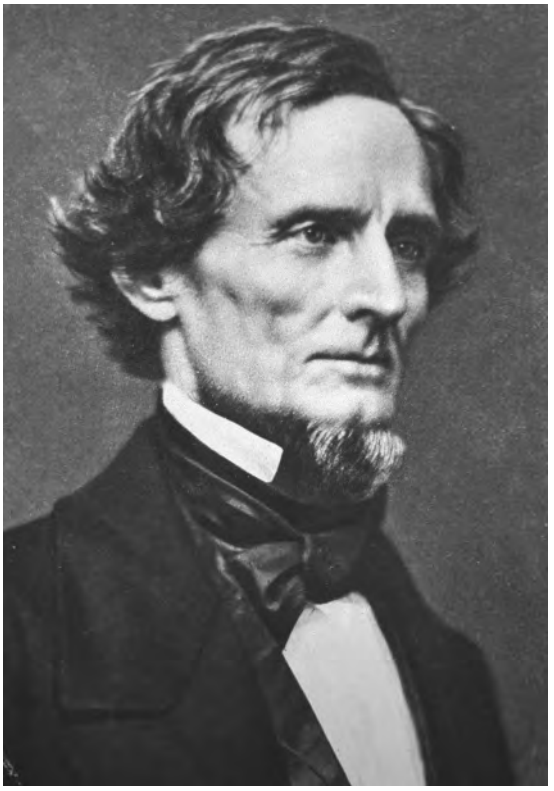
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Then it was only a matter of time until the defeat of Nazi Germany was complete. The invasion of Normandy had provided the Allies with the opening to victory.

Jefferson Davis

Jefferson Davis was born the tenth child of Samuel and Jane Davis on June 3, 1808. Though he was born in Christian County (now Todd County), **Kentucky**, Davis's family moved to a small plantation in **Mississippi** when he was quite young. When Davis was seven, he went back to Kentucky to attend St. Thomas's College, a Roman Catholic seminary, though his family was Baptist. After two years, he returned to Mississippi to attend local schools.

Davis attended classes at a few different colleges, then in 1824 he pursued a degree at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He ranked twenty-third of thirty-three in the graduating class and became a second lieutenant in the U.S. **army**.



Military man and politician Jefferson Davis, a strong proponent of slavery and southern society, was the only president of the Confederate States of America. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Early career

Davis spent nearly seven years in various military posts along the frontier in **Wisconsin** and in unsettled portions of **Illinois**. Generally his assignments were routine, but occasionally he fought against Indians. In 1832, he participated in the Black Hawk Indian War and accepted the surrender of the famed Sauk chief Black Hawk (1767–1838). After his promotion to first lieutenant of dragoons (horse-mounted cavalry divisions) in 1834, Davis led several expeditions into Kiowa and Wichita (Native American) villages.

In 1833, Davis was stationed at Fort Crawford, Wisconsin. The commander in charge, Colonel **Zachary Taylor** (1784–1850), who later became a U.S. president, had a daughter, Sarah Knox. Davis and Knox fell in love, and in May 1835 Davis submitted his resignation from the army. Married on June 17, he and

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his bride went to Mississippi to establish a plantation on land given to them by Davis's brother. Unfortunately, they both caught severe fevers, and Sarah died on September 15, 1835.

Devastated by his wife's death, Davis spent the next ten years mostly in seclusion at his plantation. While he enjoyed the company of his brother, Joseph Davis, who owned a nearby plantation, Davis focused mainly on managing his own plantation and reading. It was during this time that he began to form his opinions regarding politics.

When Jefferson Davis emerged from seclusion, he immersed himself in Mississippi politics and high society. His brother had become one of the wealthiest men in the South, and Jefferson Davis enjoyed the status of being part of his family. Davis met and married the young socialite Varina Howell on February 25, 1845. Always loyal and devoted to her husband, she would share his trials and triumphs and fight battles alongside and for him. Together they had four sons and two daughters, though the four sons would die before Davis.

Politics

Davis became a Democratic member of the U.S. Congress in December 1845. The outbreak of the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), however, led him to resign the following June. Accepting a position in command of a volunteer regiment, Davis went to Mexico with his soldiers to join his former father-in-law and commander, General Taylor.

Davis and his "Mississippi Rifles" played an important part in the campaign and earned heroic honors at the Battle of Buena Vista. Upon his return in 1847, the Mississippi legislature appointed him to finish an unexpired U.S. senatorial term. Reelected in 1850, Davis was a vocal member of his party and the chairman of the Senate's Military Committee.

Party and doctrinal loyalty led Davis to resign his Senate seat in 1851 to enter the governor's race in Mississippi. The election followed the heated debates and passage in Congress of the **Compromise of 1850**. This legislation, which resolved where slavery would be allowed and banned in new western territories after the Mexican-American War, stoked southern passion about their supposed right to **slavery**. Talk of **secession** hung in the air. Devoted to the national union through lineage and patriotism, Davis was also dedicated to the concept of state

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independence. He campaigned well on a platform that stressed the rights of a united South, and he lost by only one thousand votes.

Davis returned to life as a planter until 1853, when his friend, U.S. president **Franklin Pierce** (1804–1869; served 1853–57) appointed him as secretary of war. Davis's service was marked by progressive and innovative ideas. Recognizing that military operations in the desert of the western states required different methods, he worked to introduce new and more appropriate tactics and weapons. He worked toward establishing routes for a transcontinental railroad. He also was involved in expanding the U.S. capitol and sometimes served as the navy secretary.

The road to secession

At the end of his term as secretary of war, Davis promptly returned to a Senate position. The country was wrapped in debates concerning the expansion of slavery in 1857, and violent clashes had begun to break out within the states. That year the **Supreme Court** handed down a verdict in the ***Dred Scott*** case. It ruled that neither federal nor state laws could interfere with the rights of slaveholders. Calling slaves a form of property, the Court said that the U.S. **Constitution** protected slaveholders' rights. This challenged the concept of "popular sovereignty," which allowed each state and territory to allow or outlaw slavery according to its own wants. Along with the voices of Americans who opposed slavery as an immoral violation of the human rights of slaves, debates concerning the rights of slaveholders and the relative powers of the federal and state governments set the country on the path to the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

By 1858, Davis was well aware of the increasing difficulties in preserving the **Union**. The *Dred Scott* decision triggered a series of events that led to the split of the **Democratic Party** into northern and southern factions. As a strong proponent of slavery and southern society, Davis defended the Court's decision. His own dedication to the nation was challenged by his love of the South.

The crisis reached a breaking point when the nation elected a Republican president, **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), in 1860. Republicans officially supported maintaining slavery where it existed but blocking it from expansion. However, the South viewed Lincoln's election as a move toward complete abolition of slavery nationwide.

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In the Senate, the Committee of Thirteen was created in December 1860 to find a solution to the crisis. As part of the committee, Davis saw little hope for compromise and reluctantly advised secession. On January 21, 1861, Davis announced the secession of Mississippi and formally withdrew from the Senate and **Washington, D.C.**

President of the Confederacy

Davis and his family returned to his plantation in Mississippi, where he accepted a position as major-general of the state troops. Then a general convention of the seceding states elected Davis as the temporary president of the provisional government of the **Confederate States of America**. Though he felt better qualified for the military command, Davis dutifully accepted the political post. He was inaugurated on February 18, 1861. A year later, he was inaugurated as the regular, and eventually only, president of the established Confederacy.

As of early 1861, Davis hoped for a peaceful course to secession. He spoke of the Confederacy as a product of evolution and growth rather than revolution. Realistically, though, Davis knew war was a real possibility and that the South was unprepared. He urged the creation of a strong centralized government with a national army and navy that would control military operations over the states.

Failure of negotiations with the U.S. government led to a crisis at Fort Sumter, **South Carolina**, in April 1861. The Union's refusal to abandon the federal fort in Confederate territory led to a military confrontation. This was the incident that sparked the start of the Civil War.

Davis's performance as the Confederate leader gathers both praise and criticism from historians. Certainly Davis was completely devoted to the task. He organized his armies with skill and kept a close eye on his generals. Working to build morale and loyalty in the border state of **Virginia**, he moved the capital of the Confederacy to Richmond in May 1861. He also pressed controversial legislation that forced citizens to support the war effort. The **Conscription Acts** (1862), which called for a mandatory draft of white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five for three years of service, kept the Confederate armies manned. An impressment program allowed the armies to commandeer supplies for the men and animals. While he supported tough taxes, Davis endorsed a program by which taxes could be paid with food or supplies that would help to support the armies.

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Davis remained a devoted and dedicated leader to the Confederate states to the very end. Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) evacuated Richmond on April 2, 1865, and surrendered to the Union a few days later at **Appomattox Courthouse** in Virginia. Davis at first attempted to lead a refugee government but eventually approved surrender by mid-April. Admitting that the Confederacy had been overthrown, Davis headed south in an attempt to leave the country. On May 10, the federal cavalry captured him in Irwinville, **Georgia**.

Davis served two years in prison awaiting trial for treason. Efforts by his family and many others to gain his release finally succeeded. Released on bail in May 1867, he was never brought to trial. He would never waver in his belief in the cause of the Confederacy and in the right of a state to secede from the nation.

The twilight years

Jefferson Davis's last years were a struggle to regain health and financial stability. His fortune was wrecked, his home was a ruin, and his health was impaired. A family friend provided a home and it was there that Davis devoted his last years to writing two autobiographical memoirs. His *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* was published in 1881, and the *Short History of Confederate States* appeared in 1889. Davis died on December 5, 1889, at the age of eighty-two.

Miles Davis

Miles Davis III was born in Alton, **Illinois**, on May 25, 1926. He was the second of three children. His mother played the violin, and his father was an oral surgeon. The family moved to East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1927.

Davis first became interested in music around the age of six, when he began listening to the music of **jazz** musicians such as Louis Armstrong (1901–1971) and **Duke Ellington** (1899–1974) on the radio. Visits with his grandfather in **Arkansas** introduced him to the soulful sounds of gospel, strains of which would find their way into his music compositions later on in his career.

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Launches a career

When he was ten years old, Davis took trumpet lessons, and he was given the chance to improvise (make up his own music spontaneously). In 1943, when he was seventeen, he joined the Eddie Randall Blue Devils and played with them for a year before joining a New Orleans–based swing band called Six Brown Cats. Swing was not the kind of music Davis wanted to perform, so after a short time with the band, he returned to St. Louis, **Missouri**, where his family had moved to earlier.

While watching a jazz band play at a local club, Davis was asked to sit in with the group when one of the trumpeters became ill. A thrilled Davis sat in with this group of jazz greats that included Dizzy Gillespie (1917–1993) and Charlie "Yardbird" Parker (1920–1955) for two weeks. He learned more about playing jazz and experimenting with sound in those two weeks than he had in his entire lifetime.

No longer content to play music that he was not passionate about, Davis moved to New York City, the center of the jazz world. There he enrolled in the Juilliard School, where he studied music theory and composition. Davis dropped out of Juilliard before graduating and furthered his education by playing with Gillespie and Parker.

The young trumpeter recorded record albums with the jazz greats, but critics panned his solos, saying they were full of errors. Davis organized his own nine-piece ensemble, and the band recorded songs from 1949 through 1950. The compilation of songs was eventually released as an album titled *Birth of the Cool.* This time, critics praised Davis's sound. The group traveled abroad and experienced more acclaim throughout Europe, especially in Paris, where an annual jazz festival was held.

Turns to drugs

Like many jazz musicians in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Davis soon began to use drugs. What began as experimentation turned into addiction, and the trumpeter soon found himself in a downward spiral. It got so bad that he accepted jobs only if they would make it easy for him to get heroin.

Club owners knew of Davis's addiction, and in the first few years of the 1950s, he was blacklisted (included on a list of people who club owners would not hire). In 1954, the musician quit drugs by sheer willpower

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and self-imposed physical discipline, and in the period that followed he produced music that some critics consider his best. He formed a quintet whose recordings sounded like nothing else being played at the time. Its sound was a combination of jazz, bop, and urban funk blues. Davis was finally accepted by mainstream musicians and listeners.

The 1960s saw the end of the jazz era as **rock and roll** took over the music scene. Davis, inspired by the sounds of guitar great Jimi Hendrix (1942–1970) and the funk of Sly and the Family Stone, turned to electrified jazz, a unique sound that would later be labeled "fusion."

Later years

Davis's new sound thrilled some listeners and critics while horrifying others as he moved away from "pure" jazz. Although he claimed he never let the critics negatively affect him, Davis returned to a life of substance abuse and subsequent illness. Between 1975 and 1980, he did not pick up his trumpet. He recorded a comeback album in 1981, which was criticized as weak sounding, but two later releases earned him Grammy Awards. Davis continued to play throughout the 1980s.

Davis died on September 28, 1991. He had been suffering from pneumonia, respiratory failure, and the aftereffects of a stroke. Despite his weakness for drugs, Davis changed the music scene forever and left his own personal sound embedded in the culture. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame on March 13, 2006.

Dawes Severalty Act

The failure of reservations (specific land given to Native Americans to live on by the U.S. government) forced the U.S. government to reconsider its Indian policy. Reservations had been established beginning in 1851 because white settlers were moving into the West and the government wanted Native Americans out of the way. To accomplish this, they set aside pieces of land (largely infertile land that made farming difficult or impossible) and forced tribes to move onto them. The plan was to keep the tribes in restricted areas, thereby allowing settlers to live free of fear of attack.

These reservations were monitored by Indian agencies, whose employees and agents were, for the most part, corrupt. The Native Americans lived in substandard conditions, and their traveling way of life

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was denied them. U.S. senator Henry L. Dawes (1816–1903) of **Massachusetts** led the effort to pass a general allotment act by which individual Native Americans would own their own land. Forcing them to live separately would weaken tribal ties and supposedly make assimilation (blending in to white culture) easier. Reformers, settlers, railroad owners, and other business owners supported Dawes's act. More than 60 million acres of surplus (extra) reservation lands would be for sale if the allotment act was passed.

On February 8, 1887, the Dawes Severalty Act passed. The act provided each Native American family with 160 acres of land; single adults received 80 acres. Along with the land came full U.S. citizenship, but there was a catch: Citizenship would not be granted until a twenty-five-year trust had expired. Native Americans would lose their collective legal standing as a tribe but also would not have individual legal standing as U.S. citizens for another twenty-five years.

The act was implemented gradually; reservations did not disappear entirely. Section 8 of the act listed specific tribes that would be exempt from the law. They included Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Osage, Miamies and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes. Also exempt were the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the state of **New York** and tribes in the territory of **Nebraska** that adjoined the Sioux Nation to the south. Reformers wanted these tribes to be included, but because each tribe held a title to its land, the land could not be taken legally unless all parties agreed. The Dawes Act's provisions eventually extended to these groups as well as they bowed to pressure, but not until 1893.

The Dawes Act did very little to help Native Americans assimilate. They were not prepared to live life as individual, separate families, because they had been brought up to depend on one another and live as a community. When the act passed in 1887, tribes owned about 138 million acres of land. By 1900, they had just 78 million acres, and that number dropped to 48 million by 1934. Millions of acres that were not allotted to the Native Americans were considered surplus land and made available for sale to the highest bidder.

On paper, the Dawes Act may have seemed like a good idea. In reality, however, it was not. The tribes lost much of their surplus land, and they lost the individual allotments because they lacked both knowledge of farming and access to credit to buy necessary farm machinery. They

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were not allowed to use their land as collateral (something of value pledged to assure repayment of debt), and the federal government had set aside just $30,000 for their machinery, livestock, seeds, and other necessities. Rather than compete with their white neighbors, many Native Americans just sold their land to them instead. By 1934, when the act was abandoned, Native Americans' dependence on the government had not been eliminated in any way—in fact, it had increased. The Dawes Act had accomplished the opposite of its intention.

Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence is the document with which the original American **thirteen colonies** announced their separation from Great Britain in July 1776. Written primarily by American statesman and future president Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826; served 1801–9), it is one of the most famous documents in American history.

Debating the split

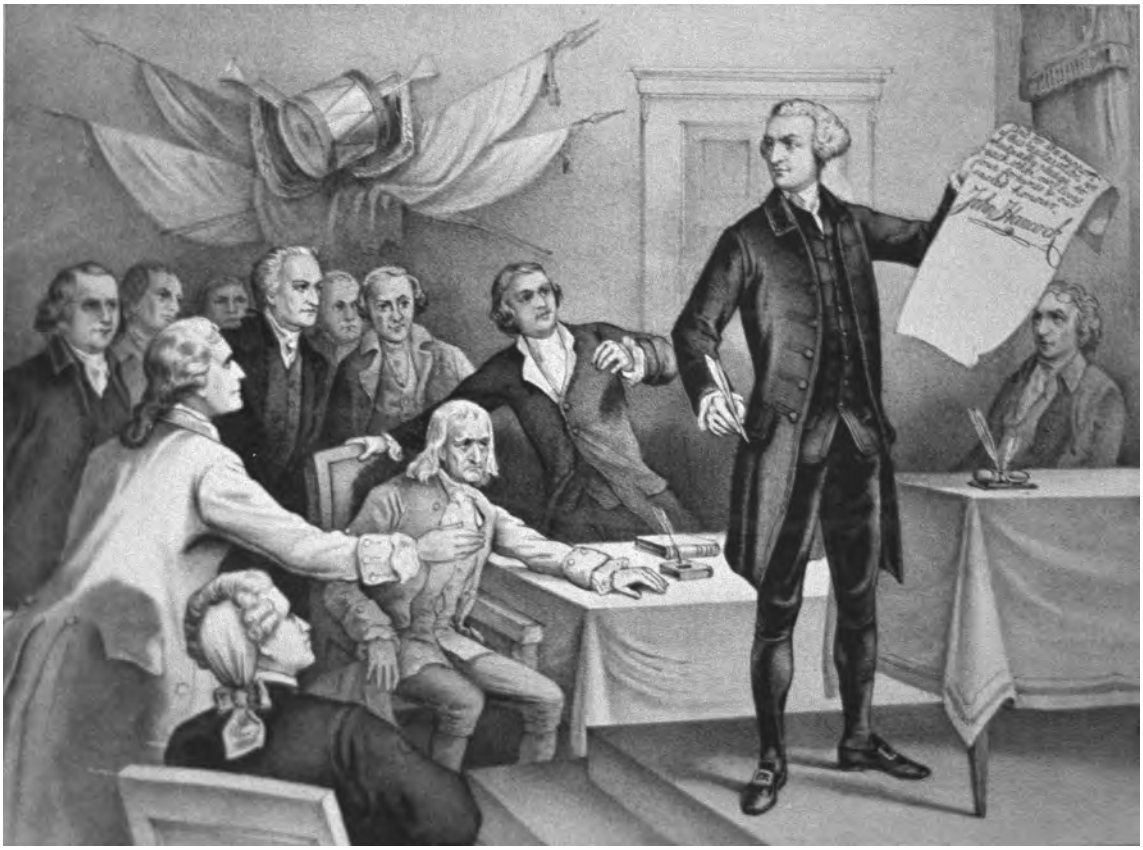
By 1775, American colonists were growing discontent with English rule. Spurred by high taxes and restrictions on trade, talk of independence spread through the colonies. One by one, colonial assemblies authorized their delegates to attend a meeting planned in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, called the **Continental Congress**.

On June 7, 1776, American statesman Richard Henry Lee (1732–1794) of **Virginia** introduced a resolution for declaring the independence of the colonies. It called for Congress to take measures to build foreign support for independence and to form a unifying confederation of states.

Debate on declaring independence began in Congress the next day. Those who supported the resolution argued that independence was necessary and would produce many benefits for the colonists. Independence would improve the chance for making treaties of commerce with other nations and for receiving foreign loans. It would rally the colonists together for the military campaign against Great Britain.

Those who opposed independence were in the minority, but they were vocal in their opposition. They warned against declaring independence before the colonies could act with unanimity. Some wished to fix relations with Great Britain.

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Thomas Jefferson, standing right, holds up the Declaration of Independence, which announced the separation of the original American thirteen colonies from Great Britain. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The delegates were not ready to agree on a course of action, so voting on the resolution was postponed until early July. Congress, however, formed several committees for beginning work immediately on the Virginia proposals of declaring independence, making foreign alliances, and establishing a confederation of states to act as a common government.

Writing the Declaration of Independence

Congress appointed Continental Congress members **John Adams** (1735–1826), **Benjamin Franklin** (1706–1790), Roger Sherman (1721–1793), Robert Livingston (1746–1813), and Thomas Jefferson to the committee on independence. Their task was to write a document to explain the action of declaring independence in terms meaningful to

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Americans and Europeans alike. Jefferson, who was just thirty-three years old at the time, received the assignment of writing the first draft of the document.

Jefferson had two main goals as he wrote the Declaration of Independence. He first had to dispel the notion that in claiming their independence, the colonies would be rebelling against a lawful authority. This was an important point to make in order to gain foreign support for the American cause.

Jefferson accomplished this task by using the doctrine of natural rights. Natural rights are rights that people have organically instead of receiving them from a government. Jefferson wrote that "all men are created equal" and have rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. People establish governments to protect these rights. When a government stops protecting rights and instead acts to destroy them, people have a right to end its rule. They have the right to create a new government to protect their safety and happiness. According to Jefferson, because the British government was not protecting the American colonists' natural rights, the colonists were justified in their desire to leave Great Britain to form their own government.

Jefferson's second goal was to convince Americans who were loyal to the English king that independence was necessary. Americans had been arguing for years that the English Parliament, not the king, was the source of their political problems. Parliament was the one taxing the colonies and regulating their commerce. Congress had to shift America's focus to the king as the source of its troubles, as some Americans still hoped to create a system that could remain under the British crown.

Jefferson accomplished this by including a list of charges against the king in the second half of the Declaration of Independence. The charges touched every part of the American colonies. Few free citizens could read the list without feeling that somewhere along the line they had been injured by the king.

Having proved his case against the king, at the end of the Declaration Jefferson briefly criticized the English people who had not supported the American colonies. Then in conclusion, Jefferson crafted a formal announcement that the colonies had decided to sever their ties with Great Britain. Jefferson presented his draft to the committee on independence, which made a few changes before submitting it to the Continental Congress on June 28, 1776.

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Final declaration

Congress assembled again on July 1, prepared now to vote on the resolution for independence. An unofficial vote showed that nine colonies would definitely support independence. The other four were opposed, split, or forced to abstain for lack of instructions from their home government. In hopes that a unanimous vote could be earned overnight, Congress delayed the formal vote to July 2. The delay worked, and by a vote of 12-0 (with New York abstaining until later), Congress resolved on July 2 to declare independence.

Congress then turned to editing Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence. In spite of some forty additions and extensive cuts that greatly reduced the paper, Jefferson's draft remained mostly intact. On the evening of July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was approved and sent to the printer. When New York finally voted for independence, Congress gathered again to sign the official document at a ceremony on August 2.

The Declaration of Independence has been a significant source of political inspiration, both in the United States and around the world. Americans celebrate Independence Day each year on July 4, the day the document was sent to the printer. Americans of all political beliefs find power in the symbolic and literal meanings of the words Jefferson wrote about the rights of citizens and the role of government in society.

Declaratory Act

The British Parliament passed the Declaratory Act in March 1766. It did so in connection with repealing the **Stamp Act** of 1765. The Declaratory Act was a Parliamentary definition of its relationship to and powers over the original American **thirteen colonies**.

Evolution of the act

The **Sugar Act** of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765 were British laws that imposed taxes on the American colonies. Up until those pieces of legislation were enacted, Parliament had allowed self-governing local assemblies in the colonies to regulate local taxes.

The change in policy and Parliament's insistence on its right to impose taxes angered the colonists. Active forms of resistance spread throughout the colonies following the Stamp Act. Boycotts were organ-

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ized, pamphlets and letters were written, and even violent acts of protest against tax collectors, royal officers, and Loyalists occurred.

Only when the voices of colonial protest were joined by those of English merchants affected by the boycotts did Parliament choose to repeal the Stamp Act. In an effort to assert its right and power to oversee the colonies, however, it also passed the Declaratory Act.

Enacted in 1766, the Declaratory Act affirmed Parliament's authority over the colonies and their legislatures. It defined the colonies as subordinate to the king of England and Parliament and thus declared the right to establish laws and statutes binding the colonies to them "in all cases whatsoever." It also denied the validity of colonial resolutions against taxation without representation.

In a deliberately ambiguous way, Parliament used the Declaratory Act to define its right to tax the colonies without giving them representation. In choosing to repeal the Stamp Act, it averted further violence in the colonies. By passing the Declaratory Act, however, it insisted on its continuing power to tax the colonies in future laws.

Reaction

Most colonists were so relieved that the Stamp Act had been repealed that they paid little attention to the accompanying Declaratory Act. Many simply saw it as Parliament's attempt to maintain the appearance of power in the midst of backing down to colonial protests. However, the **Townshend Acts** of 1767, which levied import duties on glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea among other measures, would awaken colonists to the seriousness of Parliament's position as set forth in the Declaratory Act.

Delaware

Delaware, the first state admitted to the Union (December 7, 1787) and the nation's second-smallest, is located on the eastern seaboard in the mid-Atlantic region. Of the state's 2,044 square miles (5,295 square kilometers), 1,932 square miles (5,005 square kilometers) are land. Delaware is bordered by **Maryland**, **Pennsylvania**, **New Jersey**, and the Atlantic Ocean. Its capital is Dover.

The first permanent settlements in the area were a Swedish trading post, established in 1638 (at present-day Wilmington) by a group of

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Swedes, Dutch, and Finns under the leadership of a Dutchman, and a Dutch fort in 1651 (at New Castle). The Dutch took over the Swedish colony in 1655 but were forced out by the English nine years later. At that time, Delaware was under the control of English philosopher and colonialist **William Penn** (1644–1718).

In 1838, a railroad running between Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore, Maryland, through Wilmington was completed. The state's population increased as immigrants—mostly from the British Isles, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Russia—made their way to the tiny state.

Delaware's total population was just under 784,000 in the early twenty-first century, with residents being predominantly white (73.6 percent). Although over 59 percent claimed no religious affiliation, the largest religious group was Catholic, with 151,740 adherents. The per-person income was $35,728, $2,000 above the national average, making Delaware eleventh out of fifty states and **Washington, D.C.**

Chemical manufacturing is the state's main industry, with Wilmington known as the chemical capital of the world. Other industries include food processing, plastics and rubber products, and paper manufacturing. The state is not all industry, however, with a strong agricultural output of corn, soybeans, barley, wheat, and other crops. Fishing, once a major contributor to the economy, has declined since the late twentieth century because of overharvesting.

Democratic Party

The Democratic Party emerged out of the **Democratic-Republican Party** of U.S. president **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9), and was founded in 1792. In the 1820s, internal divisions caused the Democratic-Republican Party to split into two organizations. Those who most held onto the party's original political ideals established the Democratic Party. The other faction became known first as the National Republicans and later evolved into the **Whig Party**. The Whigs eventually dissolved, but the Democratic Party of the 1820s continues to be an integral part of American politics today.

The Democratic-Republican Party emerged in 1792 in response to the strong **Federalist Party** policies of members of the first Congress. Worried about an overly powerful central government and liberal interpretations of the U.S. **Constitution**, critics of the Federalists united in

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an opposition party. They attempted to balance congressional action that supported wealthy merchants by representing the interests of farmers and common free men. Members of the Democratic-Republican Party believed governmental power should reside more in the state governments than in the federal government.

When the party evolved into the Democratic Party in the 1820s, its members held onto the same ideals supported by Jefferson and other founders. The Democrats of the 1820s were mostly westerners, southerners, and laborers from the east. They were small businessmen, farmers, craftsmen, and other hard workers. The party tried to protect their interests against the privileges of powerful institutions, such as banks, industry, and wealthy merchants.

Members of the Democratic Party opposed the growth of a powerful central government and worked to protect states' rights. They favored the expansion of the United States to provide individuals with opportunities to thrive. Personal liberty was highly cherished, and as a result Democrats tended to oppose reform movements.

Over time, the Democratic Party has enjoyed times of immense popularity as well as declining interest. Debates over **slavery** in the 1850s led the party to split into northern and southern factions. The northern faction wanted individual states to decide whether to make slavery illegal. The southern faction wanted to prevent nations and states from outlawing slavery. Yet the party managed to survive the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

While the party has evolved to confront current issues, it has remained consistent in its orientation to representing the interests of small businesspeople and laborers. Although it was once the party of slavery (the opposition party during the Civil War was the **Republican Party** of U.S. president **Abraham Lincoln** [1809–1865; served 1861–65] who issued the **Emancipation Proclamation** putting an end to slavery in the United States), it has come to be the party favored by African Americans and other groups of citizens fighting for political power.

In the twentieth century, the Democratic Party confronted the divisive issues of poverty, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Its members have often embraced immigrants, supported women's rights, and fought for civil rights for all Americans. Democrats helped to pass the first labor and child welfare laws, established forms of government assistance during the **Great Depression** (1929–41), and led the nation through two

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world wars. The Democratic Party held a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives for most of the latter half of the twentieth century. Striving to embrace the diversity of America, the Democratic Party has made great strides in protecting the quality of life and rights of ordinary citizens.

Democratic-Republican Party

The new national government established by the **Constitution** in 1789 was first led by the politics of the **Federalist Party**. Policies implemented under President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) reflected that party's belief in a strong central government. Led by Secretary of the Treasury **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804), the Federalists used the government to cultivate a national economy dominated by commerce.

By 1792, opposition to the policies of the Federalist Party was growing. Led by Secretary of State **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826), critics of the Federalists banded together to form the **Republican Party**. They were also called Democratic-Republicans or Jeffersonian Republicans.

The Democratic-Republican Party stood for states' rights in opposition to the powerful central government the Federalists were building. As such, its members believed in strict interpretation of the Constitution, limited central government, and a small national military. Democratic-Republican Party policies represented the interests of common free men, particularly U.S. farmers, craftsmen, and laborers. Its economic policies reflected the needs of small businesses and individuals rather than of wealthy merchants and large commercial ventures. It also was the party of the plantation economy in the South.

The Democratic-Republican Party grew quickly through the use of pamphlets, newspaper articles, and organized political clubs. The party's leader, Thomas Jefferson, was elected president in 1800. The Democratic-Republican Party dominated national politics for the next twenty-five years.

When the Federalist Party declined after the **War of 1812**, no opposition party arose in its place. Instead, political differences of opinion started to cause internal divisions within the Democratic-Republican Party. The divisions concerned issues such as tariffs (taxes on imports), powers of the second Bank of the United States (the first Bank of the

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United States, the first federally chartered bank in the country, lapsed in 1811), and internal improvements.

The election of War of 1812 general and former U.S. senator **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37) of **Tennessee** in 1828 caused the party to split into two parties, the National Republicans and the Democratic-Republicans. Within a few years, the National Republicans became known as the **Whig Party**, and the Democratic-Republicans were simply called Democrats. The Whigs eventually dissolved, and the Democratic Party survives today.

Department of Justice

The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) is a branch of the U.S. government. Its purpose is to enforce the law and to ensure fair and impartial (nonbiased) administration of justice for all American citizens.

The DOJ has many responsibilities. It represents the United States in all legal matters, enforces immigration laws, manages the immigration process, maintains the federal prison system, and investigates and prosecutes all violations of federal laws.

The administrator of the DOJ is the attorney general. This position was established by the Judiciary Act of 1789 and was originally a part-time job. In 1867, the U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary began considering the creation of a law department that would be led by the attorney general and include other attorneys from various departments. The DOJ was officially created on July 1, 1870.

Today, the attorney general oversees eight divisions: Antitrust, Civil, Civil Rights, Criminal, Environment and Natural Resources, Justice Management, National Security, and Tax. In addition, there are five law enforcement agencies within the organization. These include the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives; the Drug Enforcement Administration; the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); the Federal Bureau of Prisons; and the U.S. Marshals Service.

In 2003, the DOJ underwent some reorganization. At that time, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was dismantled. Most of its functions were given to three new agencies inside the **Homeland Security Department**, a branch of the U.S. government created shortly after the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**.

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The attorney general represents the United States in legal matters and provides advice and opinions to the U.S. president. One of the leader's most important duties is to oversee all criminal prosecutions and civil suits that are of national interest to the United States. The structure of the DOJ has changed in ways large and small over the years. In the twenty-first century, it is the largest law office in the world as well as the central office for the enforcement of all federal laws.

Although much of what the DOJ deals with involves crime, it does participate in public service endeavors as well. For example, it partnered with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and the Ad Council to develop Project Safe Childhood. This initiative produces public service announcements to combat Internet sexual exploitation crimes against children, and it hosts a Web site full of safety information for parents and others who work and live with children.

Another public service effort undertaken by the DOJ is the Hurricane Katrina Task Force. Its mission is to detect and prosecute instances of fraud related to the Hurricane Katrina disaster that devastated the Gulf Coast in 2005.

The DOJ organized initiatives to target gang violence and at-risk youth and implemented a Faith Based and Community Initiatives Task Force, which identifies funding opportunities for faith- and community-based organizations. Once those opportunities are identified, the DOJ works with the organizations to help them apply for appropriate funding.

Because of the nature of the DOJ, it is not a department without scandal. The year 2006 was one of controversy for the DOJ. Under the leadership of Alberto Gonzales (1955–), the DOJ and specifically, the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI), were accused of using the **USA PATRIOT Act** illegally to uncover personal information about U.S. citizens. The PATRIOT Act became law in October 2001 following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks . The act expands the power of federal law enforcement agencies for the purpose of fighting terrorism. It also expands the definition of the word "terrorism" itself. Since its passage, the act has been criticized for weakening the protection of individual civil liberties, most notably those of immigrants.

In addition to the PATRIOT Act controversy, Gonzales fired seven federal prosecutors in December 2006; another resigned after being informed he was to be dismissed. These attorneys were not given reasons

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for their dismissal, and investigation into the matter revealed that at least six of the eight had good performance records within the DOJ. Further investigation revealed that Gonzales was less than truthful regarding the situation, and in his testimony, he stated at least seventy-one times that he could not recall events related to the matter. Gonzales resigned late in 2007, but the reputation of the DOJ suffered greatly.

The Department of Justice Building was completed in 1935 in Washington, D.C. In 2001, it was renamed the Robert F. Kennedy Department of Justice Building after former attorney general **Robert F. Kennedy** (1925–1968). The DOJ operated on an annual budget of $43.5 billion in 2007 and employed more than 113,000 people.

Desegregation of Public Schools

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled in ***Brown v. Board of Education*** that it was unlawful to segregate (separate) public schools by race. (See **Segregation**.) It became clear almost immediately that the vast majority of southern whites, as well as a large proportion of northern whites, were prepared to fight desegregation of public schools. Although some school districts outside the South complied with *Brown* quickly, southern politicians and local leaders waged an intense campaign against school desegregation. One southern state after another passed laws aimed at defeating desegregation.

Evading the law

By the early 1960s, the school districts in the South had found methods to keep black and white students in separate schools while seeming to comply with *Brown.* Some districts used Pupil Placement Boards, which claimed to place students in schools that were in the "best interest" of the child—almost always assigning black children to black schools and white children to white schools. When the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) challenged these placement boards in the mid-1960s, local school districts changed tactics, adopting "freedom of choice" plans. In theory, under these plans black and white students were free to choose which school they would attend; but in practice, there was no real freedom. White children would not voluntarily attend black schools, whose curriculum for the most part was inferior to white schools. Nor would very many black children voluntarily choose

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white schools where they knew they would not be welcomed. Lack of transportation greatly hampered their choice, as well. Since most neighborhoods had long been segregated, black children tended to live near all-black schools and would have to travel to get to white schools. By 1968, more than 90 percent of black children in the South attended schools that were predominantly black, despite several years of "free" choice.

The Court orders busing

The Supreme Court responded to this defiance with strong new rulings demanding effective desegregation programs in public schools. In its first major school desegregation ruling after *Brown,* the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Green v. New Kent County* (1968) that ineffective freedom of choice plans could not be tolerated so long as the schools remained segregated. A year later, the Court declared that school districts should move to desegregate at once. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971), the Court unanimously approved the use of busing—transporting public school students by bus to schools outside their neighborhoods—as a means of achieving desegregation.

The *Swann* ruling set off a furor across the country. In a phenomenon known as "white flight," angry whites fled the cities in droves, many opting for private schools or all-white suburban school districts rather than allowing their children to be bused into schools with significant African American or Hispanic populations.

Desegregation in the North and West

In 1971, research revealed that segregation in the North was more widespread than in the South. Federal judges began to issue orders forcing northern public schools to integrate, usually by busing. In 1974, a federal district judge in Boston, **Massachusetts**, ordered the highly segregated Boston schools to desegregrate, unleashing a violent conflict that gripped the city for years. White parents greeted the African Americans bused to their children's schools with racist chants and sometimes violence. Confrontations between black and white students led to police presence on school grounds during much of the controversy.

In one of its last major rulings in support of school desegregation, the Court held in *Keyes v. Denver School District No. 1* (1973) that schools

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in the North and West, like those in the South, were responsible for policies that resulted in racial segregation in the public school system. This case recognized Hispanics' rights to desegregation as well as African Americans.

Backing off on busing

To prevent "white flight," some federal judges began to merge city and county schools into one consolidated system. The Supreme Court ruled, however, that the judges were exceeding their authority. Though efforts at desegregation continued, this decision signaled the Court's retreat from school desegregation.

The integration of the nation's schools remained an open-ended issue. Desegregation eventually attained widespread public support in a few cities, such as Boston; Detroit, **Michigan**; Chicago, **Illinois**; and Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**. Educational programs designed to ease racial tensions and encourage diversity in schools became commonplace in the 1980s and 1990s. But in some areas, intense, unyielding resistance continued, notably in the form of resegregation. School districts like Denver, **Colorado**; Cleveland, **Ohio**; and Oklahoma City, **Oklahoma**, dismantled their court-ordered school desegregation plans. In 1991, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Oklahoma City v. Dowell* that the city could stop its court-enforced busing program, saying that the city had already achieved segregation and that residents had a right to send their children to neighborhood schools.

According to a Harvard study, under school desegregation laws, the number of southern black students who attended majority-white schools soared from 2.3 percent in 1964 to 43.5 percent in 1988. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, however, the number of black students in majority-white schools fell to 30 percent and many schools had resegregated, or returned to racial segregation. Some cities, such as Seattle, **Washington**, and Louisville, **Kentucky**, created programs designed to maintain racial diversity in their school systems by using a student's race or ethnicity as one of the factors determining to which school he or she was assigned. In June 2007, the Supreme Court ruled against these programs, saying that race cannot be a factor in the assignment of students to public schools.

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Emily Dickinson

For her originality, range, and emotional depth, Emily Dickinson is now among the most universally admired and extensively studied American poets.

Education

Born on December 10, 1830, Dickinson lived her entire life in Amherst, **Massachusetts**. Her father, Edward Dickinson, was a prosperous lawyer who served as treasurer of Amherst College and held various political offices. Her mother, Emily Norcross Dickinson, was a quiet and frail woman.

After attending primary school, Dickinson studied at Amherst Academy from 1840 to 1847, before spending a year at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Following the completion of her education, Dickinson lived at home with her parents and younger sister, Lavinia. Her older brother, Austin, and his wife, Susan, lived next door.

Poetry and withdrawal

Details of Dickinson's life are vague. Scholars believe that she first began writing poetry seriously in the early 1850s. Biographers speculate that during a trip to Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, in the 1850s or 1860s, Dickinson fell in love with a married minister, the Reverend Charles Wadsworth, and that her disappointment in love caused her later withdrawal from society. Whatever the cause, Dickinson spent most of her time in the following years at home or on long solitary walks.

Biographers generally agree that Dickinson experienced an emotional crisis of an undetermined nature in the early 1860s. Her distressed state of mind is believed to have inspired her to write a great deal. In 1862 alone, she is thought to have composed more than three hundred poems. In that year, Dickinson started to write to and receive letters from Thomas Higginson



Only seven of Emily Dickinson's poems were released during her lifetime. After her death, family members published hundreds of poems they found and Dickinson has since become one of the most studied American poets in history. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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(1823–1911), the literary editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine. During the course of their lengthy exchange, Dickinson sent nearly one hundred of her poems for his criticism. While Higginson had little influence on her writing, he was important to her as a sympathetic adviser.

Dickinson's refusal to leave her home or to meet visitors and her habit of always wearing white garments earned her a reputation for eccentricity (oddity). Her isolation further increased when her father died unexpectedly in 1874 and she was left with the care of her invalid mother. The death of her mother in 1882 contributed to the beginning of what Dickinson described as an "attack of nerves." In 1886, she was diagnosed as having Bright's disease, a kidney dysfunction that resulted in her death on May 15 of that year.

Discovery and publication of her poems

Only seven of Dickinson's poems were published during her lifetime, all anonymously and some apparently without her consent. The editors of the magazines in which her poems appeared made significant changes to them in an attempt to regularize the meter and grammar, thereby discouraging Dickinson from seeking further publication of her verse. Therefore, her poems found only a private audience among the people she wrote letters to, her family, and old school friends.

Even her family was unaware of the enormous quantity of verse that she composed. After Dickinson's death, her sister Lavinia was astounded to discover hundreds of poems among her possessions. Despite the disordered state of the manuscripts, Lavinia Dickinson was determined to publish her sister's poetry. She turned to Higginson and editor Mabel Loomis Todd (1858–1932), a friend of the Dickinson family, for assistance.

In 1890, *Poems of Emily Dickinson* appeared. Even though most initial reviews were highly unfavorable, the work went through eleven editions in two years. Encouraged by the popular acceptance of *Poems,* Todd edited and published two later collections of Dickinson's verse in the 1890s, as well as a two-volume selection of her letters. Over the next fifty years, more previously unprinted poems continued to appear in new collections. It was not until 1955 that Dickinson's complete poems—nearly eighteen hundred poems—were collected and published together in one text.

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A distinctive style

Dickinson's poems were in the form of brief lyrics, often of only one or two quatrains (a group of four lines of verse), and few of them were titled. In her verse, Dickinson explores various subjects: nature, death, immortality, love and loss, and fame. Drawing on imagery from biblical sources, particularly from the Book of Revelation, and from the works of English writers such as dramatist William Shakespeare (1564–1616), poet John Keats (1795–1821), and poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861), Dickinson developed a highly personal system of symbol and allusion (indirect reference), assigning complex meanings to colors, places, times, and seasons. Her tone in the poems ranges widely, from wry humor to anguished self-examination, from flirtatious puzzles to childlike openness.

The language in Dickinson's poems incorporates New England slang, religious and scientific terminology, and out-of-date words. The meters of her poems are often adapted from the rhythms of English hymns or nursery rhymes. Her rhyme and tonal harmony did not conform to the usual rules of poetry of her day. She employed quirky capitalization and punctuation. Many aspects of Dickinson's style distinguish her poetry from the mainstream of nineteenth-century American verse.

Most nineteenth-century critics viewed Dickinson's poetry with a combination of disapproval and bewilderment, objecting to her disregard for convention. By the turn of the century, despite her enthusiastic popular following, Dickinson was still regarded as a sentimental poet of minor importance.

After the publication of her complete poems in 1955, however, numerous studies of her works followed, leading to her acceptance by writers and academics as a master poet. Dickinson is now studied in high schools and colleges throughout the English-speaking world. As author Joyce Carol Oates (1938–) wrote in a *Critical Inquiry* article entitled "'*Soul at the White Heat*': The Romance of Emily Dickinson's Poetry," "Here is an American artist of words as inexhaustible as Shakespeare, as vigorously skillful in her craft as Yeats, a poet whom we can set with confidence beside the greatest poets of modern times."

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Disability Rights Movement

The disability rights movement fights for the civil rights of an estimated forty-three million U.S. citizens with physical, sensory (such as blindness or deafness), psychological, or cognitive (learning) disabilities that affect their daily activities.

Before the 1950s, disabilities were generally treated as medical problems, and the solution was to treat or train disabled people to overcome their limitations so they could adapt to their social or work environment. Viewed as sick or abnormal, disabled people were not granted the same basic rights that non-disabled people enjoyed in society.

After the **civil rights movements** of the 1960s and 1970s, however, the medical definition of disability was gradually replaced. Disabled people were defined as minorities. This meant that the problem was no longer viewed as being located within the disabled individual, but rather in the social environment that made it difficult for that person to function. The solution was not for the disabled person to adapt, but to make changes in the environment that would allow access for disabled people. Thus, for example, paralyzed legs did not inevitably cause limitations in mobility, but the absence of wheelchair ramps did.

A movement begins

The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** guaranteed basic rights to women, blacks, and other ethnic groups, but it did not mention the disabled. In the early 1970s, the federal government began revising its role in aid to the disabled. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was its first milestone in the area. Section 504 of the act prohibited discrimination on the basis of handicap in any program or activity that received federal funds.

The Education for All Handicapped Children Act (EHA) of 1975 was another milestone for disabled rights. The EHA established the principle of teaching children with disabilities within the nation's mainstream school systems. As a result of this statute, handicapped children could learn alongside other students. The number of students with disabilities who received full secondary school education grew dramatically as a direct result of the EHA.

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Americans with Disabilities Act

The children who attended school under the EHA began to enter the labor market in the 1980s. They were well-educated, highly motivated, and had useful work skills. Unfortunately, they often faced discrimination both in seeking employment and, if hired, had trouble getting to their job sites. Many disabled people began to demand the rights afforded to non-disabled people in the work force.

Disabled people's rights groups were successful in getting members of Congress to address these issues. In the late 1980s, the Senate considered a bill called the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). The ADA was written much like the 1964 Civil Rights Act, but it included protection for any person with a mental or physical impairment that substantially limited major life activities. The ADA prohibited discrimination against the disabled in employment, public services, and public accommodations and required that telecommunications be made accessible to those with speech and hearing impairments through the use of special relay systems. The rule applied to any public facility, including office buildings, gas stations, airports, hotels, bars, restaurants, lobbies, sports facilities, libraries, parks, and more. If businesses did not comply with the new law, they could be sued for discrimination. The ADA also forbade discrimination on public transportation. All new vehicles bought for public transit were required to be accessible to disabled people.

President **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93) signed the ADA into law on July 26, 1990.

Opposition

Many people in the business community opposed the ADA because they feared the expenses involved in installing wheelchair ramps, elevators, and telephone devices for the hearing-impaired. The section of the law that affected the greatest number of businesses was the one covering hiring practices. Employers could face expensive lawsuits for turning down disabled applicants who could perform all the essential parts of a job.

Overall goals

Sponsors of the ADA hoped the bill would change the way Americans thought about and treated disabled people and become a first step in helping to integrate the disabled into mainstream society. The ADA also sent

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disabled people the message that they did not have to be dependent on others and that they could have greater participation in community life.

Disco

Disco is a form of dance incorporating various aspects from several dance styles, including swing, samba, mambo, cha cha, merengue, fox trot, and tango. It became an American dance sensation in the 1970s and was glorified in the 1977 box office smash *Saturday Night Fever.* A disco, short for "discotheque," is also the place, usually a club, where people go to dance.

In the 1950s, a time of transition in the history of music, nightclubs began hiring DJs to spin records. It was a cheaper alternative to hiring live bands, and the music could be more varied and current. The first disco club opened in Paris, France. Called the Peppermint Lounge, it would spur the establishment of other discos over the next couple decades. The first American disco, the Whisky a Go Go**,** opened on Sunset Boulevard in West Hollywood, **California**, in January 1964.



A couple dancing at a disco club. Disco was not only a form of dance but also a lifestyle with its music, clothing, and attitude. AP IMAGES

All the rage

A dance called the Twist took the nightclub scene by storm in the 1960s. New York City opened its own Peppermint Lounge and hired DJs. Many clubs followed suit, adding dancers in cages to the entertainment stage. In Florida, home to a large Cuban/Latin population, dancers began experimenting with salsa and swing. Thanks to the invention of the synthesizer, 1968 marked the beginning of electronic music. Cuban dancers used this new music to create disco. By 1970, disco swing was being danced all over the United States.

As disco's popularity increased, nightclubs became fancier and more tech savvy. The sexual revolution of the 1960s contributed to an image of disco as celebrating sexual freedom and drug use, with a focus on urban nightlife. The most sophisticated disco to crop up was New York

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City's Studio 54. Opening its doors in April 1977, Studio 54 was unlike many other discos, which were mere warehouses. With its lavish decorations and extravagant dance floor, it became the place for celebrities and trendy New Yorkers alike to dance until the early morning hours in the late 1970s, and it remained a hot spot until it closed in 1986.

Influences

In 1977, actor John Travolta (1954–) starred in a **movie** that would become a cultural icon. *Saturday Night Fever* heavily influenced and popularized the disco culture. Travolta played a poor urban youth who escaped the drudgery of daily life by visiting the disco, where he honed his dance skills. The film's music was written and performed by the Bee Gees, a pop trio from Australia who gained a second career through the sounds of disco.

Other influential and notable disco-era musicians include Donna Summer (1948–), Chic, Gloria Gaynor (c. 1949–), Patti LaBelle (1944–), KC and the Sunshine Band, and the Village People. One of the earliest disco songs to hit the number one spot on music charts was the Hues Corporation's 1974 smash single "Rock the Boat." Other memorable tunes include "Le Freak" (Chic), "Fly Robin Fly" (Silver Convention), "I Will Survive" (Gaynor), and "That's the Way (I Like It)" (KC and the Sunshine Band).

As is often the case, musicians who find stardom in music trends often fail to maintain their success. Groups such as the Village People, Chic, and Silver Convention had records at the top of the charts throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. But as the disco sound morphed into hip hop, techno pop, and the "dance sound," many disco-era stars were forgotten by all but die-hard fans unless they were able to cross genres. Earth, Wind & Fire and Chaka Khan (1953–) were two artists who successfully mixed their disco sound with funk and rhythm and blues. This versatility gave them staying power, and they continued to sell records even after disco had died.

End of an era

Disco reached its peak in 1978, and in June of that year, New York declared a National Disco Week. It seemed as though the entire entertainment industry had been taken over by disco. Weekly television shows

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such as *Soul Train* and *Dance Fever* attracted millions of viewers. Fashions changed to reflect the sexy attitude of disco as women wore fluttery, clingy, short dresses and men wore wide-collar button-down shirts, polyester suits, and gold jewelry.

Not everyone was enamored of the disco craze. There can often be a general cultural backlash to a style that permeates every part of society. The influence of disco was everywhere—in movies, clothes, and music—and many felt overwhelmed. With the growth of a harder **rock and roll** sound and image, many embraced this new style and rebelled against anything disco, often burning disco records and mocking disco on the radio and in rock songs. Also helping usher out the disco era was the resurgence of **country music** and style as shown in the 1980 movie *Urban Cowboy,* which starred John Travolta as a dancing cowboy, excitable and sincere. Tight polyester pants were replaced with tight blue jeans, and what was once recognized as disco swing suddenly but subtly became rodeo swing, or cowboy swing. These country-western dances were easier to master, so even nondancers who had felt left out in the 1970s could now participate. The combination of these factors led to the demise of disco.

In the twenty-first century, those too young to have experienced the disco era often see it as strange and somewhat dated, while those who took part in it often look back on the era with nostalgia. Comedians and television sitcoms may make fun of disco, its styles and its dancers, but there is no denying that disco left its mark on the history of American music and social style.

District of Columbia

See **Washington, D.C.**

Domestic Terrorism

The **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) breaks terrorism into two categories: international and domestic. Domestic terrorism is the illegal use, or threatened use, of force or violence by groups or individuals operating within the United States who are not under the direction of any foreign influences. The violence is usually committed to intimidate the population or to push the government into advancing the terrorist's objectives.

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Ku Klux Klan

The most prominent roots of domestic terrorism in the United States can be traced back to the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK). Founded shortly after the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the original Klan tormented, intimidated, attacked, and murdered African Americans and those who supported their rights, predominantly in southern U.S. states. Around 1870, many of the active Klan chapters disbanded, but the organization experienced a nationwide revival around 1915, when terror tactics against blacks increased, including mob **lynching** (violent killings usually done in the name of a mob's notion of law or justice) and vigilante-style murders (killings by groups of people who take the law into their own hands). By the 1930s, the KKK became largely inactive, although a small number of independent groups carries on in its name.

Since the 1960s, U.S. terrorist groups have fallen into three broad categories: extreme left-wing, extreme right-wing, and special interest.

Extreme left-wing terrorism

Extreme left-wing terrorists usually have a revolutionary goal, such as protecting people from the dehumanizing effects of capitalism (an eco-



Ku Klux Klan members have carried out some of the most aggressive and murderous examples of domestic terrorism in U.S. history. AP IMAGES

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nomic system, such as those in the United States and most of Europe, in which individuals and companies compete for their own economic gain without governmental interference). Left-wing extremism was the most prominent type of terrorism in the United States from the 1960s to the 1980s and was responsible for incidents of violence, including bombings. Left-wing extremist groups included the Weather Underground, the Black Liberation Army, the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), the United Freedom Front, and the Armed Forces of Puerto Rico Liberation Front (FALN).

One of the most famous incidents of left-wing terrorism was the kidnapping of nineteen-year-old newspaper heiress Patty Hearst (1954–) by the SLA in 1974. After a number of weeks with her captors, Hearst became a member of the group, actively participating in bank robberies carried out in support of their revolutionary goals. She later claimed she was brainwashed, but she was found guilty of armed robbery and served some prison time before President **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) commuted her sentence.

Extreme right-wing groups

By the 1990s, right-wing extremism became the most prominent domestic terrorist threat. Members of the extreme right support a variety of antigovernment, racist, and conspiracy theory ideologies. Conspiracy theories claim that governments, economies, and other social systems have been taken over by cunning and often evil conspirators who manipulate history's major events from behind the scenes. Some of the most active and widely recognized extreme right groups are listed here:

Christian Identity. The modern American Christian Identity movement asserts that the white Aryan race (Aryan is a term meaning people who speak the English or Indian languages, but it is often used to mean non-Jewish whites) is God's chosen race. Using the Bible to justify hate-filled, racist goals, Christian Identity followers believe that the Second Coming of Jesus Christ will lead to a violent and bloody race war between Good (whites) and Evil (Jews and non-whites). The extreme followers of Christian Identity encourage violence against non-whites to achieve their goals. Christian Identity was very strong in the right-wing movement in the 1990s and early 2000s.

White supremacists. White supremacists believe that white people should rule the world. The extreme members are typically violent racists

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who support the establishment of a white homeland in order to maintain the purity of the white race. Traditional targets of white supremacist activity have been black Americans and Jews, although in recent years the number of hate crimes carried out against gays and lesbians and other minority and ethnic groups have been growing.

Militia movement. Rising to prominence in the early to mid-1990s, the militia movement is based on the belief that Americans should form armed paramilitary groups (civilians trained and organized in a military fashion) to protect themselves against what they see as a tyrannical and oppressive U.S. government. The movement strongly opposes gun control. Although the majority of active militia groups do not engage in violent activities, a small number of them have been responsible for some deadly acts of terrorism.

Patriot, tax protest, and Sovereign Citizen movements. Members of these movements are generally united by the common conviction that the United States is not governed the way it was intended to be when it was founded. Members of the group believe that many local, state, and federal laws are without foundation and should be resisted or rejected. Tax protest movement members believe that tax laws are illegitimate. Sovereign Citizens, also known as common law activists, believe American citizens are only subject to what they call the common law. Under common law, citizens have absolute control over their land and property; are not required to pay most taxes; and are not subject to a variety of government regulations, ordinances, and laws. Sovereign Citizens often refuse to have a Social Security card, a passport, or even a driver's license. They often have engaged in a variety of criminal activities, from minor legal offenses to violent armed robberies and standoffs with federal authorities.

Right-wing versus government conflicts

Two highly publicized conflicts in the early 1990s inflamed the antigovernment stance of the extreme right. The first occurred in August 1992, when federal authorities attempted to arrest Randy Weaver (1948–) for failing to appear at court on weapons charges. Weaver and his wife lived in a very remote location in Ruby Ridge, **Idaho**. Weaver had attended some white supremacist meetings and considered himself a white separatist, but he was not a member of any of the extreme right-wing groups. When federal agents approached the Weavers' homestead unannounced,

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Randy Weaver holds up his bullet-riddled cabin door in court. During an eleven-day standoff, federal agents killed his son, his wife, and wounded Weaver. AP IMAGES

they were detected by Weaver's dog. Weaver's fourteen-year-old son and a friend went to investigate, and gunfire erupted. The agents shot and killed Weaver's son, and a federal agent was also killed. Weaver refused to surrender and more federal agents arrived, beginning a standoff that lasted eleven days. Once news of the standoff became known, hundreds of right-wing extremists arrived at the scene, angrily protesting the actions taken by the federal authorities. During the siege, a federal sniper (a skilled shooter) killed Weaver's wife. Weaver and a friend were wounded. Weaver recovered and was later acquitted of all charges against him.

On February 28, 1993, another violent conflict occurred between a right-wing group and the government. Reports had reached federal

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agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) that a group called the Branch Davidians was storing illegal weapons and explosives. There were also rumors that their leader, David Koresh (1959–1993), was sexually abusing children at the group's compound near Waco, **Texas**. The Branch Davidians were a splinter group of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, which believes that Christian prophecies of a final divine judgment will occur in present times. The Davidians believed that Koresh was the prophet who could guide them through the second coming of Jesus Christ. Koresh allegedly claimed all the women in his group as his own wives, including minors as young as eleven years old. The group had been stockpiling food and weapons to defend themselves from evil, and from the U.S. government.

When the federal agents arrived with a search warrant on February 28, a shootout erupted in which four ATF agents and five members of the religious group were killed. This was followed by a fifty-one-day standoff. On April 19, the FBI shot tear gas into the compound. Hours later, fires broke out inside the building. In the end, nearly eighty men, women, and children died in the compound, either in the fires or from gunshot wounds. Later government investigations supported the FBI's claims that its tear gas was not responsible for the fires. The government asserted that the Branch Davidians had set fire to their own compound; many remained unconvinced.

Rage over Ruby Ridge and Waco led to the most destructive incident of domestic terrorism in the history of the United States, the 1995 **Oklahoma City federal building bombing**. In that bombing, 168 people were killed and 500 more were injured in the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City, **Oklahoma**. The bombers, Timothy McVeigh (1968–2001) and Terry Nichols (1955–), though not directly affiliated with any known terrorist organization, both believed in conspiracy theories. McVeigh believed that a high number of casualties in Oklahoma would be the best way to deliver his antigovernment message.

Special interest terrorism

Special interest terrorism seeks specific goals, such as protection of the environment, animal liberation rights, and antiabortionism. In some cases, special interest terrorists have resorted to criminal activity including tree spiking (hammering metal spikes into trees to damage the saws used in logging), vandalism, bombings, and killings. Extremist activities

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have been on the rise in the past few years, with special interest terrorist groups such as the Army of God, the Animal Liberation Front, and the Earth Liberation Front planning and carrying out a number of terrorist acts in the United States.

Army of God

Since the early 1980s, a number of violent events, including arsons, kidnappings, bombings, murders, and anthrax-hoax threat letters (letters claiming to be contaminated with anthrax, a highly infectious, often fatal disease), have been carried out against abortion providers in the United States. Many of these attacks have been attributed to a group known as the Army of God. A loose affiliation of violent antiabortion extremists, the Army of God has hundreds of members across the United States who believe that killing abortion providers (the doctors and other medical personnel who perform abortions) is not murder, but rather justifiable homicide.

Antigovernment activist Eric Robert Rudolph (1966–) was a well-known member of the underground Army of God movement. One of the FBI's ten most-wanted fugitives, Rudolph was charged with the July 27, 1996, fatal bombing at Atlanta's Centennial Olympic Park in **Georgia**, which killed one person and wounded more than one hundred others. He was also charged with several other bombings at women's health-care clinics and a gay bar in Atlanta and in Birmingham, Alabama. Letters from the Army of God, which authorities believe were written by Rudolph, claimed responsibility for all but the Atlanta Centennial Olympic Park bombing. After years of pursuit, the FBI caught Rudolph in 2003. He pled guilty to the bombings and said that his purpose was to "confound, anger and embarrass" the U.S. government for legalizing abortion.

Terrorism continues

On October 2, 2001, just weeks after the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks** on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, a photo editor in Boca Raton, **Florida**, was admitted to the hospital with severe flulike symptoms. Diagnosed with a fatal case of inhalation anthrax, he died three days later, the first known person in the United States to die from inhaled anthrax since 1976. Within days, more individuals tested positive for exposure to anthrax, and it became clear that letters containing

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anthrax had been mailed to a series of high-profile addresses. Soon, the U.S. postal service was paralyzed. The FBI found no direct link to organized terrorism. Although no one claimed responsibility, most experts believe the anthrax attacks were the result of domestic terrorism, possibly the work of a lone American.

Since that time, federal authorities have initiated a number of strict domestic security measures designed to prevent further attacks. Terrorist attacks from inside the United States, though featured somewhat less than international terrorist attacks in the news, remain a major threat to national security.

Domino Theory

Drawing on the image of a line of dominoes toppling one after another, the domino theory states that the fall of one country to communism leads to the collapse of the rest of the countries in that region. (Under communism, a country's goods and services, along with their distribution, are government-owned and controlled.)

President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) and the U.S. government first put forth the idea of the domino effect in 1947 when they feared that the weak governments of Turkey and Greece would give in to communist pressure. In order to keep that from happening, America gave financial assistance to Greece and Turkey. This program was known as the **Truman Doctrine**. The actual use of the term "domino theory" reportedly was not used until President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) mentioned it in response to a journalist's question in 1953.

The domino effect was again brought up as a concern in 1949, when China became a communist country. U.S. government officials were worried about the future of the rest of Asia.

In 1950, when communist North Korea invaded South Korea, President Truman supported a policy of containment (keeping the spread of communism to a minimum) and sent U.S. troops. Truman and his successor, Eisenhower, cited the domino effect as the reason for aiding the French in Indochina in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). America believed a communist victory in Vietnam would allow communism to spread to countries from the Philippine Islands to Laos to India.

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U.S. presidents **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) and **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) used the domino theory as a cornerstone for their policies throughout the Vietnam War. As Democrats, both men were sensitive to the Republican accusation that they had allowed China to fall to communism. Neither wanted to shoulder that responsibility. As vice president, Johnson used the domino theory to defend the presence of U.S. military advisers in Vietnam in 1961. Kennedy used the theory to increase the number of troops sent to fight the hopeless war.

The domino theory was not without controversy. When the Vietnam War finally ended in success for the communists, the theory proved wrong. Thailand, Indonesia, and other large southeastern Asian countries did not fall to communism, as Eisenhower had predicted they would. Critics of the domino theory claimed that it was used as propaganda (information spread solely for the purpose of justifying a specific cause) for intervening in the war. To these critics, the theory was nothing more than a scare tactic.

The domino theory occasionally has been referenced in more modern times. President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89), for example, invoked it when he argued for aid to the Nicaraguan Contras in what turned out to be the scandalous **Iran-Contra affair**. In general, the theory is no longer a factor in U.S. foreign policy.

Donner Party

In the fever for westward expansion in the late 1840s, the disastrous journey of the Donner Party is an example of some of the nightmares faced by early pioneers on the rough journey west.

Hopeful start

In April 1846, brothers George and Jacob Donner, prosperous farmers in their sixties, loaded their families and belongings into six wagons to move to **California**. Other families from their region joined them. In all, seventy-two wagons started out from Springfield, **Illinois**, on their way to the **Oregon Trail,** a 2,000-mile route west from **Missouri** to **Oregon**, with a connecting trail to California. By the time the caravan (group of wagons) reached Independence, Missouri, it included almost three hun-

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dred wagons. George Donner was elected captain of a caravan of about forty wagons.

The Donner Party started out with the same hopes that drove most westward pioneers—hopes for land, opportunity, and a better life in the West. Unfortunately, none of the members of the party had experience in traveling in the wilderness. The Oregon Trail was still new in 1846, and many parts of the route were poorly marked. There were few guides and little published information for travelers to rely on.

Party splits off from the main trail

Trouble did not begin until July 1846, when the Donner Party wagons crossed into **Wyoming**. There, the pioneers discussed taking a shortcut called the Hastings Cutoff, which had been mentioned in *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California,* by Lansford Hastings, one of the few guides for travelers on the trail. Part of the group opted to take the main trail, but the Donner families and eighty-seven others decided to proceed to the shortcut, splitting from the rest of the group at Fort Bridger, Wyoming, on July 31.

From the start, the pioneers faced great difficulties on the new route. For part of the journey they were forced to cut a passage for the wagons through dense woods. Later, they had to cross the Great Salt Lake Desert, a dry region of northwestern **Utah** covering 4,000 square miles. In the desert, many of the pack animals died of thirst and exhaustion.

Facing the Sierra Nevada

The wagons reached the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada in mid-October, very late in the season to make a dangerous mountain crossing. The group was worn out and low on food. With winter snows expected any day, they decided to rest for a week before starting over the mountains.

By the end of October, most of the wagons reached the shores of Truckee Lake (now Donner Lake) in northern California. Looming above at 7,088 feet were the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the narrow, rocky passage now known as Donner Pass. The pioneers knew that if they made it up the steep eastern side of the mountains and through the pass, they could proceed down the easier slope of the western side to Sutter's Fort in the Great Central Valley of California in a few days. But

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they had arrived too late. Just a day's journey from the pass, the pioneers watched as heavy snow began to fall.

Snowbound pioneers struggle to survive

In repeated attempts to reach the pass, the Donner Party's wagons failed to make it through the deep snow. There was no choice but to return to the lake and set up a winter camp. The weather made each day a struggle for survival. Snow drifted as high as twenty feet. The lake was frozen. Food supplies were soon gone, and hunting generally failed to provide any food. Many members of the group were dying. Survivors began to eat boiled animal hides because there was nothing else. Finally, in desperation, some resorted to eating the flesh from the bodies of their dead fellow travelers.

In a desperate attempt to get help, on December 16 fifteen of the strongest survivors set out on foot for Sutter's Fort. The group consisted of five women and ten men, including two Native American guides. By Christmas Day, the travelers had been without food for four days. They knew that if any of them were to reach civilization, one of them must die to provide food for the others. They drew lots but then could not carry through the plan to kill one of their members. Two days later, after another snowstorm had blanketed them, they found that four of their members had died. The survivors then stripped, roasted, and ate the flesh of the dead and tried to regain their strength. As they pressed on, the two Native American guides collapsed on the trail—they had refused to eat the human meat. The survivors shot and ate them.

On January 10, 1847, the seven remaining members of the rescue party—five women and two men—at last reached civilization. In mid-February, rescuers were finally able to cross the mountains to reach the survivors of the Donner Party. Of the eighty-seven members, only forty-five had survived. At the campsite, pieces of human bodies were visible, a grim reminder of the Donner Party's desperate measures for survival.

Doughboys

Although the term "doughboys" was used for infantry soldiers as far back as the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), it is most commonly used when referring to soldiers in **World War I** (1914–18).

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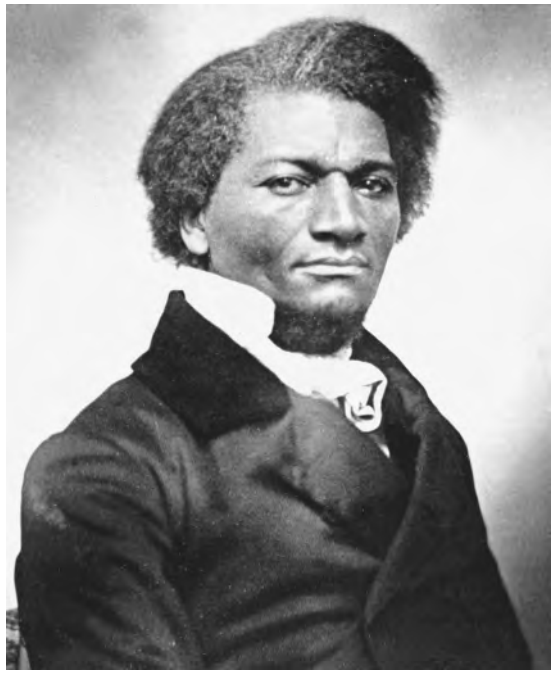
In the Mexican-American War, the cavalry (horse-riding soldiers) used the term as an insult when referring to the infantry (foot soldiers), who were considered inferior. One believable theory is that after long marches, the infantry was covered in dust and dirt, making them resemble the adobe (dried clay) structures built throughout the Southwest. The cavalry called them "adobe boys"; in American tongue, that translated to "doughboys."

Another theory states that the term originates during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Military uniforms worn during that war bore large, globular buttons that resembled balls of dough.

Nearly five million Americans served their country in World War I. They referred to themselves as doughboys, and the term was eventually used even in official military communications.

Frederick Douglass

Although Frederick Douglass spent the first twenty years of his life in **slavery** and had only a modest education, he became one of America's most respected abolitionists (reformers who worked to eliminate slavery) and one of its greatest orators and statesmen.



Former slave Frederick Douglass became one of America's most respected abolitionists, who lectured, often to mostly white audiences, about the evils of slavery. AP IMAGES

Born into slavery

Douglass was born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey on the eastern shore of **Maryland** in February of 1818. He never knew his father, a white man, and he was separated at an early age from his mother, a slave named Harriet Bailey. Douglass's early childhood lacked the warmth of family attachments. Like other slaves around him, he was forced to do hard work and witnessed many acts of cruelty on the Maryland plantation.

In 1825, Douglass's masters sent him to Baltimore to work as a house slave. The mistress of the household, a Northerner, taught Douglass a few basics of reading and writing before her husband stopped her. With this background, he began his self-education.

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After numerous ownership disputes and an escape attempt, Douglass's slave owners put him to work in the Baltimore shipyards. There, in 1838, he borrowed an African American sailor's papers and escaped to **New York**. He took the name Douglass and married a free African American woman. They settled in New Bedford, **Massachusetts**.

Lectures in the antislavery movement

In New Bedford, Douglass quickly became involved in the growing **abolition movement** of the North. At an antislavery meeting in Massachusetts in 1841, he delivered a moving speech about his experiences as a slave. A forceful speaker, he caught the attention of William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879), the uncompromising abolitionist and leader of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. The Society asked Douglass to go on a four-year lecture tour of the North. In his first lectures, Douglass simply related his experiences as a slave, but later he lectured about the evils of slavery. His audiences were primarily white.

Writes autobiography

Douglass was an accomplished writer as well as an orator. *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,* his autobiography, was published in 1845. The book, still widely read today, was so popular that he wrote and published several longer versions through the years.

The 1845 publication of his autobiography announced to the country that Douglass was a fugitive slave. No laws protected him from being returned into slavery, so he fled to Britain. He remained there from 1845 to 1847, speaking to fascinated audiences.

Founds abolitionist newspaper

Douglass made such a deep impression in England that his supporters there raised money for him to purchase his freedom. Douglass returned to the United States a free man and settled in Rochester, New York. There, he started publishing his abolitionist newspaper, *North Star.* Besides publishing a newspaper, the *North Star* offices served as a station on the **Underground Railroad** (the secret network of people, routes, and safe houses that helped escaped slaves find their way to freedom). In a ten-year span, Douglass assisted close to four hundred fugitives by providing them with food and shelter on their journey to Canada.

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Douglass developed close relationships with almost every known reformer in the United States, working with both black and white activists. He was a true reformer, a committed opponent of slavery who abhorred all forms of oppression, particularly against women. Douglass attended the first **Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention** in New York, in July 1848, and held a lifelong commitment to women's rights. He also campaigned against Northern discrimination that kept African Americans out of jobs as skilled laborers. He encouraged free blacks to adopt the middle-class values of industry, thrift, and temperance (not drinking alcohol) as the path to American success.

The 1850s

As the division between North and South grew stronger in the decade leading to the American **Civil War** (1861–65), Douglass became more active in his fight to abolish slavery. For years, he had followed Garrison and the Anti-Slavery Society in using only peaceful, moral persuasion. In the 1850s, Douglass came to support violent resistance to enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required citizens of free states to return runaway slaves to their slave owners. He joined the **Republican Party**, splitting with Garrison.

Among the reformers Douglass had come to know in his career was abolitionist John Brown (1800–1859). Brown stayed in Douglass's home in February 1858 while perfecting plans to raid the federal arsenal (place where weapons are stored) at Harpers Ferry, **Virginia** (now part of **West Virginia**), in October 1859. Brown invited Douglass to participate in the violent attack, but Douglass refused. The unsuccessful **Harpers Ferry raid** ended in Brown's capture. Douglass fled to England to escape federal charges of aiding Brown.

Civil War and Reconstruction

Back in the United States in 1860, Douglass campaigned for Republican presidential candidate **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–1865). When the South seceded (separated) from the **Union** the next year, Douglass welcomed the Civil War as the only way to end slavery. During the war years, Douglass was an enthusiastic recruiter for black troops for the Union army. Douglass helped Lincoln with his 1864 reelection campaign and attended the inaugural ball. He deeply mourned the assassination of the president in 1865.

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Douglass hoped his days as an activist had ended with the war, but it was soon clear that the United States was not providing justice and equality to African Americans. Douglass took to the lecture circuit again, and in 1870 he and his sons began publishing another weekly newspaper. He held several prominent governmental posts in his later career. On February 25, 1895, he died of a heart attack on his estate overlooking **Washington, D.C.**, having just returned from a convention supporting the **women's suffrage movement** (right to vote).

Draft

See **Conscription Acts; Military Draft**

Francis Drake

Sir Francis Drake was the first English navigator to sail all the way around the world.

Expeditions to the New World

Drake was born around 1540, the son of a poor farmer. He trained as a seaman as a young man. While still in his teens, he served on several expeditions in the **Atlantic slave trade**, sailing from Europe to Africa and then on to the New World. During one of these expeditions, the Spanish, England's enemy at the time, attacked his fleet, sinking ships and killing seamen. Drake survived, but vowed revenge.

Drake developed into a brilliant seaman, and his skills soon came to the attention of British queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603). With England and Spain locked in conflict, Elizabeth wished to cut off Spain from its steady supplies of gold and other riches from the New World. She made Drake a privateer, someone allowed by law to attack and plunder Spanish ships and settlements. Drake sailed for the New World, where he attacked poorly defended Spanish settlements, robbing them of their stores of gold. When he reached Panama, he caught a glimpse of the Pacific Ocean for the first time. He prayed that he would someday sail an English ship in that sea.

The trip around the world

On November 15, 1577, Queen Elizabeth I commissioned Drake to cross the treacherous Strait of Magellan at the southern tip of South

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America and explore the unknown lands on the Pacific Ocean side of the continent. Many had tried and failed to sail through the strait before him. Drake crossed the 300-mile (483-kilometer) waterway in a record two weeks. His ship, the *Golden Hind,* then sailed northward along the coast of South America, with Drake plundering a Spanish port and a treasure ship along the way. Continuing his journey up the coast of North America, he anchored at Coos Bay, off the coast of the area that is now **Oregon**. He traveled north again and became the first European to see the western coast of modern-day Canada.

In July 1579, Drake headed west from the shores of North America across the Pacific Ocean. Over the next few months, he sailed by the South Pacific island of Palau and stopped in the Philippines and the Spice Islands. Drake then crossed the Indian Ocean and came around the tip of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope. On September 26, 1580, two years after sailing through the Strait of Magellan, he brought his ship back to Plymouth Harbor in England. The *Golden Hind* was the first English ship to sail around the world.

Enemy of Spain

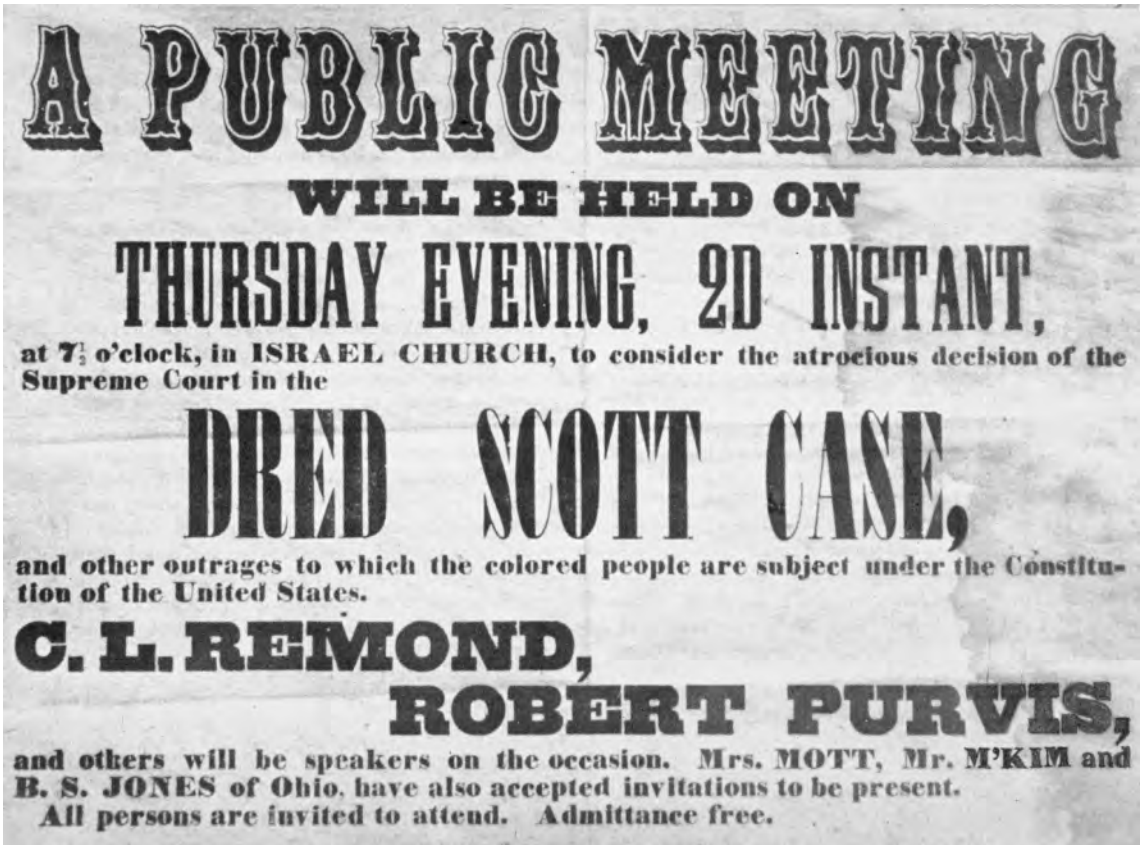
During the 1580s, Drake caused so much damage in his attacks on Spanish fleets that he is considered one of the major reasons for the war between Spain and England. In July 1588, Spain sent its huge fleet of warships, the Spanish Armada, to the English Channel, ready to attack England on its own soil. Drake was appointed vice admiral of the British fleet that set out to meet the Spanish. After a long but indecisive battle, the Spanish fleet retreated. Drake sent ships that had been set on fire after them. Driven by a brisk wind, the fire ships destroyed a good portion of the Spanish fleet, giving England, and Drake, an unexpected and highly celebrated victory.

While attempting an attack on Spanish colonies in the West Indies in 1596, Drake died of fever and was buried at sea off the coast of Panama.

Dred Scott Case

The *Dred Scott* case (*Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sanford*) was decided by the U.S. **Supreme Court** on March 6, 1857. The case involved controversial **slavery** issues, and the decision had an immediate impact on the politics of the United States.

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A PUBLIC MEETING
WILL BE HELD ON
THURSDAY EVENING, 2D INSTANT,
at 7½ o'clock, in ISRAEL CHURCH, to consider the atrocious decision of the Supreme Court in the
DRED SCOTT CASE,
and other outrages to which the colored people are subject under the Constitution of the United States.
C. L. REMOND,
ROBERT PURVIS,
and others will be speakers on the occasion. Mrs. MOTT, Mr. M'KIM and B. S. JONES of Ohio, have also accepted invitations to be present.
All persons are invited to attend. Admittance free.

Public meetings were held to discuss the controversial Dred Scott *case, in which a slave petitioned for his freedom but the U.S. Supreme Court declared that slaves were property and not citizens.*

Case history

Dred Scott was a slave owned by U.S. Army surgeon John Emerson. Emerson was stationed first in **Illinois**, then in the **Wisconsin** Territory, and finally in **Missouri**. Scott accompanied Emerson everywhere, but the laws regarding slavery were different in each state.

After Emerson's death in Missouri in 1846, Scott decided to seek his freedom based on his residency in the free territories of Illinois and Wisconsin. Scott claimed his residency there had freed him from the status of slavery, so that he returned to Missouri as a citizen rather than a slave.

Scott began his case for freedom in 1846 in the Missouri state courts. Although a lower court declared Scott free, the Missouri Supreme

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Court reversed the decision. Scott then filed a new lawsuit in the federal court system. The case ultimately reached the U.S. Supreme Court, where the decision settled not only Scott's personal fate but also a divisive political dispute over slavery in the territories.

The result

When the Supreme Court reached its decision in 1857, it was unclear what the majority opinion was. Each of the nine justices wrote a separate opinion on the matter. Only one aspect of the case had a clear majority of seven to two: that a slave was personal property and could not be a citizen.

Other principles established by the various opinions included the following: (1) African Americans could not be citizens; (2) the **Missouri Compromise**, which prevented slavery in certain territories, was unconstitutional, because slaves were a form of property protected by the **Fifth Amendment** of the **Constitution**, so Congress had no authority to abolish slavery; and (3) an African American slave previously freed through residence in a free state returns to slavery when returning to a slave state. For Dred Scott, a resident of the slavery state of Missouri, the Supreme Court's decision meant he was still a slave.

The road to war

The *Dred Scott* case began to unravel the union of the United States. The Supreme Court's decision implied that slavery was not only safe where it existed but that it could be protected throughout the entire nation. This result had a significant political impact.

Democrats had enjoyed political success in both northern and southern states by supporting the idea of "popular sovereignty." This concept meant that every new state and territory should have the power to establish its own policy towards slavery. The *Dred Scott* decision threatened state power to abolish slavery, damaging a successful part of the Democratic platform in the north.

Republicans, too, suddenly lost their "free-soil" platform. Free-soil politics referred to the party's stance against the expansion of slavery into new states and territories. Instead of destroying the **Republican Party**, however, the decision became a major focus of its campaigns in 1858 and 1860. Republican success for **Abraham Lincoln** in the 1860 presiden-

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tial election sparked southern secession from the Union and the onset of the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Dust Bowl

In 1934, weather conditions and farming practices in the Great Plains combined to produce an ecological disaster called the Dust Bowl. The Plains stretched from **South Dakota** to **Texas**, and included several states, among them **Kansas**, **Nebraska**, and **Oklahoma**. An intense, long-term drought (a period of below-average rainfall), high heat, and farming practices that exposed the soil caused two immense storms of dust that blew across the nation. Virtually all aspects of life on the Plains struggled in the resulting conditions.

The southern plains had once been natural grazing lands covered in prairie grasses, particularly buffalo grass. The plants not only provided a diet to buffalo, sheep, and cattle, but also served as a protective anchor for the land. Catching moisture in their roots, plants prevented winds from blowing the soil away. As long as the grasses were present, the soil could recover from the effects of strong prairie winds.

In the late nineteenth century, humans began settling in the grasslands. The large grazing lands quickly turned into small individual farms. Wherever people established themselves, the grasses were plowed under, and crops were planted instead. The combination of improvements in farming technology and the high demand for wheat caused large plots of land to be devoted to growing wheat. Though the fields were planted, the roots of the crops were not as moist and strong as buffalo grass. Rainfall had been relatively frequent in the decades when farming had become so vast in the Plains. People did not have reason to suspect that the farmed crops would be challenged by drought and wind.

In 1931, a long-term drought began, and when the winds started blowing in 1934, the farmers' fields could not hold. The drought powdered the soil, which allowed the wind to pick up the dust and spread it. Over the course of the next few years, local dust storms combined into large regional storms. Eventually, two great storms developed in the spring of 1934, large enough to cause a great natural disaster. Strong winds stripped the land of its topsoil and carried the dirt over hundreds of miles.

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A cloud of topsoil moves down a road in the Dust Bowl in 1935. An intense drought and high heat brought about the Dust Bowl that swept across the Plains, causing devastation. AP IMAGES

An estimated 650 million tons of soil blew away, leaving farms devastated. The wind carried off most of the crops, too, and layers of dirt covered what remained. Soil caked the grazing pastures of livestock, which they then tried to eat. Mud balls formed in their stomachs as a result, and many animals died. Like snow, the dust blanketed everything, burying fences, penetrating automobile engines, and causing "dust pneumonia" among the people. The Dust Bowl covered 300,000 square miles of territory located in Kansas, Texas, western Oklahoma, eastern **Colorado**, and **New Mexico**. Dust-filled skies dumped the soil as far east as Chicago, **Illinois**, and darkened skies along the entire eastern seaboard. It was a great disaster that demanded government attention.

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The Dust Bowl happened during the **Great Depression** (1929–41) in the United States. It was a time of economic recession, when people were already experiencing enormous difficulties in finding steady work to provide food and shelter for their families. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) took office in 1933 and worked quickly to establish relief programs for the entire nation.

When the Dust Bowl storms occurred, Roosevelt and Congress established other programs to provide relief to the farmers. The Soil Conservation Service was created to supply technical assistance and leadership in the development of soil conservation techniques. The Department of Agriculture encouraged strip crops, contour plowing, and terracing as new methods of wind control for farmers to use. Farmers received monetary incentives to reduce farmed acreage and to employ wind control practices. The government also planted a hundred-mile-wide belt of trees from Canada to Texas in hopes of creating a wind break. It also purchased more than eight million cattle to cut down on grazing needs in the region. Most importantly, it worked to return the region to grassland, shrinking the Dust Bowl area from 8.727 million acres in 1938 to 1.2 million in 1939 as grasses took root.

Dutch East/West India Companies

Two Dutch companies controlled much trade for the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Like modern corporations, trading companies had private investors who received charters from European governments to control trade in particular parts of the world. The companies had power to establish and control local governments in their regions. They waged war as necessary to protect their regions from native inhabitants and from other foreign powers.

Dutch East India Company

The East Indies was the European name for the islands centered on what is now Indonesia, southeast of India. They were the source of much profitable trade for European countries in the colonial period.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Netherlands was a major European trading power in Southeast Asia. In 1602, investors formed the Dutch East India Company to control trade in that region. The Dutch parliament, called the States-General, gave the company a

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twenty-one-year monopoly (exclusive control of business) on trade in the East Indies. The States-General also gave the company power to wage war against Spain and Portugal, other European powers that wanted the region's lucrative trade.

The Dutch East India Company was profitable for almost two hundred years. The region that it controlled was eventually called Dutch East India. The company went bankrupt and dissolved in 1800.

Dutch West India Company

In the early seventeenth century, European merchants had to sail around South America or Africa to get to India. Explorers searched for a faster route through North America to the profitable Asian markets. In 1609, English adventurer **Henry Hudson** (d. 1611) explored the river that bears his name, near present-day New York City, for the Dutch East India Company. Failing to find the desired Northwest Passage, Hudson instead established what would prove to be a lucrative fur trade with Native Americans.

In 1621, Dutch investors formed a company called the Dutch West India Company. They received a charter from the States-General to monopolize trade along the Atlantic coasts of Africa and the Americas for twenty-one years. In 1624, thirty families led by Captain Cornelius May sailed to the New World, settling on the Delaware River. Their colony became known as New Netherland. The third governor of New Netherland, Peter Minuit (1589–1638), moved the capital of the colony to Manhattan Island in 1626. The town settlement there was called **New Amsterdam**.

Three years later, with approval from the States-General, the Dutch West India Company issued the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions.

Challenging the Monopoly

Dutch businessmen who wanted to profit from trade in the East Indies disapproved of the monopoly held by the Dutch East India Company. Dutch merchant Jacob Le Maire (1585–1616) and navigator Willem Corneliszoon Schouten (1585?–1625) gathered investors to finance an expedition to search for a route to the East Indies not controlled by the company. At the end of May 1615, two ships sailed from the Dutch seaport of Hoorn, piloted by Schouten and his brother, Jan Schouten.

In October 1616, the expedition finally reached Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. The governor of the Dutch East India Company did not believe that the adventurers had found a new route. He seized their ship (only one finished the voyage), arrested Le Maire and Schouten and ten crew members, and he sent them back to the Netherlands for violating the Dutch East India Company's exclusive trading rights.

Le Maire died on the return trip, but Schouten survived. Le Maire's father sued the Dutch East India Company over the situation. After two years of litigation, a court ruled that Le Maire's expedition had found a new route to the East Indies, south of the Strait of Magellan off the tip of South America. The Dutch East India Company was ordered to return Le Maire's ship and cargo to Le Maire's father. The waterway Le Maire had helped to discover was named Le Maire Strait.

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It granted land, called a patroonship, to company members who settled at least fifty people on their land within four years. The purpose of patroonships was to attract settlers for farming the land and engaging in the fur trade on the Hudson River. The Company had the exclusive right to sell furs brought down to New Amsterdam from inland. Kiliaen Van Rensselaer (c. 1585–1643) ran the most successful patroonship near what is now Albany.

In 1646, Peter Stuyvesant (c. 1612–1672) became the final director of New Netherland. Investors considered his strict government effective. One of his accomplishments was capturing Swedish settlements for New Netherland.

In 1664, Charles II (1630–1685) of England decided to seize New Netherland for his brother James (1633–1701), the Duke of York. Four British warships led by Richard Nicolls (1624–1672) reached New Amsterdam and secured the unprepared colony by September. New Amsterdam was renamed **New York**.

Dutch Immigration

See **French and Dutch Immigration**

Bob Dylan

Bob Dylan was the most influential force on the popular music scene of the 1960s. His most famous song, "Blowin' in the Wind," became the unofficial anthem of the **civil rights movement**.

Learns to be different

Robert Allen Zimmerman was born on May 24, 1941, in **Minnesota**. At the age of six, he moved with his family to the mining town of Hibbing, Minnesota, where the majority of residents were Catholic immigrants. Dylan was Jewish and learned at an early age what it meant to be an outsider and not fit in with the crowd.

Dylan grew up in a comfortable, middle-class home. Feeling stifled in Minnesota, he moved to Greenwich Village in **New York** to pursue a career as a singer of **folk music**. There he reinvented himself by telling people he had been orphaned at a young age and had run away from home ten times between the ages of ten and eighteen. According to his

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imaginary biography, Dylan had ridden a train from one end of the country to the other, played in striptease joints, and played piano for pop singer Bobby Vee (1943–), a fellow midwesterner.

Lifelong love

Music had been a love of Dylan's since he could sit at a piano. He learned to play the keys and guitar as a young child, and as a shy teenager he used music to express himself. His goal was to one day be more popular than **rock and roll** legend **Elvis Presley** (1935–1977).

Dylan graduated from high school and attended the University of Minnesota for a short time. While at the university, he spent much of his time playing folk music in local Minneapolis coffeehouses. During this period, he read the autobiography of popular folk singer **Woody Guthrie** (1912 –1967). Dylan could not get enough of Guthrie's music, and he was able to relate to the folk hero's use of music as a tool to advocate for social awareness and concern for the downtrodden. Dylan wanted his music to be a political weapon, a vehicle for social protest, just like Guthrie's.

Makes his own fame

In 1961, Dylan dropped out of school and relocated to Greenwich Village. He played regularly in folk clubs and actually met his idol Guthrie, who was dying a slow death from Huntington's disease. Guthrie encouraged Dylan to write and perform his own songs, and one of Dylan's most popular early tunes was titled "Song to Woody." Dylan worked to imitate Guthrie's style.

Notable music critic Robert Shelton (1926–1995) heard Dylan perform in Greenwich Village and wrote a glowing review of the young folk singer. That review helped cement Dylan's place in music history, and a few weeks later he signed a recording contract with Columbia Records. Before long, Dylan skyrocketed to fame by writing and recording a series of protest songs that would come to define an entire generation.

Many of his songs dealt with issues of the civil rights movement. "The Ballad of Emmett Till" recounts the story of a teenage African American boy who was beaten to death for daring to speak to a white woman. "Only a Pawn in Their Game" tells of the murder of African American civil rights leader **Medgar Evers** (1925–1963) and is credited

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with keeping alive the case until his murderer was finally convicted and brought to justice.

Dylan's famous tune "Blowin' in the Wind" poses questions about racial justice and peace. In addition to becoming the spiritual anthem for the civil rights and **antiwar movements**, it became a smash hit when performed by the popular folk trio Peter, Paul, and Mary in 1963.

Joan Baez and the 1960s

Dylan became romantically involved with another popular folk singer of the 1960s, Joan Baez (1941–). It has been said that Dylan was more interested in her younger sister, Mimi, but the media could not resist the pull of the idea of romance between the two musicians. Baez was already a star on the folk circuit, and she invited Dylan to join her on a concert tour in 1963. This mingling of talent widened Dylan's audience and marked a high point in his career. The two shared an on-again, off-again relationship for four years before Dylan quietly married another woman, Sara Lownds (1939–). They would eventually have four children; Dylan also adopted Lownds's daughter from a previous marriage.

Dylan branched out from protest songs and recorded an album, his fourth, of deeply personal songs. In 1965, he stunned audiences by appearing at the Newport Folk Festival in Newport, **Rhode Island**, with an electric guitar and amplified backup band. His fans responded to what they perceived as a shocking change with hisses and boos. Dylan refused to back down, explaining he no longer wanted to be anyone's spokesperson.

Dylan and a band called the Hawks (later known as The Band) went on a world tour in 1966. It was no secret that he had been abusing drugs for several years, and his health was not robust. Near Woodstock, New York, he had a motorcycle accident and suffered serious injuries. The accident seemed to be his wake-up call, and Dylan stopped using hard drugs after that.

Dylan settled down near Woodstock and concentrated on his family. He did not release another album until 1968. Years of drug use proved to be too much for his wife and children, however, and the marriage fell apart in the 1970s. The pain of Dylan's marriage troubles was reflected on his 1975 album, *Blood on the Tracks.* Critics regard the album as a masterpiece, equal to his best songs of the 1960s.

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Dylan converted to Christianity for a brief period in the 1980s. His conversion and newfound faith were reflected on three albums from that time. By the mid-1980s, he returned to his Jewish roots. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988 and given a Lifetime Achievement Award at the Grammy ceremonies in 1991.

His album *Time Out of Mind,* released in 1997, was the first collection of original songs he had released in seven years. It won him three Grammy Awards in 1998, including best album.

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E

Amelia Earhart

Amelia Earhart was the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean. She disappeared mysteriously in 1937 during an attempted flight around the world.

Earhart was born in 1897 in **Kansas**, where she lived with her sister and grandparents until the age of twelve. Her father was a lawyer for a railroad company, and his job required that he travel. This resulted in Earhart and her family living in various cities throughout her teens.

Like many women during **World War I** (1914–18), Earhart volunteered to work as a nurse's aide at a military hospital. After the war, she took a medical course.

Earhart eventually returned to her family in Los Angeles, **California**. While there, she attended an air show and paid $10 to ride on a plane. She fell in love with the feeling of flying and signed up immediately for lessons. To fund her lessons, Earhart drove a sand and gravel truck. She hired Neta Snook (1896–1991), the first woman to graduate from the Curtiss School of Aviation, as her teacher. After just two and a half hours of instruction, Earhart decided to buy herself a plane. With a loan from her mother and a job sorting mail, Earhart was able to buy a small plane for $2,000.

Takes to the skies

Earhart began setting flying records almost as soon as she took flight. Her first feat was to reach an altitude of 14,000 feet (4,267 meters). She did not own her plane for long; she sold it in 1924 to help pay for a yel-

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Amelia Earhart was the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean but she disappeared in 1937 during an attempted flight around the world. GETTY IMAGES

low roadster she bought to drive her mother to the East Coast after her parents divorced. The young man she sold her plane to crashed it upon takeoff and was killed. Earhart did not replace that plane for years, but spent her time working as a social worker. Her salary barely allowed her to make ends meet, let alone save for a luxury such as an airplane.

In 1928, Earhart received an invitation from a committee led by publisher and publicist George Palmer Putnam (1887–1950) in New York City. She was invited to be the first woman to travel, as a passenger, on a plane across the Atlantic. The first attempt failed when fog set in, but the second attempt was a success. The flight took twenty hours and forty minutes, and Earhart and her male pilot landed in Wales.

Despite the fact that she had only been a passenger on the flight, Earhart gained international attention as the first woman to fly across the Atlantic. Back home in America, she was instantly considered a spokesperson for women aviators. With Putnam as her manager, she toured the country giving lectures and writing a magazine column on aviation. She soon had her own line of traveling clothes and luggage. America came to cherish Earhart as much for her adventurous spirit as for her flying skills.

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Transatlantic flight

Putnam and Earhart married in 1931. As Earhart's celebrity grew, she found herself taking first lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962) for a flight over **Washington, D.C.**, and driving her around the White House grounds in a race car.

Earhart made a solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean in 1932. It began at Harbor Grace, Newfoundland, on a spring evening. A few hours into the trip, Earhart ran into a violent electrical storm. Ice collected on the wings, and the plane went into a tailspin, falling 3,000 feet (914 meters) before regaining stability. The pilot's relief was short-lived, as the engine caught fire. After fourteen hours and fifty-six minutes in the air, she landed in northern Ireland rather than continue on to Paris, France, as originally planned. Her flight won her fame throughout Europe, and when she returned to New York, she was greeted with a parade.

Last flight

Earhart made one final flight plan, although she did not know it would be her last. Her goal was to fly around the world at or near the equator, something no one had ever attempted. She was presented with a twin-engine Lockheed Electra airplane on her thirty-ninth birthday, a gift from Purdue University. Early on March 17, 1937, Earhart took off from San Francisco, California, for **Hawaii**, where her flight would begin. She set another record by reaching Hawaii in just under sixteen hours. As she took off from Hawaii, her plane crashed. The Electra required $50,000 and five weeks to be repaired.

The delay caused Earhart to reverse the planned course for her flight. She would take advantage of changed weather patterns and air currents by flying west to east. She replaced her original navigator with Fred Noonan (1893–1937), whom she had met through mutual friends in the aviation community. The duo left Miami, **Florida**, on June 1, 1937, and headed for Brazil. From there, they flew across the Atlantic to Africa and across the Red Sea to Arabia, Pakistan, India, and Burma. One month later, they reached New Guinea.

The next leg of the flight was the most dangerous. They had to land on Howland Island, which is only 2-miles (3.2-kilometers) long in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Earhart and Noonan never made it to Howland Island, and neither their bodies nor the plane itself were ever

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found. One theory is that they missed the island, ran out of gas, and crashed into the ocean. Another theory is that part of Earhart's mission was to spy on the Japanese-held islands in the Pacific. When the Japanese learned of her mission, they shot down the plane, and took her captive. A biography of Earhart claims there is evidence to support this theory.

The last words heard over the radio from the Electra were: "Fuel is running low. Been unable to reach you by radio. We are flying at 1,000 feet. We are running north and south." The last part of that message suggests that Earhart and Noonan were searching for Howland Island.

In 1960, a Japanese woman named Josephine Akiyama made public a story she claimed to be true. She said she had been living on the small Pacific island of Saipan in 1937, when she had seen two American flyers—a man and a woman—there. She said the Japanese were holding them captive. CBS broadcaster Fred Goerner took the story seriously and traveled to Saipan to investigate. There, he found other residents who told the same story, although some claim the captives had been executed.

No one knows for certain what happened to Earhart or Noonan.

Thomas Edison

Thomas Alva Edison invented hundreds of devices, including the phonograph. He also developed a method of organized scientific research that hastened advances in American technology.

Early years

Thomas Edison was born on February 11, 1847, in Milan, **Ohio**. Edison's father was a jack-of-all-trades, and his mother was a former teacher. As a child, Edison spent only three months in school. His mother educated him herself at home. At the age of twelve, he went to work, selling fruit, candy, and newspapers on the Grand Trunk Railroad. During his teens, Edison lost his hearing, possibly caused by the scarlet fever he had as a child.

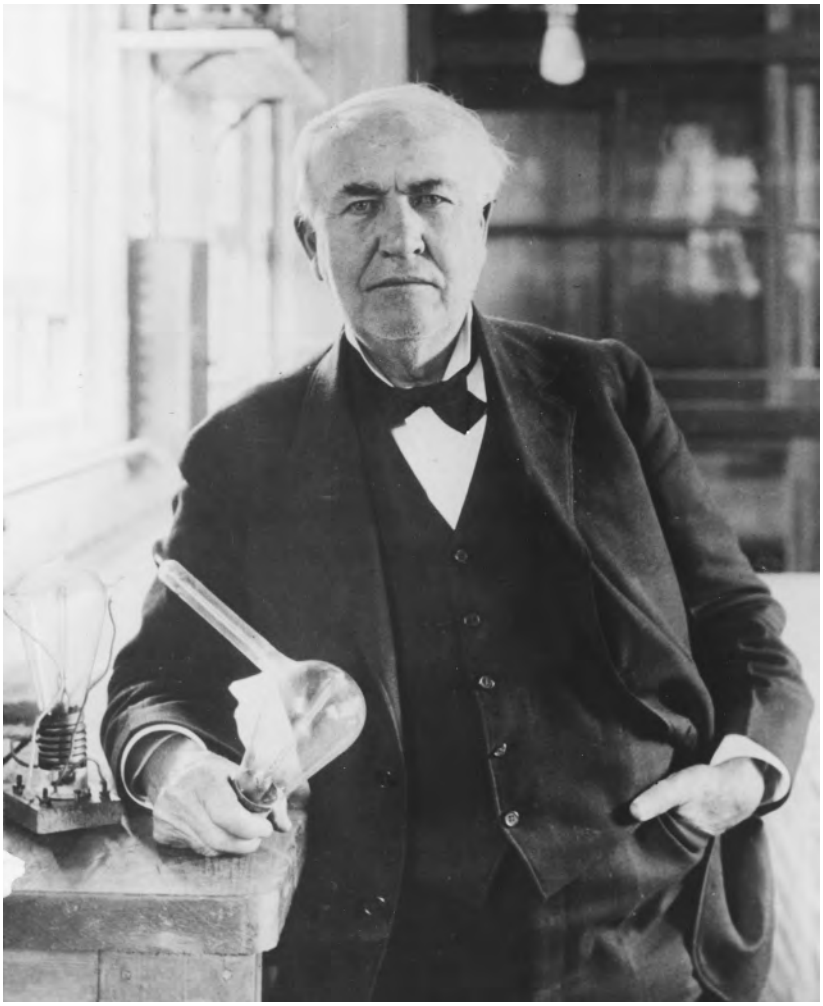
In 1862, Edison got an opportunity to learn telegraphy, a means of communicating over a great distance by using coded signals transmitted by wire. He soon mastered the art and for the next five years traveled throughout the country as a telegraph operator. During these years, he dreamed of becoming an inventor. He frequently purchased electrical gadgets or chemicals for his laboratory.

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First inventions

Not long after Edison went to work for Western Union Telegraph Company in Boston, **Massachusetts**, in 1868, he invented a device for electronically recording the voice votes taken in a legislative assembly. For this machine, he obtained his first patent, a grant made by the U.S. government that assures an inventor the exclusive right to manufacture, use, and sell the invention for a stated period of time. The machine worked well, but no one was interested in buying it.

In June 1869, Edison moved to New York City to work for an electrical firm. He soon formed his own electrical engineering company and



Thomas Edison holds the incandescent lightbulb he designed that was efficient and cheap enough for consumers to buy. Edison also created the Edison Electric Light Company, which was later the General Electric Company. AP IMAGES

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invented a stock ticker, a machine that printed out stock quotes that came in through telegraphy. He sold the company, with the ticker, for $40,000.

Invention factories

Using the money from the sale of his company, Edison opened an "invention factory," a lab for research in Newark, **New Jersey**. The factory employed as many as eighty researchers, including chemists, physicists, and mathematicians. It operated for six years, turning out a variety of inventions related primarily to improvements in stock tickers and telegraphy equipment.

In 1876, Edison built a new invention factory in Menlo Park, New Jersey. Over the next ten years, he produced many important inventions, including the phonograph and an improved incandescent lightbulb.

The phonograph

Edison's most original and lucrative invention, the phonograph, or record player, was patented in 1877. The idea for the phonograph came to Edison while he was studying a telephone receiver. He attached a steel stylus (a hard-pointed, pen-shaped instrument) to the diaphragm (a disk that vibrates to generate sound waves) of the receiver so he could feel the sound vibrations with his finger as they were emitted. It dawned on him that the stylus might "etch" the vibrations onto a piece of moving tinfoil. He reasoned that a similar point could then trace the grooves left on the foil and pass the vibrations onto another diaphragm to produce sound. His original phonograph used a tinfoil-covered cylinder that was hand-cranked, while a needle traced a groove on it. By 1890, his phonograph had become a motor-driven machine playing cylindrical wax records.

The incandescent lightbulb

Edison did not invent the incandescent lightbulb, but he designed one that worked well and was cheap enough for everyone to buy. The concept of the lightbulb was simple enough: When an electrical current passes through a thin wire, or filament, it encounters resistance that causes the wire to become hot enough to glow, that is, to reach incandescence. The heat caused the wire to burn too quickly, so scientists encased the wire in a vacuum, a space devoid of matter. Edison tested ideal materials for use as the filament in a lightbulb. On October 21, 1879, he publicly demonstrated an incandescent bulb that burned continuously for forty hours.

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The first central electric-light power plant

In 1878, Edison and other investors created the Edison Electric Light Company, which was later the General Electric Company. At that time, everyone who used electricity had to have their own dynamo, or generator. Edison opened the first commercial electric station in London in 1882, providing electric power to buildings in the area of the station. Within months, he opened the Pearl Street Station in New York City, lighting more than 5,000 lamps for 230 customers. Many towns and cities soon installed central stations.

A new lab

In 1887, when his laboratories outgrew the facilities at Menlo Park, Edison built an even larger invention factory in West Orange, New Jersey. By this time, his labs were so productive that he was receiving an average of one new patent every five days. The West Orange factory, which Edison directed from 1887 to 1931, was the world's most complete research laboratory, the forerunner of modern research and development laboratories, with teams of workers systematically investigating problems.

Probably the best-known invention of the late 1800s was the kinetograph, a primitive form of the moving picture. Edison developed a method for arranging a series of photographs on a strip of celluloid film and then running the film through a projector. He used this technique in 1903 to produce *The Great Train Robbery,* one of the first moving pictures.

Edison's active nature and inquisitive mind led him to wander from subject to subject. Sometimes he stayed with a project long enough to see it to commercial production, and sometimes he spent time developing the early stages of an idea and then moved on to something new. Among the many inventions to which he made a contribution are the lead storage battery, the mimeograph machine (a copying machine), the dictaphone, and the fluoroscope (a type of X-ray machine).

Edison died in West Orange on October 18, 1931.

Eighteenth Amendment

The Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** forbade in all U.S. territories the making, selling, or transporting of "intoxicating liquors." It was passed on January 16, 1919.

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The Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution forbade the manufacture, sale, or transport of all "intoxicating liquors." THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The temperance movement, which promoted abstinence from alcohol, had become one of the cornerstones of the growing women's movement in the last half of the nineteenth century. Alcohol and liquor were perceived by many to be the root of many domestic and social evils and in direct conflict with healthy, happy families.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was founded in 1874. In 1895, the Anti-Saloon League formed, and it was soon joined by countless other organizations. Together they had great influence on legislators, many of whom were opposed to alcohol themselves.

The passage of the Eighteenth Amendment ushered in the era known as **Prohibition**. Suddenly there was a proliferation of bootleggers (makers of moonshine, or alcoholic drinks), rumrunners (those who imported liquor, usually from Mexico and Canada), and speakeasies (establishments that sold liquor, often disguised as some other sort of business). Organized crime soon took control of the illegal distribution of liquor, and the government soon had a problem much more serious than the outlawing of alcoholic drinks.

In December 1933, Congress passed the **Twenty-first Amendment**, which repealed the Eighteenth Amendment. It had become clear that America was not about to give up its consumption of alcohol regardless of the law. Furthermore, enforcing the law prohibiting alcohol had proved a costly thirteen-year battle that could not be won.

Eighth Amendment

When the U.S. **Constitution** was written in 1787, it contained few guarantees of individual freedom and liberty. Members of the **Federalist Party**, or Federalists, were people who argued that such guarantees were unnecessary because the Constitution did not give the national government power to violate individual freedoms. In contrast, **Anti-Federalists** argued that unless individual freedoms were specifically protected in the

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Constitution, the government would not be able to resist using its power to violate those freedoms. To convince the Anti-Federalists to adopt the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights** to protect individual freedoms from the government.

The Eighth Amendment was the eighth of ten amendments included in the Bill of Rights, which the United States adopted in 1791. It reads, "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

Bail is money that a criminal defendant (a person charged with a crime) pays in order to be freed from jail while awaiting trial. The purpose of bail is to allow defendants to prepare for trial, and to prevent them from fleeing before trial. The Eighth Amendment makes it unlawful in federal criminal trials for judges to set "excessive" bail. The amendment, however, contains no guidelines for assessing what excessive means.

The Eighth Amendment also makes it unlawful for Congress to establish, or for judges to impose, excessive fines on people convicted of crimes. As with the limitation on bail, there is no guideline for what an excessive fine is. In general, however, there must be some relation between the severity of the crime and the amount of the fine.

The most controversial portion of the Eighth Amendment is the clause that says that "cruel and unusual punishments" shall not be inflicted. When the states ratified the Bill of Rights, they all had laws imposing the death penalty for murder and other capital crimes. At the same time, the **Fifth Amendment** says the government may not deprive a person of "life" without due process of law. The U.S. **Supreme Court** has decided many times that the death penalty is not a cruel or unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment.

In the 1970s, however, the Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty in most states was unlawful because it was being imposed in a discriminatory fashion. After this ruling, states had to change their death

Death Penalty Discrimination

Some people believe that even after states changed their death penalty laws in the 1970s, the death penalty continued to be imposed in a discriminatory fashion. In the 1980s, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) commissioned a study of death penalty cases in **Georgia** from 1973 to 1979. The study found that blacks convicted of killing whites received the death penalty 21 percent of the time (in 50 of 233 cases), whereas whites convicted of killing blacks received the death penalty only 3 percent of the time (in 2 of 60 cases). In comparison, blacks convicted of killing blacks received the death penalty only 1 percent of the time (18 of 1,443 cases), whereas whites convicted of killing whites received the death penalty 8 percent of the time (58 of 748 cases). In other words, no matter who did the killing, death penalty rates were higher when the victims were white.

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penalty procedures to satisfy the Court that they impose the death penalty fairly. After creating a two-stage procedure that determines guilt and then sentence in death penalty cases, state death penalty laws survived subsequent challenges under the Eighth Amendment.

Outside the death penalty context, the Eighth Amendment prevents the federal government from torturing criminals, and it requires that prison conditions be humane, although not necessarily comfortable.

Albert Einstein

Albert Einstein was without doubt one of the world's greatest scientists. Aside from his scientific endeavors, he was a social activist who spoke out against war and supported nuclear disarmament.

Intelligence in question

Einstein was born on March 14, 1879, to a businessman and his wife. He was slow to talk and did not utter a world until he was three years old. Even then, it took several years before his speech was fluent. So poorly did he perform in school that his parents and others suspected he was mentally challenged. In fact, he simply preferred to learn on his own; as a scientist, he would continue to study independently.

Einstein graduated from a German college in 1900 with a degree in physics. He landed a job in 1902 as a technical expert with the Swiss Patent Office. In his spare time, he conducted his own research and applied his work toward a doctorate at the University of Zurich. Einstein married and had three children but he was divorced in 1919. He later married his cousin Elsa.

Becomes a published scientist

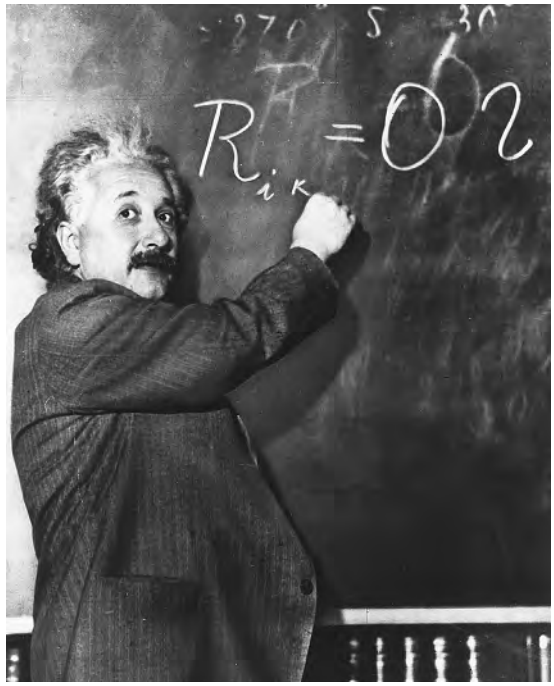
Einstein published a series of papers in 1905. The first in this three-part series was concerned with Brownian motion. Scottish botanist Robert Brown (1773–1858) had reported in 1827 that tiny particles move about in a random zigzag motion when placed in liquid. Einstein's hypothesis was that the visible motion of particles was caused by the random movement of molecules that comprised the liquid. He figured out a mathematical formula to predict the distance traveled by the particles and their relative speed. The formula was proven correct in 1908, and Einstein was

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credited with providing the first experimental evidence of the existence of molecules.

The next topic covered in the series was the photoelectric effect. This phenomenon involves the release of electrons from a metal that occurs when light shines on that metal. What puzzled scientists was that the number of electrons released was not a function of the light's intensity but of the color—or wavelength—of the light.

Einstein assumed light travels in tiny bundles of energy known as quanta. The energy of any given light quantum, he believed, is determined by its wavelength. When light falls on metal, electrons in the metal absorb specific quanta of energy, giving them enough energy to escape the metal's surface. The number of electrons released will depend on the light's energy (wavelength), not on the number of quanta (or intensity of light). His hypothesis was proven and laid the foundation for the fields of quantitative photoelectric chemistry and quantum mechanics. Einstein received the Nobel Prize in physics in 1921 for his work.



Albert Einstein's endeavors greatly influenced the course of scientific history around the world. AP IMAGES

Theory of relativity

The final paper in the 1905 series was responsible for making the physicist famous. It discussed the relationship between measurements made by observers in two separate systems moving at a constant speed with respect to each other. This is known as relativity, and scientists had been studying the concept for several years.

Although those before him had contributed to the field of study, Einstein gave the most complete analysis of the subject. He began by making two assumptions. The first was that the laws of physics are the same in all frames of reference. Second, the velocity (or speed) of light is always the same, no matter what the conditions. He developed a mathematical relationship between the length of an object and its velocity. Einstein's theory of relativity was groundbreaking because it established that measurable properties will vary depending on the relative motion of the observer. Prior to his theory, scientists believed that measurable enti-

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ties such as time, mass, and length remained the same in all frames of reference.

Einstein wrote other papers in 1905. In one, he discussed his belief that the energy and mass of a body are interrelated. In 1907, he constructed a formula to illustrate that relationship: $E = mc^2$, which states that energy equals mass times the speed of light squared.

Einstein earned his Ph.D. from the University of Zurich in 1905 and held various teaching jobs before accepting a position as the director of scientific research at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics in Berlin, Germany, in 1913. He remained in that post for thirty years.

General theory of relativity

Einstein extended his theory of relativity to a broader context. The general theory of relativity applied to motions that are not uniform and relative velocities that are not constant. He wrote mathematical expressions describing the relationships between measurements made in any two systems in motion relative to each other, even if the motion changes in one or both. A basic feature of this general theory is the concept of a space-time continuum in which space is curved.

Einstein's theory was not accepted right away. Pioneering physicist Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) theory of gravity had been the accepted theory for two hundred years; Einstein's theory would replace Newton's, and it was not easy for an entire scientific community to accept that it had been wrong. Einstein proved the accuracy of his general theory, however, and it was accepted as truth in 1919.

Jersey boy

Einstein had been a vocal opponent of war since the outbreak of **World War I** (1914–18). He even traveled throughout Europe, lecturing on his views. As the Nazi Party began its rise to power in the 1930s, Einstein decided the time was right to leave his native country. As a Jew and a pacifist (someone who opposes violence), he would not be safe in Germany.

Einstein accepted a position at the Institute for Advanced Studies in **New Jersey**, and he remained at that job until his death. He continued to lecture and write about peace. Despite his views, in 1939 he signed his name to a letter informing President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) of the possibility that an **atomic bomb**

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could be developed. Einstein's earlier work on relativity was key to the development of the atomic bomb, but he himself did not help.

In **World War II** (1939–45), the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, killing and maiming hundreds of thousands of people, mostly civilians. At war's end, Einstein publicly denounced nuclear warfare and called for nuclear disarmament. He also supported the Zionist movement, in which Jews hoped to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

For his scientific achievements, Einstein was awarded countless honors. He died of an aortic aneurysm in his home on April 18, 1955, at the age of seventy-six.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Dwight David Eisenhower was born on October 14, 1890. He was one of seven boys born to David and Ida Eisenhower. His father was co-owner of a general store in **Kansas**. The family moved to Denison, **Texas**, where Dwight was born. There, David worked for the railroad, earning $40 a month.

The family returned to Abilene, Kansas, where David worked at a creamery. The Eisenhower boys attended public school and took jobs in their free time to help the family survive. Always living in poverty, they were teased at school for the way they dressed. Dwight (nicknamed "Ike") gained a reputation as a good fighter.

Eisenhower played football and baseball in high school, where he maintained average or better grades. Along with his brother Edgar, Eisenhower wanted to attend college. There was no money for such a dream, so the two brothers took turns working for one year, attending school the next. Edgar went to school first, which left Eisenhower working eighty-four-hour work weeks at the creamery.

Goes to West Point

During this time, Eisenhower had a friend who encouraged him to take the examinations required to get into West Point military academy and the naval academy at Annapolis, **Maryland**. Knowing his parents were opposed to war but needing the money desperately, Eisenhower took the examinations and passed both. In 1911, he enrolled in West Point, where he again played football until an injury ended his career. Without

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the game, Eisenhower lost interest in West Point. His grades suffered, and his final years were marked with demerits (marks for poor discipline). He graduated in 1915 sixty-first out of 168 students.

After graduation, Eisenhower was sent to Fort Sam Houston in Texas. There he met Mamie Doud, and the two were married in 1916. They had two sons, Doud and John. Doud died at age three, and John went on to graduate from West Point and pursue a military career.

Eisenhower had been promoted to the rank of captain by 1917, when his country was on the brink of joining **World War I** (1914–18). He spent the war at Camp Colt in **Pennsylvania**, where he trained infantry soldiers. After the war, he was promoted to major and sent back to school to learn about tank warfare. In 1922, he was sent to Central America to serve under General Fox Conner (1874–1951), a dedicated military officer.

Conner and Eisenhower formed a lasting friendship, and Conner secured for the major a job at Leavenworth, the staff training school. Under Conner's tutelage, Eisenhower became more serious about his military career. At Leavenworth, he finished first in a class of 215. In 1933, he became an aide to **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964), the chief of staff of the army and a key military figure in **World War II** (1939–45).



As a brigadier general, Dwight D. Eisenhower planned the major attacks of World War II and throughout the war commanded a total of three million soldiers, airmen, and sailors. AP IMAGES

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Excels in the military

Eisenhower gained a reputation as an excellent military planner. In 1942, he was assigned a task that shaped his future: Plan a war to defeat Germany and Japan. Now a brigadier general, Eisenhower planned the major attacks of World War II: Germany, Africa, Sicily, Italy, and Normandy. By the end of the war, he had commanded three million soldiers, airmen, and sailors.

It was Eisenhower who brought the horrors of Nazi concentration camps into the international spotlight. To ensure that German civilians knew what had happened during the Holocaust (the systematic genocide of European Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, Catholics, and other groups by Nazi Germany in World War II), Eisenhower required the residents of a town near the concentration camp at Ohrdurf to clean up the camp, which was littered with human bones.

Eisenhower returned home a hero and became chief of staff of the U.S. Army. He retired from active duty in 1948 to become president of Columbia University. Two years later, he became supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces.

Becomes president

Eisenhower was elected president of the United States in 1952. He took over the presidency while the United States was involved in the **Korean War** (1950–53), but in 1953 he helped negotiate peace along the South Korean border. A heart attack in 1955 slowed him down somewhat, but the popular president was reelected in 1956. His supporters proudly wore "I Like Ike!" buttons.

Eisenhower's second term in office was marked by the president's commitment to the **civil rights movement**, as he sent troops to Little Rock, **Arkansas**, to force the desegregation (mixing of African American and white students) of southern public schools in 1957. (See also **Little Rock Central High School Desegregation** and **Desegregation of Public Schools**.) Eisenhower ordered the desegregation



Dwight D. Eisenhower served two terms as president, with his second term being dedicated to the civil rights cause and desegregation. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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of the armed forces as well. The president's efforts toward international peace did not falter in his second term; he worked with other nations to help prevent the onset of war.

Eisenhower left office in 1961 but continued to speak about public issues, especially those involving military spending. He encouraged the maintenance of military strength but warned the public about the dangers of high, continuous military expenditures.

Eisenhower died on March 28, 1969, at the age of seventy-eight. In the twenty-first century, he remains one of the most popular American presidents.

Electoral College

The electoral college is a group of electors who meet every four years to elect the president of the United States. The process is part of the initial design of the U.S. **Constitution**. It was a compromise made by the country's founding fathers. Some thought the president should be elected by Congress, and others thought the president should be elected by popular vote (citizen votes).

The term "electoral college" was not used until the 1800s, when it became the unofficial name of the group of citizens selected to vote for the president and vice president. It was written into federal law for the first time in 1845 and is in the Constitution in the twenty-first century as "college of electors."

Although the process for selecting electors varies across the United States, political parties generally nominate electors at their state party conventions or by vote of the party's central committee in each state. Electors might be party leaders, people who have political ties to the presidential candidate, or state-elected officials. The **Fourteenth Amendment** to the Constitution prohibits state officials who have engaged in rebellion against the country or in providing comfort to its enemies from serving as electors.

In the United States, the president is not chosen by nationwide popular vote. The electoral vote totals decide who wins. Electoral votes are assigned on the basis of the popular vote in each state. Each state is allowed a number of electors equal to the number of its U.S. senators plus the number of members it has in the House of Representatives. The latter is based on a state's population, meaning that a heavily populated

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state like **California** has more electoral votes than a more sparsely populated state such as **Rhode Island**. Population figures are determined by federal census (official information collected every ten years).

In order to win a presidential election, a candidate must win a majority of 270 electoral votes out of a possible 538. If no candidate wins the majority, the **Twelfth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution says the election will be decided by a vote of the members of the House of Representatives. This happened only once in U.S. history; in 1824, the House of Representatives elected **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–1829) after neither he nor **Andrew Jackson** received a majority of the electoral vote.

Although the candidate who wins the majority of the popular vote usually also wins the electoral college vote, this is not always the case. Most recently, in the 2000 presidential election, Democrat **Al Gore** (1948–) won the popular vote but lost the electoral vote to Republican **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–). Bush won the election.

Eleventh Amendment

The Eleventh Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** prevents citizens of the United States and of foreign countries from suing American states in federal court. Congress proposed the amendment in 1794, and the states ratified it, or approved it, the following year. It was the first constitutional amendment passed to change a decision by the U.S. **Supreme Court**.

Chisholm v. Georgia

The power of states against the power of the federal government has been a controversial issue since adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1788. In 1792, this issue arose under the question of whether citizens of one state may sue another state in federal court. In the Constitution, Article III, section 2 says, "The judicial power shall extend … to controversies … between a state and citizens of another state."

In 1792, Alexander Chisholm died in **Georgia**, leaving much property there. Chisholm's heirs lived in **South Carolina**. The state of Georgia seized Chisholm's property and refused to give it to his heirs. His heirs sued the state of Georgia in federal court to recover the property.

The case came before the U.S. Supreme Court in July 1792. Georgia did not send an attorney to represent it before the Court. Georgia ex-

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Eleventh Amendment Text

The Eleventh Amendment of the U.S. Constitution reads, as follows:

> The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

pected the Court to dismiss the case by ruling that citizens of a state cannot sue another state in federal court. In February 1793, however, the Court interpreted Article III of the Constitution to mean that citizens of a state can sue other states in federal court.

Amending the Constitution

In the course of its opinion, the Supreme Court said Georgia was not a sovereign state, but a member of the Union of the United States. This reasoning alarmed Americans who feared that the federal government would be more powerful than state governments under the Constitution. A movement arose to amend the Constitution to change the Court's ruling for future cases.

On March 5, 1794, Congress proposed the Eleventh Amendment. If ratified, the amendment would change the power of the federal judiciary by withdrawing the power to hear cases against states by citizens of other states and by citizens of foreign countries. When **North Carolina** ratified the amendment on February 7, 1795, the amendment had been ratified by three-fourths of the states, which is the number required for an amendment to become part of the Constitution. The federal government, however, did not declare the amendment's ratification until January 8, 1798, which became its official effective date.

The Eleventh Amendment does not address the question of whether citizens of a state may sue their own state in federal court. The U.S. Supreme Court has decided that citizens may not sue their own states in federal court. Over the years, however, the Court has found exceptions to both rules, so that citizens can sue states, both theirs and others, in federal courts in certain kinds of cases.

Duke Ellington

Duke Ellington composed more than two thousand pieces of music over the course of his fifty-five-year career. Although he was known primarily as a **jazz** musician, his scores include sacred music and incidental music (songs composed specifically for drama or **movies**).

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Most of his music was written for his own bands, which he led from 1918 until his death. Ellington and his musicians introduced features such as the growl (when a trumpeter uses his voice while playing to make the instrument "growl") and the use of mutes and plungers to change a trumpet's tone, and he used the human voice as an instrument by having people sing without using words. Ellington has been called the greatest single talent in the history of jazz.

Middle-class childhood

Duke was a nickname; the musician was born as Edward Kennedy Ellington on April 29, 1899. His father made blueprints for the U.S. **Navy** but worked nights as a butler so he could provide his two children and wife with a comfortable life.

Ellington learned to play piano at an early age. When he was seven, his piano teacher refused to keep him as a pupil because she did not appreciate the way he experimented with off-tone chords. By the time he was in high school, he was studying the piano seriously with a teacher who recognized his natural ability.

Ellington dropped out of school his senior year to play with jazz bands; he supported himself by painting commercial signs. He formed his own band, Duke's Serenaders, in 1918. He married that same year. The union would end before long, but it resulted in the birth of Mercer Ellington (1919–1996), later a famous trumpeter.

Ellington moved his band to **New York** in 1923, where they played mainly in Harlem clubs. In 1927, they began a five-year engagement at the Cotton Club, a highly popular night spot. Their performances were broadcast live over the radio, and Ellington's music found its way into American homes and hearts.

Ellington and his band traveled to Europe twice during the 1930s. One of his most popular songs of the era was "It Don't Mean a Thing." The band also performed in many films during that decade. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Ellington composed and conducted jazz concerts at the famous Carnegie Hall in New York City.

Ellington received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1969 on his seventieth birthday.

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Ellis Island

From 1892 to 1954, Ellis Island was the major U.S. point of entry for immigrants coming to America across the Atlantic Ocean. Ellis Island is located near the shores of **New York** and **New Jersey**. A man named Samuel Ellis owned the island in the late eighteenth century, and the U.S. federal government bought it from him in 1808 for $10,000. The U.S. **Army** used the island from 1812 to 1814 and the U.S. **Navy** was there in 1876. In 1890, the House Committee on Immigration chose Ellis Island to be the site for an immigrant screening station. The old location at Castle Garden in lower Manhattan, New York, had become too small to handle the growing number of arriving immigrants.

The government enlarged Ellis Island from just over 3 acres (1 hectare) to 14 acres (6 hectares) and erected an immigration depot and several support buildings. The first immigrants passed through Ellis Island on January 1, 1892. The main depot was a two-story structure built of pine, with a blue slate roof.

Once immigrants disembarked from their ship, they filed into the registry room, an impressive room that measured 200 feet (61 meters) by 100 feet (30 meters) and had a 56-foot-high (17-meter) ceiling. The room itself was divided into twelve narrow aisles separated by iron bars. Doctors examined new arrivals at the front of the room. These doctors, in addition to other immigration officials, complained about the leaky roof and other structural problems.

Inspectors determined that the building would probably last less than five years. The roof was in danger of collapsing under heavy snowfall or high winds. The doors were poorly hung and sometimes fell off their hinges. Architects estimated repairs at $150,000.

Despite the evaluations of inspectors and architects, nothing was done about the problems. In 1895, architect John J. Clark was sent to inspect the building. Because the building was used to process immigrants and nothing more, Ellis Island officials were hesitant to invest more money into it. As a result, Clark reported that the roof did not need repair, angering Ellis Island employees who knew it was leaky. In addition to the architectural flaws, the building was too small for processing the still growing number of arriving immigrants. The inspection process was also slow, and there was nowhere for immigrants to live while

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From 1892 to 1954, Ellis Island in New York was the major U.S. point of entry for immigrants coming to America across the Atlantic Ocean. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

they waited to be processed. In 1897, the government decided to add a 250-bed dormitory to the main building.

Before the dorm could be built, a fire burned most of the buildings to the ground. There were two hundred immigrants on the island at the time of the fire, but no one was hurt. Three years later, on December 17, 1900, a new reception hall was completed. In the new building, sixty-five hundred immigrants could complete the inspection process in nine hours. This efficiency was possible because the new reception hall was modeled after the train stations of the time, which handled thousands of people and tons of cargo every day.

Ellis Island was expanded to 17 acres (7 hectares) in 1898, and a second island was added by using the dirt and rock removed during nearby subway construction. A third island was added and completed by 1906. Dormitories, hospitals, kitchens, a baggage station, a bathhouse, an electrical plant, and personnel to staff the depot raised the cost of renovations to a half million dollars. By 1954, however, stricter immigration

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laws had decreased the number of immigrants processing through the New York depot, so the Immigration Services shut down Ellis Island, and activity resumed at the Manhattan immigration depot.

In 1885, France gave the **Statue of Liberty** to America. The statue was shipped in 350 pieces in 214 crates and arrived in the United States in June 1885; construction was completed in October of the following year. Nicknamed Lady Liberty, the statue was placed on Bedloe's Island, next to Ellis Island, where it became the symbol of freedom and hope for millions of immigrants. Bedloe's Island was renamed Liberty Island in 1956.

Jewish American poet Emma Lazarus (1849–1887) wrote the sonnet "The New Colossus" in 1883. It is engraved on a plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty. The poem contains the famous line, "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

Emancipation Proclamation

The Emancipation Proclamation was an executive order made by President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) on January 1, 1863. It granted freedom to slaves within the rebelling **Confederate States of America** during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). It signaled an important shift in federal policy on **slavery** and gave a significant advantage to **Union** troops. Although it originally limited the abolition of slavery to rebelling territories, it set the tone for complete abolition throughout the entire Union.

The politics of slavery

Issues surrounding the institution of slavery dominated American politics for many years before the Civil War. Debates between politicians were passionate. Lincoln and the **Republican Party** hoped to prevent the expansion of slavery into new territories. White slavers in the Southern states, where the **Democratic Party** ruled, feared complete abolition of slavery by the federal government, which was controlled by the Republican Party.

Lincoln's intention, however, was not to interfere with slavery where it already existed. He hoped for gradual emancipation, voluntarily accepted by the Southern states, with federal compensation to slaveholders for loss of their slaves, who were considered property in American soci-

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ety. Because the institution of slavery was protected in the U.S. **Constitution**, Lincoln felt obligated to recognize its legal status.

When the Southern states seceded, or separated, from the Union in early 1861, Lincoln focused his efforts on restoring the United States. Lincoln would have supported slavery in whatever form necessary to maintain the Union. When the Civil War erupted in April 1861, it was called a battle between the power of the federal government and the rights of individual states. It was not considered to be a war over slavery.

All but four slavery states seceded from the Union in 1861. **Missouri**, **Kentucky**, **Maryland**, and **Delaware** maintained their loyalty to and membership in the United States. To hold onto those states during the Civil War, Lincoln had to be especially careful about how he handled slavery. Fearing that more states might secede and that the Republicans and the remaining Union Democrats might split apart,



Abraham Lincoln (center left) sits with seven members of his cabinet at the first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation on July 22, 1862. It granted freedom to slaves within the rebelling Confederate States of America during the American Civil War, giving an advantage to Union troops. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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Lincoln at first refrained from linking the war with the abolition of slavery. A change in this policy came only with the need to boost the Union's military efforts.

Changing course

There were several factors that led Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. The strategic value of freeing slaves in rebelling territories became obvious over time. Slavery was an important asset for the South, because it enabled Southern whites to devote themselves to fighting. Black slaves supported Confederate efforts by maintaining Southern farms, munitions factories, and fortifications for the Confederate Army. Although slaves were not permitted to fight on the front lines, their efforts were essential to Confederate success.

Federal laws demanded that slaves be returned to their owners, so Union soldiers were required to return runaways to the enemy. This put the Union Army in the position of returning Confederate manpower, effectively supporting the other side. Limited emancipation would allow Confederate slaves to escape as Union troops advanced, freeing the slaves to take up arms against the Confederates rather than being returned to their owners. Emancipation also might discourage foreign powers from taking up arms alongside the Confederate forces if the Southern cause became directly associated with slavery.

Despite the incentives to declare emancipation, Lincoln did not take action lightly or quickly. He quietly began to work on the proclamation in June 1862, sharing it with his cabinet officials in July. After hearing their suggestions, he decided to wait awhile before announcing his intentions to the public. Union troops had been suffering losses, and Lincoln did not want to appear to be acting in desperation. Lincoln refrained from public discussion of emancipation until the Union victory at the **Battle of Antietam** in September 1862.

On September 22, 1862, Lincoln publicly announced his plan for the Emancipation Proclamation. Threatening the South, Lincoln said he would take action to free slaves in rebelling states unless the states returned to the Union by the end of the year. By giving the Confederate states a time line, he gave them a chance to preserve the institution of slavery, leaving the matter up to them. The rebelling states ignored Lincoln, and slaves remained in bondage.

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As promised, Lincoln issued the final version of the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. As hoped, the order boosted Northern prospects for winning the war. It undercut support for Confederate independence by transforming the war into a moral crusade. Foreign powers refrained from supporting the Confederate government, and internal national support for the Union effort was rekindled. With the invitation for free blacks and newly freed slaves to join the Union efforts, more than 190,000 African American men enlisted in the Union Army.

The Emancipation Proclamation cleared the path to abolish slavery entirely if the Union won the Civil War, which it did in April 1865. On December 18, 1865, slavery was officially ended in America by ratification of the **Thirteenth Amendment** of the U.S. Constitution.

Embargo Act

The Embargo Act was a series of acts passed by Congress beginning on December 22, 1807. It banned exports from the United States to all foreign ports and limited imports from Great Britain. Congress passed it in response to aggression by British and French ships against American merchant vessels. President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9) hoped to combat the aggression with economic sanctions rather than military action.

Conflicts arising

By 1793, relations between European countries had disintegrated into multiple conflicts, particularly between France and Great Britain. As part of their efforts to weaken the enemy, several European countries maintained naval blockades to limit their opponent's ability to launch warships and merchant vessels. For the first few years of these conflicts, the United States enjoyed a neutral status that allowed it to continue to trade with all countries in spite of the blockades.

Though American ships were officially neutral, both French and British vessels made it a practice to stop American trade ships to ensure that they were not carrying military supplies to the enemy. The British further inconvenienced the Americans by forcing into British naval service many sailors who had once been British citizens. To maintain the benefits of neutral trade, the American government refrained from reacting aggressively to such impressment of sailors.

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Beginning in 1805, a series of court decisions and government decrees from both France and Britain established that American ships would no longer enjoy neutrality if they entered the enemy's ports. This threatened American trade, but the U.S. government still tried to remain passively diplomatic.

American reaction

In an attempt to convince France and England to stop harassing American vessels, the U.S. government took action to impose economic pressure on the countries. In 1806, Congress passed the Nonimportation Act to ban certain imports from England and France. It had little effect. When the British boarded an American warship in 1807, killing three men and drafting four into the British navy, the American government was forced to act. The young country, however, was not prepared for a war against Great Britain, which had superior naval forces. With little hope for a successful military campaign and personally driven by pacifist beliefs, President Jefferson was motivated to find a different solution.

The Embargo Act of December 1807 was intended to create economic difficulties for European nations. It was an assertion of America's importance and was meant to force the countries to reopen trade. By preventing access to the benefits of American goods and materials, President Jefferson hoped to force a change in European policies toward American ships. While the strategy made sense because the United States was ill-prepared for war, Americans felt the impact of the embargo more than the Europeans.

Jefferson's embargo was greatly criticized throughout the United States. By cutting demand for American goods, the embargo triggered an economic depression that lasted until 1816. Exports dropped by 75 percent while imports decreased by 50 percent. Northern manufacturers initially suffered most from the embargo, although they soon picked up a little slack to replace lost imports.

Southern states suffered when they lost the ability to export surplus crops, like tobacco and cotton. Eventually, domestic textile mills provided a new market for some of those crops. Under the embargo, however, much of the nation saw prices and earnings fall while unemployment rose. Although many Americans obeyed the embargo, some traders evaded it through legal loopholes or found illegal ways around it.

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Ultimately, it was apparent that the United States would be unable to maintain the embargo long enough to compel a change in European policies. Growing criticism caused Congress to repeal the Embargo Act in March 1809, three days before President Jefferson left office. It was substituted by the less-severe Non-Intercourse Act, which barred trade only with France and Britain. The conflicts with both countries continued, and America's effort to avoid military conflict eventually failed with Great Britain. The two countries soon engaged in the **War of 1812**.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

In his essays and speeches, Ralph Waldo Emerson established a distinctly American philosophy centered on his belief that each individual possesses an inner spiritual truth that transcends, or exceeds, the knowledge that comes from rational thought and logic. His philosophy was the basis of **Transcendentalism** and inspired an entire generation of American writers and poets.

Early years

Emerson was born on May 25, 1803, and grew up in Boston, **Massachusetts**. His father, a minister, died in 1811, leaving Emerson's mother with seven young children to raise on a limited income. In 1817, Emerson entered Harvard College on a scholarship and worked his way through college.

During his third year at Harvard, Emerson began keeping a journal. He continued writing his journals for over fifty years and later took inspiration from the topics raised there for his essays.

After graduating in 1821, Emerson became a teacher. In 1825, having saved enough money to put himself through Harvard Divinity School (a school that trains people to become religious leaders), he quit teaching. In 1827, he met the seventeen-year-old Ellen Louisa Tucker. They married in 1829. That same year, he became minister at Boston's Second Church.



Ralph Waldo Emerson's philosophy was the basis for the transcendentalist movement that inspired an entire generation of American writers and poets. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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A period of doubt

Emerson soon became dissatisfied with being a minister. He found it difficult to accept the church's insistence on miracles. He believed religion should be based on the spiritual inspiration within each believer, not blind acceptance of tradition. Emerson's beliefs were influenced by a wide range of readings, including the works of Greek philosopher Plato (c. 428 BCE–c. 348 BCE), the writings of eighteenth-century Swedish scientist and philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1722), and the works of European Romantics such as English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), who stressed intuition over rational thought.

Only a year and a half after his marriage, Emerson's young bride died. In his grief, he came to believe that God is not an entity that exists outside of humans, but rather that God lives within each individual human soul. Emerson came to believe that each person needed to break free from the everyday world in order to see the godliness in his or her inner self.

The making of a writer

Emerson left his position in the Boston church in 1832 and set off on a ten-month journey to Europe. In England, he met Coleridge, poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850), and other major thinkers and writers of the Romantic movement, which placed great value on the individual imagination and viewed nature as inspirational. In Paris, Emerson came to a profound understanding about the interconnectedness between humankind and other forms of nature. This harmonious relationship between all parts of nature formed another cornerstone of Emerson's belief system.

Returning to the United States filled with new ideas and inspiration, in 1833 Emerson joined the lyceum movement. This community-based program, which had arisen in New England in the 1820s, sponsored lectures and performances by visiting scholars and artists. Topics for Emerson's lectures soon ranged from English literature to the philosophy of history. Lecturing was Emerson's main source of income for the rest of his life.

Transcendental movement

In 1834, Emerson moved to Concord, Massachusetts, where he remarried and began family life. He formed a new group of friends in

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Concord, including feminist writer Margaret Fuller (1810–1850), writer and philosopher **Henry David Thoreau** (1817–1862), and writer Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864). The Concord group became the basis of a distinct national literature known as the American Renaissance.

Stimulated by these friendships, Emerson helped to form the Transcendental Club in 1836. The Transcendentalist philosophy that resulted from this group was not one unified program, but rather a patchwork of beliefs and theories. Transcendentalists saw a fundamental unity in all creation, viewed humanity as essentially good, and trusted insight over logic to provide the deepest understanding of life. Many transcendentalists were activists in social reform, including the **abolition movement** (putting an end to **slavery**).

Essays, journals, and speeches

Between 1836 and 1844, Emerson produced some of his most lasting and influential work. *Nature* (1836) was a declaration of his spiritual philosophy. It stressed his concept of inner understanding and his views on the oneness of all nature. The book attracted a good deal of critical attention and sold well. *The American Scholar* (1837) laid out the need for a distinctly American literature, independent of Europe and England.

Together with Margaret Fuller, Emerson helped found the transcendentalist journal the *Dial* in 1840, which played an important part in developing a unique American voice in literature. Meanwhile, Emerson's fame as a public speaker grew each year. His *Essays* appeared in 1841. Each of the twelve essays on religious, moral, and intellectual topics had grown out of his lyceum lectures. One of these was his best-known essay, "Self-Reliance," in which he attacked the idea of conforming to other people's expectations.

In 1842, Emerson's first son and favorite child, Waldo, died at the age of five from scarlet fever. His grief began to change the underlying structures of his thoughts. With *Essays: Second Series* (1844), he became less optimistic about the possibilities of human spiritual fulfillment.

Later years

Emerson published his first book of verse in 1847. A second volume followed twenty years later. Although most critics agree that Emerson was

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not as strong a poet as he was an essayist, his experiments in poetry influenced later American poets.

With the outbreak of the American **Civil War** (1861–65), Emerson became an ardent **Union** supporter. But by that time, his memory had begun to fail, and over the next decade his health deteriorated. His last years were peaceful but not productive. In 1882, he became ill with pneumonia and died.

Since his death, Emerson's reputation has gone through several phases of acclaim and criticism. Whatever the critics' judgment, he had a profound influence on the world of letters in the United States. He was instrumental in creating a national literature with its own blend of Yankee common sense and optimism about the human potential for growth and self-realization.

Encomienda System

The *encomienda* was a reward system by which Spain rewarded the conquistadores, or conquerors, that first explored and settled in the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The encomienda system gave the Spanish settlers the right to obtain labor or tribute (payment) from the Native Americans in their encomodero, or district. Strictly speaking, encomienda was not **slavery**, but in practice it came close.

Begins with Columbus

In the New World, the encomienda was first established in 1499 by Spanish explorer **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506), when he assigned three hundred Native Americans to some of his followers. Columbus had not been authorized to establish the encomienda system by the Spanish queen, and it was four years before the system was officially in place in the islands of the western Caribbean. After the conquest of Mexico in 1531 and Peru in 1533, the system was established on the mainland.

The system

Long before the Spanish arrived in the New World, the Native Americans had been paying tribute to the most powerful nations in their areas, such as the Aztec in Mexico and the Inca in Peru. After defeating the Aztec and Inca, many Spaniards simply took over the system of the

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overlords. They demanded from the headman or chief of an area as much tribute as they felt they could get, leaving it to the headman to collect it in his own way. The Spanish conquistadors usually did not live on the land. Living in towns with other Spaniards, they had little to do with the native people besides collecting tribute or demanding labor.

The contract

The Spanish royalty insisted that the encomienda was a contract with rights, duties, and limitations on both sides. In their view, the Native Americans subject to encomiendo were technically free. In principle, the encomendero was obliged to protect the Native Americans, to appoint and pay for parish priests, and to contribute a share of the military defense of the district. But in the New World, the system never worked on these principles. The conquistadors were not interested in the plight of the Native Americans; they were interested in getting rich. They felt it was beneath them to labor in the New World, so the right to force the natives to do their farming and mine gold and silver was very important to them.

Some church leaders began to speak out against the encomienda. The most famous and influential spokesman on behalf of the Indians was Spanish missionary **Bartolomé de Las Casas** (1474–1566). The Spanish Crown responded to this outcry by issuing the Laws of Burgos (1512–13), a set of regulations for the encomienda system to protect the Native Americans. Though well intended, it did not change the practices in the New World.

Power struggle

After a time, the conquistadors wanted to extend the encomienda system even further. They hoped to use it to gain control of the New World colonies as well as the native peoples. To this end, they sought to make encomiendas possessions they could pass on to their heirs, and thus make themselves into colonial nobility. But in pushing for extended power in the colonies, they had overstepped their bounds with the Spanish king, who viewed this as an effort to take the Spanish Crown's power in the New World. Without warning in 1542, he issued the New Laws, which were calculated to destroy the encomienda system within a generation. But the encomenderos protested strongly against the New Laws, and rebellions erupted. The king backed down, making new but far weaker policies to try to gain control over existing encomiendas.

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The end of a brutal system

The conflict between the king and the conquistadors was by that time beside the point. A large proportion—perhaps as much as 90 percent—of the native population of Spanish America was dying. Encomienda had been disastrous for the native populations. Mistreated by their supposed protectors and exposed to European diseases (such as smallpox and measles) to which they had no immunity, Native American death rates were catastrophic. (See **Epidemics in the New World**.) Largely because the majority of the Native American workers had died, the Spanish conquistadors had to look for other ways to profit in the New World. By the end of the sixteenth century, the encomendia had ceased to be a major factor in the Spanish colonies.

Enola Gay

On August 6, 1945, a U.S. B-29 bomber called the *Enola Gay* flew towards Hiroshima, Japan. It carried an **atomic bomb** that was developed and tested in the United States. Its mission to drop the bomb on Hiroshima marked the first time that an atomic weapon was used in warfare and targeted at humans.

The atomic bomb had been developed during the previous four years. The U.S. government had gathered the world's leading scientists to work on the top-secret **Manhattan Project** to produce an atomic weapon. By learning to harness the power from within the nucleus of a hydrogen cell, the scientists created a nuclear fission reaction and developed the world's most powerful bomb.

Germany surrendered from **World War II** (1939–45) in May 1945. President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) decided to use the atomic bomb against Japan when it became clear that Japan was not going to end the war through diplomatic means. Trying to avoid the expense of both money and lives with a conventional invasion of the Japanese homeland, President Truman ordered the bomb to be used.

The *Enola Gay*, named for the mother of the commander for the bombing mission, was sent on the first of two missions to Japan. The plane's commander, Colonel Paul W. Tibbits (1915–2007), ordered the release of the atomic bomb, "Little Boy," at 8:15 in the morning. With a brilliant flash, the bomb devastated most of the city below. The explosion destroyed everything in the immediate area. Resulting fires burned

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The mission of the **Enola Gay** *to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima marked the first time that an atomic weapon was used in warfare and targeted at humans.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

another 4.4 square miles, and over seventy thousand people died. Another seventy thousand were seriously injured.

Despite the resulting disaster, Japan refused to surrender. The B-29 aircraft *Bockscar* dropped an atomic bomb three days later on the Japanese city of Nagasaki, where another thirty-five thousand people lost their lives. Japan began its surrender the next day, August 10, 1945.

Environmentalism

The latter half of the 1800s marked a period in American history when researchers, scientists, and concerned citizens worked together to raise the collective consciousness about the importance of the nation's natural resources. The government took a leadership role in the effort to preserve nature for nature's sake by passing legislative acts. This was the beginning of what is known as the **conservation movement**.

These early efforts to preserve and protect were led by influential and dedicated men such as John Muir (1838–1914), Underwood Johnson (1853–1937), President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9), and Aldo Leopold (1886–1948). Although these activists and others like them made great progress, it was not until the 1960s that the first truly nationwide, organized, and vocal efforts emerged in what is known as the environmental movement.

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The catalyst for this movement was the 1962 publication of a best-selling book titled *Silent Spring*. Author Rachel Carson (1907–1964; see box) left no doubt in the minds of Americans that chemicals in the air and water were killing nearly every form of wildlife. Readers were shocked, and out of that concern developed a renewed and vigorous dedication to saving and protecting the environment.

Environmentalism takes center stage

During the remainder of the 1960s, several environmental organizations were established, including the Environmental Defense Fund, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and Friends of the Earth. U.S. senator Gaylord Nelson (1916–2005) of **Wisconsin** was the primary organizer of a new holiday, which debuted in 1970. The first Earth Day was celebrated on April 22 and an estimated twenty million people participated. The purpose of the day was to send a message to politicians, encouraging them to pay attention and do something for the environment before it was too late. Nelson had been trying since late 1962 to appeal to the logic and sensibility of Congress, largely without success. Earth Day continues to be celebrated across the nation in the twenty-first century.



Time *magazine commemorates Earth Day 2000. The first Earth Day was in 1970 and was meant to encourage politicians to raise awareness and do something for the environment before it was too late.* ARTHUR HOCHSTEIN/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

Legislation

The 1970s was a decade of major activism in the environmental movement. At that time, pollution had become a major concern. Congress had passed the Clean Air Act in 1963, but it was not until 1970 that amendments were added that made it a truly effective bill. The 1963 version offered federal research funding and urged the development of air pollution control agencies at the state level. In 1965, an amendment was passed that added the requirement of the creation and enforcement of automobile emissions standards. This was the first time the federal government took an active role in the clean air policy.

The Clean Air Act of 1970 finally put actual power in the hands of the federal government

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Rachel Carson: Ahead of Her Time

Rachel Carson was born on May 27, 1907, in the small town of Springdale, **Pennsylvania**. She grew up on a farm and spent most of her time studying nature and reading.

Carson earned a scholarship to the Pennsylvania College for Women and graduated with honors in 1928. She took a fellowship at the Marine Biology Laboratory at Woods Hole on Cape Cod, **Massachusetts**, where she saw the ocean for the first time. Carson went on to study zoology and genetics on scholarship at Johns Hopkins University in **Maryland**. She graduated with honors once more in 1932.

In 1935, Carson applied for a job at the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. At the time, women were not encouraged to take any civil service exams, but Carson outscored all other applicants and was the second woman in history to be hired by the bureau for a permanent professional post. She wrote and edited government publications there, and when the bureau merged with the Biological Survey in 1940 and was renamed the Fish and Wildlife Service, Carson was quickly promoted. Eventually, she became a full-fledged biologist and the chief editor.

During these early years, Carson wrote two books in her field of study, but it was not until her third, *The Sea Around Us* (1951), that she became a best-selling author. The book focused on oceanography and included several technical and scientific breakthroughs. Carson won the National Book Award for her work and retired from government service to become a full-time author.

She published another award winner in 1955. *The Edge of the Sea* was also a best-seller, and it was made into an Oscar-winning documentary.

Carson had long been concerned about the overuse of pesticides. At the time, DDT was considered an effective pest control because its use resulted in higher crop yields. Carson's research found that the chemical destroyed the environment with long-term use. She spent four years gathering data and interviewing biologists, chemists, and other scientists. The result of her efforts was *Silent Spring,* in which she proved that DDT is transferred to living organisms through the food chain. Carson claimed DDT all but exterminated the American falcon, and she showed that the toxin in high doses was dangerous to humans.

The chemical industry publicly labeled Carson "hysterical," and companies tried to force the publisher to suppress the book. *Silent Spring* became an immediate best-seller, however, and its author was featured in a 1963 documentary in which she debated a chemical company spokesperson. That documentary won her many fans. The book itself is credited with creating an awareness of the dangers of pesticides. DDT was banned in the United States in 1972. Carson won many awards for her work before her death on April 14, 1964.

and became the basis for all future air pollution control policy. Three amendments were added that year: the Water Quality Act, the Solid Waste Disposal Act, and the Wilderness Act. The last amendment was passed to ensure the protection of 9 million acres of public land.

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In addition to the Clean Air Act, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 was passed in response to the federal government's destruction of natural environment while building interstate **highways** throughout the two previous decades. The act established the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which became the largest and most powerful regulatory body ever established by the federal government. The mission of the EPA is to protect human health while safeguarding the environment.

Public activism

The 1970s had its fair share of environmental crises, and the media covered them in great detail. One of these accidents was the radioactive gas leak at **Three Mile Island** near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Another such crisis was the discovery and subsequent reporting of the fact that homes along the Love Canal in Buffalo, **New York**, were built on toxic soil. In 1979, the EPA disclosed its finding that fifty-five thousand sites in the country were critically toxic.

America's response to these events and reports was to join organized coalitions and activist groups. Membership in environmental organizations skyrocketed. The National Audubon Society (established in 1905), for example, tripled its numbers to four hundred thousand in the 1970s. New groups were established, including Greenpeace (1971), the Cousteau Society (1973), and Worldwatch Institute (1975). These and other groups pressured politicians to get involved, and their efforts saw the passage of eighteen environmental laws throughout the decade.

Conservatism hinders movement

Republican **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) who became president in 1981 had a conservative agenda that was not environment-friendly and federal support for environmental programs was stalled. Nonetheless, national environmental groups refused to back down from their goals, and they responded to this lack of federal support by expanding membership and staff. Local grassroots organizations flourished, and an estimated twenty-five million activists populated the country by 1987. A 1985 Harris poll indicated that 80 percent of the American public supported environmental laws and regulations.

Not all environmentalists were willing to work with the restricted support of the federal government. They believed lobbying in

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Washington, D.C., could have only limited impact, and true progress could be gained only through direct—and sometimes illegal—action. One such group, EarthFirst!, formed in 1980. EarthFirst! members engaged in demonstrations, media stunts, and what they call "ecotage," which is the sabotage of equipment used for roadbuilding, dam construction, and clearcutting. Because of the group's violent and radical tactics, it received intense media coverage but also met with criticism from the more mainstream organizations, who believed their illegal tactics only hindered the progress of the environmental movement as a whole.

1990s and beyond

In 1990, EarthFirst! began being identified more as a mainstream movement and less as an organization. Those members who refused to give up using criminal activity as a means of protest broke off from the main group and formed an offshoot they called the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). Although the organization claims no spokesperson or leadership, it includes activists from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Despite the fact that ELF's tactics include destruction of property and violence, no deaths have ever resulted from their actions. Still, the ELF was classified as the number one domestic terror threat by the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) in 2001.

Thirty years after the environmental movement had been born, it had become the most successful social change movement since the **abolition movement** (end of **slavery**) in the nineteenth century. By 1990, an estimated 100 million people (25 million in the United States) in 140 countries had celebrated Earth Day. Even with such success, however, the environment was still in danger. More than half of all Americans lived in counties with polluted air in 1993; more than 170,000 lakes were acidified, and 90 percent of all garbage went unrecycled.

When **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) became U.S. president, his vice president was environmental activist and former U.S. senator **Al Gore** (1948–) of **Tennessee**. After serving alongside Clinton for two terms, Gore unsuccessfully ran for president in the 2000 election. After defeat, Gore turned his attention to activism, and he has served in the private sector as a champion of environmentalism, lecturing on the topic of global warming, a prime concern of the environmental movement.

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Global warming is the increase in the average temperature of the Earth's near-surface air and oceans. Some scientists and researchers believe global warming will eventually result in worldwide rising of sea levels, Arctic shrinkage, and possible flooding and drought (depending on the region). It could also lead to an increase in natural disasters like hurricanes and tornadoes, as well as an increase in diseases spread by mosquitoes, which thrive on heat and humidity. In addition, some scientists predict the extinction of many plants and animals because they will not be able to adapt to their altered ecosystems quickly enough.

Global warming is caused by several factors, the primary being an increase in the greenhouse effect (how natural gases in the Earth's atmosphere reduce the amount of heat escaping from the earth into the atmosphere). Although the greenhouse effect allows the Earth to stay warm enough to sustain life, an increase would prevent heat from escaping, making the planet too hot for life to survive. Greenhouse gases are increased by human activity, such as farming, industry, and the burning of fossil fuels for energy.

Gore used his time as vice president to try to effect change in environmental policy by sponsoring hearings, publishing books, and launching educational programs. Once out of politics, he toured the country giving lectures, and in 2006, released a documentary titled *An Inconvenient Truth.* This film gave evidence for global warming and warned of the need for immediate changes in human behavior. It won the 2007 Academy Award for Documentary Feature and was the fourth highest-grossing documentary in U.S. history as of 2008.

The environmental movement has always had its share of critics who refute the findings of studies and claim that what is happening with the environment at any given times is natural. Other skeptics believe environmentalism is merely a political issue, not one of science. Doubts aside, environmentalism in the twenty-first century goes far beyond the idea of preserving natural beauty to recognize the importance of biodiversity. Some new businesses, such as computer liquidators, exist solely to recycle and reuse. Although momentum of grassroots activism has leveled off, the environmental movement as a whole has become one based on science and research, which gives it an authority it never previously held.

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Epidemics in the New World

When **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) arrived in the New World in 1492, there were between seven and fifteen million natives on the northern continent, according to estimates. By 1900, the Native American population in the United States had been reduced to just a quarter-million. The decline resulted primarily from epidemics brought to the New World by Europeans, and from wars between Native Americans and the colonists.

An epidemic occurs when a disease spreads through a population in large numbers, often resulting in a sizeable death toll. Europeans exploring the New World carried viruses in their bodies from smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, and influenza. While Europeans had developed natural defenses in their bodies to most diseases, these illnesses were new to Native Americans. When these viruses migrated from Europeans to Native Americans, the result could be an epidemic.

Onesimus

An African American named Onesimus introduced inoculation to the New World. Inoculation is the process of injecting a small amount of disease into a person to allow the body to build natural defenses against the disease.

In 1721, a ship carrying people with smallpox entered Boston Harbor in Massachusetts Colony. The disease spread through the city. As it did, a local Puritan minister named **Cotton Mather** (1663–1728) learned from Onesimus, his Sudanese-born slave, how inoculation was used in Africa. Mather arranged to have Boston physicians inoculate some city residents.

Many physicians opposed inoculation. They feared it would hasten the spread of the disease in a deadly fashion. Some also thought that preventing disease was interference with God's will. Inoculation, however, worked well. During the epidemic of 1721, just two percent of those inoculated died from smallpox, while eighteen percent of Bostonians who caught the disease without inoculation died.

Florida first

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yellow fever, smallpox, and measles severely reduced the population of **Florida** natives. The toll was so great that once-separate communities had to regroup together to survive, despite cultural and language barriers.

Diseases spread northward from Florida to New England. From 1613 to 1617, the Powhatan Confederacy of **Virginia** suffered a plague that devastated its population. When the plague reached natives in **Massachusetts**, many **Puritans** from Europe believed God had sent it to clear the land for European settlement.

The colonists also suffered losses from epidemics. As populations grew, epidemics occasionally spread through cities, in which close quar-

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ters and poor sanitation allowed diseases to thrive. Smallpox was a particular problem in the eighteenth century. It was highly contagious and caused fevers, vomiting, and pustules on the body. Fear of catching smallpox in Europe prevented many wealthy American colonists from traveling to their mother countries.

Equal Employment Opportunity Act

The Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act of 1972, also known as the Civil Rights Act of 1972, expanded Title VII of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** to increase protection of minorities and women in both public- and private-sector employment.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination on the basis of gender, creed, race, or ethnic background. Its stated goal was equality of employment opportunities, and it resolved to "remove barriers that have operated in the past." Title VII prohibited employers from discriminating in advertising, recruitment, hiring, job classification, promotion, discharge, wages and salaries, and other terms and conditions of employment. Title VII also established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as a monitoring device to prevent job discrimination.

Under the 1964 act, however, the EEOC lacked enforcement powers. The 1972 EEO Act authorized the EEOC to take job-discrimination cases directly to the federal district courts. It extended employment protection uniformly to include both private-sector and government employees and authorized enforcement through the Civil Service Commission and the federal courts. The EEO Act of 1972 also established an Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council to formulate a uniform approach and to help employers comply with the federal government's equal-opportunity efforts.

The controversy

The EEO Act of 1972 set about to make a fair and equal employment environment in which racial and ethnic minorities and women, who had long been victims of discrimination, were on a level with white males,

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who had not been victims of discrimination. The efforts of the new act to correct that imbalance became known as **affirmative action**.

The EEO Act of 1972 stirred controversy. Some employers translated the affirmative action policy of the federal government into the establishment of a racial or gender quota system. A racial quota system is a numerical requirement for hiring and promoting employees of a particular racial or gender group. Using quota systems in the hiring of minorities was perceived by many to be discrimination against white males.

Soon after the EEO Act of 1972 was implemented, lawsuits based on racial and sexual discrimination began to pour into courts, creating backlogs in the handling of cases and indicating that discrimination was widespread. Conversely, lawsuits were brought and at times successfully contested claiming "reverse" discrimination. The lawsuits, the racial and ethnic inequities in American society, and the legal and political debate over affirmative action all continued well into the twenty-first century.

Erie Canal

In the early nineteenth century, available farmland along the East Coast of the United States decreased as the population grew. Many farmers moved from the Atlantic seaboard east of the Appalachian Mountains into the rich and available farmlands of the Old Northwest, a region where **Ohio**, **Indiana**, **Illinois**, **Michigan**, and **Wisconsin** are today. Though the land in the Old Northeast was productive, farmers initially faced a major obstacle in selling their crops. There were few overland roads between the East and the Old Northwest, and it was difficult to ship farm produce of the Old Northwest back to the East for sale. Eastern port cities, such as Baltimore, **Maryland**; Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**; and New York City, competed vigorously to be the first to forge transportation links with the Old Northwest, but the mountains of western Pennsylvania and Maryland presented a daunting obstacle to the construction of roads, railroads, and canals, especially for Philadelphia and Baltimore. Only in New York was the passage through the mountains sufficiently low enough to encourage consideration of a water route.

In April 1817, **New York** State authorized funding for the construction of a 364-mile (586-kilometer) canal to link Albany, New York, on the Hudson River with Buffalo, New York, on Lake Erie. Nothing like

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The Erie Canal was completed in October 1825 and became an important route for goods to flow into world markets. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

the Erie Canal had ever been tried before. At the time, the biggest canal in the United States was only 27 miles (43 kilometers) long, and only 100 miles (161 kilometers) of canals existed in the entire country. Skeptics claimed the project would end as an expensive failure, good only to line the pockets of politicians and bankrupt the state.

Building "Clinton's Big Ditch"

Despite the drawbacks, the canal's most ardent advocate, New York governor DeWitt Clinton (1769–1828), managed to gather support for the project. Clinton claimed that as soon as it was built, the canal would be crowded with boats heavily laden with produce and wares from remote regions of the United States and that it would create thriving new cities and towns along its path. Critics began to refer to the project as "Clinton's Big Ditch."

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Construction started in Rome, New York, near Lake Oneida on July 4, 1817. Because there were no civil engineers and few professional surveyors in the United States at that time, the New York State canal commissioners selected four amateurs (nonprofessionals, or inexperienced people) to serve as the principal engineers. They did a surprisingly good job, completing the work in a timely fashion and almost on budget. They also showed a flair for innovation. Their designs for soaring aqueducts (channels or pipes that carry water) over the Genesee and Mohawk Rivers were studied by visiting European engineers for years after construction was completed. Other innovations were more basic. For example, the Erie engineers used plows and scrapers drawn by livestock for digging instead of traditional shovels and wheelbarrows. They also produced a device that allowed one man to pull down a tree of any height without an ax as well as a wheeled machine that could pull thirty to forty tree stumps a day using only seven laborers.

The canal laborers were mainly local farmers and mechanics along with a small percentage of Irish immigrants. They signed on with one of the dozens of contractors directly responsible for building the canal sections. The canal was finished with a minimum of corruption. Even labor relations remained fairly calm during construction.

Celebrating the canal

Upon completion in October 1825, the Erie Canal drew praise from around the world. It was the longest canal in the Western world. By the time it was finished, it was already carrying heavy traffic along its 4-foot-deep (1-meter) and 40-foot-wide (12-meter) channel.

New Yorkers celebrated the completion of the Erie Canal with a ten-day party. A ceremonial flotilla, or formation of boats, led by Governor Clinton headed east from Buffalo on October 26. As the governor's boat set off, cannons spaced along the entire 500 miles (805 kilometers) along the Erie Canal and the Hudson River to New York City fired in succession to announce his departure, with the last cannon booming one hundred minutes after the first. As a symbol of the new water link, Clinton carried with him on the boat two kegs of Lake Erie water. On November 4, he emptied one keg in the New York Harbor in front of adoring crowds. Then he sailed out to Sandy Hook, **New Jersey**, where, in front of a flotilla of small craft and a British squadron playing "Yankee

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Doodle," he emptied the second barrel in celebration of "the wedding of the waters" of Lake Erie and the Atlantic Ocean.

Impact

The canal had a tremendous impact on the economy of New York. It opened an inexpensive route for western goods, especially lumber, grain, and flour, to flow into the Hudson and then out into world markets from the wharves of Manhattan and Brooklyn. Coming the other way, imported and domestically produced manufactured goods swept west along the new channel, quickly making the port of New York the busiest in the country. Between 1830 and 1847, well over half of all American imports flowed through New York's harbor. This was because the Erie Canal had cut the cost of sending goods from Buffalo to New York City to less than $8 a ton from a pre-canal cost of $100 a ton. And, it was faster than shipping goods over land.

All along its path, the Erie Canal created a thriving economy. In western New York State, where there had previously been only sparsely settled wilderness and a few villages, prosperous new farms stretched to the north and south of the canal route. More impressive still was the growth of canal towns such as Buffalo, Lockport, and Rochester. Rochester multiplied its population more than twenty times over (from 1,502 to 36,403) between 1820 and 1850, making it the fastest-growing city in the country in the 1820s. With its new automatic flour mills and abundant supplies of water power from the Genesee River, Rochester became a major grain processor, shipping out 369,000 barrels of flour in 1836 alone.

The canal had its critics, and they pointed to some of its unintended results. One side effect of the canal was the increased transmission of deadly diseases. Smallpox and cholera frequently "rode the canal," affecting people in New York and in the Great Lakes states. Some of the religious reformers of the day were bothered by the style of life on the canal. They disapproved of the common practice of running canal boats (which served liquor) on Sundays and viewed the canal workers as drunken, foul-mouthed, violent rowdies.

The rise and fall of canals

The success of the Erie Canal led to a canal-building mania. New York constructed many more canal branches in the years that followed. But

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during the 1850s, railroads began to transport much of the freight that had previously been carried on the canals. Canals could not compete. They were expensive to build and repair. Floods were a constant threat. Winter freezes stopped traffic altogether. Railroads were almost as expensive as canals to construct, but they were cheaper to repair and much more reliable in winter.

The Erie Canal still exists today as the most important link in the New York State Barge Canal system, which was built between 1909 and 1918. With other, more efficient, means of transportation available, in the twenty-first century the canal is used primarily for recreational traffic and has been preserved as a place of historic interest.

European Explorers of North America

Native Americans have been living in and exploring the vast territory that makes up the present-day United States for tens of thousands of years. Many tribes traded far and wide and had a vast knowledge of the continent's geography. The first known European explorers to arrive on the continent, Vikings from Scandinavia led by Leif Eriksson (c. 970–1020), appeared around 1000 C.E. and established a temporary settlement in the present-day Canadian province of Newfoundland. After that, there were no known European explorations of the New World until the Spanish-sponsored Italian navigator **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) arrived in 1492.

Early European explorers

Trade was the major incentive in the burst of European exploration that began in the fifteenth century. Once European countries, particularly Italy, had developed trade relations with the Middle East (a vast region of the world encompassing North Africa and Southwest Asia), goods from Asia were in high demand. European governments began to sponsor navigators (people who set the courses for ships) to explore new routes to the mysterious regions beyond the borders of Europe. The Portuguese were the first to find routes around the Horn of Africa (a peninsula in northeastern Africa) to India in 1498. Portugal then reaped huge profits in trade in Asia and Africa.

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In 1492, Columbus convinced the Spanish queen that he could reach Asia by taking a westward course across the Atlantic. He famously located the New World when he landed in the islands of the Caribbean Sea. Thinking he had arrived in Asia, he called the islands the "West Indies" and their people, "Indians." Columbus went to explore and create colonies for Spain in the islands.

Italian explorer John Cabot (c. 1450–c. 1499) was living in England when he learned of Columbus's voyages. He convinced the English king to sponsor him in an expedition to the New World to seek the Northwest Passage, a fabled sea route cutting directly through the New World that would provide easy passage to Asia. (Though none of the early explorers of the American continent would ever find the Northwest Passage, it was actually discovered in the Arctic Ocean in 1903.) In 1497, Cabot made a thirty-one-day voyage across the Atlantic. The exact spot where he landed is uncertain, but it was probably either Cape Breton Island (in the present-day Canadian province of Nova Scotia) or Newfoundland. He explored the coast for a month and returned to England. His reports, along with Columbus's discoveries, changed the shape of the world in European understanding.



Italian navigator Amerigo de Vespucci led a Spanish-sponsored expedition that first discovered the mainland of the American continents. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Spanish explorers

The first Spaniards to arrive in the New World found gold and silver there. News of possible riches brought many more explorers and **Spanish conquistadors** (conquerors) to the American continents in the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1499 and 1500, Italian navigator Amerigo de Vespucci (1454–1512) led a Spanish-sponsored expedition that first discovered the mainland of the American continents; the name "America" is derived from his name. In 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475–1519) became the first European to find the eastern shores of the Pacific Ocean. That same year, **Juan Ponce de León** (1460–1521) led the first European expedition into **Florida**, which he claimed for Spain. From 1519 to 1521, Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) explored central Mexico

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and conquered the powerful Aztecs, taking over their principal city and establishing the headquarters of New Spain in Mexico City.

From 1519 to 1521, Ferdinand Magellan, or Fernão de Magalhães (c. 1480–1521), a Portuguese navigator financed by the Spanish king, became the first known person to circumnavigate (go all the way around) the world.

Most Spanish exploration efforts were spent on regions in Central and South America, but there was interest in the lands to the north as well. Spain played the leading role in exploration of vast areas of what is now the southern section of the United States. In 1527 and 1528, Pánfilo de Narváez (c. 1478–1528) led a disastrous expedition to Florida and the **Texas** shoreline of the Gulf of Mexico. Although Narváez and most of his crew were killed, the expedition contributed greatly to the knowledge and history of the southern United States. One of the expedition's members, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (c. 1490–c. 1560), managed to survive the eight-year ordeal, and he published an eyewitness account, *La Relación* (1555; *The Account*).

From 1539 to 1542, **Hernando de Soto** (c. 1496–1542) led a gold-seeking expedition through present-day Florida, **Alabama**, **Tennessee**, **Mississippi**, **Arkansas**, **Oklahoma**, and **Louisiana**. His was the first European expedition to encounter the Mississippi River. From 1540 to 1542, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (c. 1510–1554) explored present-day **New Mexico**, **Colorado**, Texas, Oklahoma, and **Kansas**. Around the same time, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, or João Rodriguez Cabrilho (d. 1543), a Portuguese explorer in the service of Spain, became the first explorer of the **California** coast, including San Diego Bay and Monterey Bay.

After these initial explorations, the hard work of exploring Spanish territory north of present-day Mexico fell to Spanish conquistadors and colonizers such as Juan de Oñate (c. 1550–1630), who explored and colonized present-day New Mexico, and Gaspar de Portolá (c. 1723–c. 1784), who led an overland expedition of explorers, colonists, and missionaries into present-day California. Spanish missionaries played a huge role in the exploration. (See **Spanish Missions**). Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645–1711) established a network of missions that extended from Mexico far into present-day **Arizona**, and Junípero Serra (1713–1784) explored California and set up the first nine missions in a network that would become twenty-one missions spanning the California coast.

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French explorers

France, too, wished to find trade routes to Asia and establish colonies in the New World. In 1524, the French king sponsored an expedition to the New World seeking the elusive Northwest Passage. The expedition was led by Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano (c. 1485–c. 1528), who explored the East Coast of the present-day United States from what is now **North Carolina** up to Nova Scotia, Canada. He reported on the **New York** and Narragansett Bays upon his return. From 1534 to 1541, Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) made three voyages to Canada, discovering the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence River.

In 1603, French explorer **Samuel de Champlain** (c. 1567–1635), who became known as the "father of **New France**" (which later became Canada), first set out for the North American coast. Upon his return, he convinced the French king that North America had potential for settlement and commercial development, particularly in fur trading. In his many journeys to New France, Champlain established the settlement of Quebec. He explored the Atlantic coast from present-day Nova Scotia down to **Massachusetts**, as well as **Vermont**, northern parts of New York, and the Great Lakes region.



Jacques Cartier made three voyages to Canada, discovering the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the St. Lawrence River. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In 1672, explorer Louis Jolliet (1645–1700) led a French-Canadian expedition to explore the Mississippi River and to discover whether it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico or the Pacific Ocean. French Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette (1637–1675) was chosen to go along as the expedition's interpreter because he spoke several Indian languages fluently. Jolliet's account of the expedition was lost in a canoe accident, and Marquette's journal became the only first-person record of the historic trip. In 1682, explorer Sieur René Robert Cavelier de La Salle (1643–1687) navigated the Mississippi River all the way down to the Gulf of Mexico and claimed for France the vast territory known as Louisiana.

English explorers

The English were slow to take an interest in the New World, but in 1576 English explorer

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Martin Frobisher (c. 1535–1594) set out to find the Northwest Passage. Like Cabot, he failed in his original goal, but Frobisher returned with samples of shiny gold rocks that English geologists declared to be gold. After a second fruitless search for the Northwest Passage, he brought back more of the golden mineral. On a second test, the gold rocks were deemed to be iron pyrite, or "fool's gold."

England stopped seeking gold in the New World, but it wanted to establish colonies there to provide markets for England's burgeoning industrial economy. Sir Humphrey Gilbert (c. 1539–1583) led the first of the new colonizing expeditions. He claimed Newfoundland for England in 1583, but his ship disappeared shortly thereafter, and nothing came of his enterprise.

Francis Drake (c. 1540–1596), the most renowned and successful English seaman of the late sixteenth century, was best known for winning major sea battles against Spain for England. Drake was a highly skilled navigator who, in 1577, embarked on an exploratory voyage up the western side of the Americas. After raiding Spanish ships and settlements along the South American coast and claiming present-day California for Britain, he returned to Plymouth, England, via the Cape of Good Hope, thus becoming the first English captain to circumnavigate the globe.



Francis Drake, best known for winning major sea battles against Spain for England, embarked on an exploratory voyage up the western side of the Americas. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In 1584, Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) granted statesman, explorer, and writer Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) the title to any lands he might claim along the Atlantic coast of the New World, from Florida to present-day Canada, that were not already claimed by Christians. Raleigh organized two expeditions to the New World, in 1585 and 1587, though the queen would not allow him to accompany them. Raleigh's colonists attempted to settle on Roanoke Island (off the coast of present-day North Carolina), naming the region **Virginia**, after Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen." (See also **Roanoke Colony**.) Both of Raleigh's expeditions failed to establish a permanent settlement. It was 1607 before **Jamestown**, the first permanent English settlement, was founded in present-day Virginia.

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Other European explorers

The Dutch employed English explorer **Henry Hudson** (d. 1611) to find the Northwest Passage in 1609. After sailing to the coast of Nova Scotia, Hudson headed south as far as the Chesapeake Bay, then returned north to explore the Delaware Bay, and finally sailed into the entrance to New York harbor on September 12, 1609. He sailed up the large river that now bears his name as far as the site of Albany. On his voyage up and down the Hudson River, the explorer noted how rich the land was and how much opportunity there would be for a prosperous fur trade. His report inspired the Dutch to form a new company, the **Dutch West India Company**, which founded the colony of New Netherland in 1614.

In 1725, the Russian tsar commissioned Danish navigator Vitus Bering (1681–1741) to explore Siberia's Pacific coast. During that time, the Russian Empire was rapidly expanding east, and it was not yet known whether eastern Siberia and northwestern North America were connected. In two extensive expeditions into eastern Siberia and the northern Pacific Ocean, Bering proved without question that the two landmasses were separate. His many geographical discoveries in the area introduced Russia to the region of present-day **Alaska**, which they would soon settle to reap the profits of a rich fur trade.

Medgar Evers

Medgar Evers was the field secretary for the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) in the early 1960s. He became one of the first leaders of the nonviolent African American **civil rights movement** of the 1950s and 1960s. He was killed for his work.

A course in racism

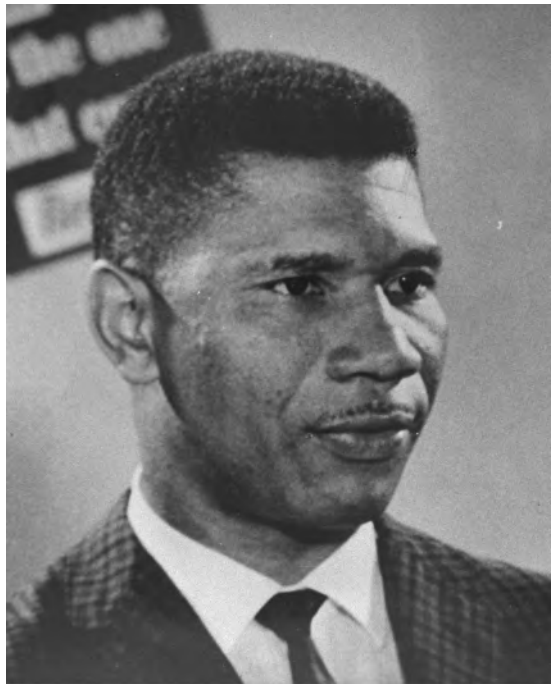
Evers was born on July 2, 1925, and grew up on a small farm in Decatur, **Mississippi**. It was not an easy place to grow up. The white children in his town made nasty, racial remarks and threw things at him as he walked to school. He remembered seeing the body of a family friend who had been beaten to death by white men.

Even as a child, Evers was determined to rise above the racist environment. He walked twelve miles each way to school every day. After graduating from high school, he joined the army during **World War II** (1939–45), and served honorably in the war.

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When Evers returned to Decatur in 1946, he and his brother Charlie, who had also fought in the war, decided they wanted to vote in the next election, even though whites in the area barred blacks from voting for generations. The Evers brothers registered to vote without incident, but as the election drew near, whites in the area began to threaten their father. When election day came, an armed crowd of about two hundred white Mississippians blocked the Evers brothers from entering the voting place.

Evers and his brother were determined to change things. They joined the NAACP and became active in its ranks. Evers was already busy with NAACP projects when he entered Alcorn A&M College in 1948. He majored in business administration and graduated in 1952. During his senior year, he married a fellow student, Myrlie Beasley (1933–). After graduation, the young couple lived comfortably on his earnings as an insurance salesman.



Medgar Evers was murdered for his work with the civil rights movement and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Mandated change for Mississippi

Evers was astounded by the living conditions of the rural blacks he visited on the job. In 1954, he witnessed an attempted lynching of a black man. Outraged, Evers quit the insurance business and went to work full-time for the NAACP as a chapter organizer. Within two years, he was named state field secretary. Still in his early thirties, he was one of the most vocal and recognizable NAACP members in his state. In his dealings with whites and blacks alike, Evers spoke constantly of the need to overcome hatred and to promote understanding and equality between the races. It was not a message that everyone in Mississippi wanted to hear.

Evers moved with his family to the state capital of Jackson, where he worked closely with black church leaders and other civil rights activists. By 1955, his name was featured on a nine-man death list drawn up by white racists. Telephone threats of violence against Evers and his family were a constant source of anxiety in the Evers home. Evers even taught his children to fall on the floor whenever they heard a strange noise outside in case the sounds were gunshots.

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A few weeks prior to his death, someone threw a firebomb at his home. His wife put the fire out with a garden hose, afraid to run for help in case an attacker lay in wait. Not even the threats to his family could deter Evers from making his rounds for voter registration or from petitioning for a biracial (made up of blacks and whites) committee to address social concerns in Jackson. His days were filled with meetings, economic boycotts, marches, prayer vigils, and picket lines—and with bailing out demonstrators arrested by the all-white police force. It was not uncommon for Evers to work twenty hours a day.

A fallen leader

On June 12, 1963, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) denounced the white resistance to civil rights for blacks, pledging his support to federal action on integration. That night, Evers returned home just after midnight from a series of NAACP functions. As he left his car he was shot in the back. His wife and children found him bleeding to death on the doorstep. He died fifty minutes later at the hospital. He was thirty-seven years old.

The governor of Mississippi and several all-white newspapers offered rewards for information about Evers's murderer. Few came forward with information, but an investigation by the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) uncovered a suspect, Byron de la Beckwith (1920–2001), an outspoken member of a white supremacist group (a group that believes white people should rule over people of all other races). A gun found 150 feet from the site of the shooting had Beckwith's fingerprint on it and he had been seen in Evers's neighborhood the night of the attack. Beckwith, who claimed he was innocent, was tried twice in Mississippi for Evers's murder, once in 1964 and again the following year. Despite strong evidence against him, the all-white juries in both trials ended in deadlock decisions, and Beckwith walked free.

In 1991, more than twenty-five years after Evers's murder, Beckwith was arrested a third time. In 1994, a jury of eight blacks and four whites convicted him of murdering Evers. Sentenced to life imprisonment, Beckwith died in prison in 2001.

The Evers legacy

With his unblinking courage and dedication to the cause of justice and equality, Evers made a huge difference in the civil rights struggle, even

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though his life was cut short. Upon his death, anger replaced fear in the South; hundreds of demonstrators marched in protest. His death prompted President Kennedy to ask Congress for a comprehensive civil-rights bill, which President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) signed into law the following year. (See **Civil Rights Act of 1964**.)

Executive Branch

The U.S. **Constitution** divides the federal government into three branches. The president of the United States heads the executive branch, which enforces the nation's laws and is responsible for foreign affairs. The other two branches are the **legislative branch**, called Congress, and the **judicial branch**, headed by the **Supreme Court**.

Most of the provisions concerning the executive branch appear in Article II of the Constitution. It begins, "The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States." Later provisions explain the powers of the president, but some citizens and scholars believe that the mere phrase "executive power" gives the president implied powers not specified elsewhere in the Constitution.

Specific provisions

Section 1 of Article II, as amended by the **Twelfth Amendment**, contains the procedure for selecting the president and vice president and the qualifications for serving in those offices. The qualifications include being a natural-born citizen of the United States who is at least thirty-five years old and has been a resident of the United States for at least seven years. This section also provides that the president shall be compensated for his or her service and be replaced by the vice president in the event of death, resignation, or inability to serve. The only other duty the vice president has under the Constitution is to serve as president of the Senate, where he or she has the power to cast tie-breaking votes when the Senate is equally divided on an issue.

Section 2 of Article II contains provisions concerning the specific powers of the president. It says he or she is commander in chief of the **Army** and **Navy**, and of the state militias when they serve the United States. The president may consult with key officers of the departments of the executive branch. There is a complex system of executive depart-

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Impeachment

Section 1 of Article II requires the president, before taking office, to take an oath or affirmation that says, "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." Section 4 of Article II says, "The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors." Citizens and scholars debate whether this restricts the kind of misconduct for which a president can be removed from office.

In December 1998, for example, the House of Representatives impeached President **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) for perjury and obstruction of justice for lying under oath about whether he had sexual relations with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky (1973–). Some citizens believed misconduct unrelated to the president's official duties was not an appropriate ground for impeachment. Others believed that perjury, which is a felony, counts as a high crime whether or not it involves the president's job. The Senate voted not to convict, so President Clinton remained in office to the end of his term. Clinton was the second president to be impeached; **Andrew Johnson** was the first, in 1868.

ments, agencies, bureaus, and other offices. The president has the power to grant pardons and reprieves to excuse people of crimes against the United States. He or she cannot, however, grant a pardon to relieve someone of impeachment.

The president has the power to make treaties with other nations, provided two-thirds of the senators voting on the matter agree. He or she also has the power to receive ambassadors and other public ministers. These provisions make the president the leader in foreign affairs, which the Department of the State handles. The president appoints ambassadors, judges, and other officers of the U.S. government, subject to approval by a majority of the Senate. Congress can give the president the power to appoint lower-level officers without Senate approval.

The Constitution says the president shall give the Congress, from time to time, information about the state of the nation. This evolved into the "State of the Union Address" that is televised annually near the start of the year. The president may call both houses of Congress into session outside their regular schedule "on extraordinary occasions." The next-to-last phrase of section 3 of Article II says, "He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

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Fahrenheit 451

Ray Bradbury, author of *Fahrenheit 451,* was born in **Illinois** on August 22, 1920. Bradbury never received an education beyond high school, but he supported himself by selling newspapers on street corners while writing stories and books. Eventually finding success as a science fiction writer, he also wrote for the popular television shows *The Twilight Zone* and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents.*

Bradbury finished the first draft for what would be his most popular book in just nine days. The final draft of *Fahrenheit 451* was published in 1953, and it was adapted into a stage presentation and a film.

Plot

The story takes place in a futuristic American society in which people do not read books because reading is illegal. In this fictional society, people do not enjoy nature, think for themselves, or spend time alone. Instead, they drive excessively fast, watch too much television on wall-sized screens, and listen to the radio on small units attached to their ears.

The protagonist's name is Guy Montag, who is a fireman in an era when firemen start fires, rather than put them out. Montag burns books for a living. One day, he meets a seventeen-year-old girl named Clarisse McClellan. She forces Montag to acknowledge the emptiness of his life, and when she is killed by a speeding car, his dissatisfaction with life and society only increases.

Montag responds to a notice that an old woman has a stash of hidden books, and when she chooses to be set on fire along with her books

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rather than live without them, Montag is shocked. He keeps his own stash of books inside an air-conditioning vent. During his period of disillusion, he stops going to work. His boss, Beatty, goes to his house and explains to Montag how the law started. Beatty explains that special interest groups began objecting to books that offended them, and soon all writers were writing books that seemed exactly alike because they did not want to offend anyone. Society decided to just burn all books rather than permit conflicting opinion. "We must all be alike," Beatty explains. "Not everyone born free and equal, as the constitution says, but everyone made equal.… A book is a loaded gun in the house next door. Burn it." Beatty instructs Montag to take one last read of his books before incinerating them, and Montag spends the night in a reading frenzy.

When Montag realizes the task of reading all his books in one night is impossible, he enlists the help of a retired professor he knows named Faber. Montag knows Faber will help him understand all of what he reads, but instead Faber tells the fireman that he needs not only the books, but also the leisure time in which to read them. More than that, he needs the freedom to put into action the ideas he learns from them. He explains that what Montag is searching for is the meaning inside the books, not the books themselves when he tells him, "Do you know why books such as this are so important? Because they have quality. And what does the word quality mean? To me it means texture. This book has pores."

Faber and Montag devise a scheme to overthrow the status quo (current state of affairs). Faber is responsible for getting books reproduced and printed, and Montag will plant books in the homes of firemen in an attempt to discredit them and destroy the repression of censorship. The two men communicate via a two-way radio earpiece.

When Montag's wife betrays him and calls the fire station, Beatty forces Montag to burn his own house to the ground. When that is done, Montag is arrested. He manages to contact Faber to warn him. Faber heads for St. Louis in search of a printer and Montag escapes to join forces with a nationwide underground network of book lovers who have memorized literary and philosophical classics. In the meantime, war has been declared, and the country is bombed. Montag and his new intellectual friends set off in search of survivors in the hope of rebuilding civilization.

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Themes and impact

Despite the fact that *Fahrenheit 451* does not give a precise explanation as to why books are banned in the future, the theme of censorship throughout the novel is clear. The idea that two main groups of factors converged to result in censorship is the cornerstone of the story. The first group of factors leads to a general lack of interest in reading and include competing forms of entertainment such as television and radio as well as an excess of stimulation that prohibits people from concentrating on one thing. The second group of factors leads to an attitude of hostility toward reading, with a focus on jealousy. People do not like to feel inferior to those who have read more and so have more knowledge or intelligence.

It is important to note that while the censorship theme is obvious to critics and readers alike, Bradbury insisted in a 2007 interview with the newspaper *L.A. Weekly* that the novel is not about censorship. He intended instead to write a story about how television destroys any interest in reading literature and creates a society that wants only bare-bones facts, not detail or substance. From his perspective, the guilty party is not the government (for imposing censorship), but the people (for turning away from reading in favor of other forms of less intellectual entertainment).

This purpose becomes clear in another theme of the novel, which is the conflict between knowledge and ignorance. The duty of these futuristic firemen is to destroy knowledge and promote ignorance in an effort to make everyone equal. But Montag is filled with doubt about his mission when he meets Clarisse, Faber, and the old woman who willingly gave her own life. In the end, Montag realizes his true mission is to battle the beliefs of the society in which he lives, which also touches on the theme of individualism versus society.

Bradbury's novel has been banned in schools across the country, not only for some of its language, which is considered by some to be offensive, but for its anticensorship message. The censorship of a novel that speaks out against censorship is an irony not lost on the author, who claimed that about seventy-five separate sections from the novel had been deleted in the 1979 and 1987 reprints of the novel. Editors at Ballantine Books made these deletions.

Another irony is that the society Bradbury describes in *Fahrenheit 451,* with its massive television screens, compact portable radio devices,

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and overall societal inability to remain focused and tuned in for long periods of time, has largely come to fruition in the twenty-first century.

Fair Labor Standards Act

The Fair Labor Standards Act was passed in June 1938 as part of the Second New Deal legislation of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45). It is also known as the Wages and Hours Bill because it placed federal standards on both minimum wages and maximum work hours. It was the first piece of legislation to successfully put federal requirements on such aspects of business. It is also the bill that eliminated most **child labor** in the United States.

The Fair Labor Standards Act originally was limited in scope. It first applied only to businesses that engaged in or affected interstate commerce. The federal government used its power under the commerce clause of the U.S. **Constitution** to pass the act. Organizations whose business remained within a state without crossing into other states continued to be regulated only by state law.

The act set a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour to be slowly increased to 40 cents over time. Time-and-a-half pay was required for work over a normal full week of hours. That normal week was defined under the bill as 44 hours the first year, 42 the second, then finally 40 after that. Standards for keeping track of an employee's hours and wages were developed and regulated.

The Fair Labor Standards Act was significant for banning child labor under the age of sixteen. Some exceptions were made, including in the agricultural industry and some family businesses. Certain hazardous jobs, such as mining and factory jobs, were restricted to those over eighteen.

The legislation proved to be controversial among politicians and employers, although it was popular with the general public. There were many gaps in the final legislation as a result of political compromises. The act has been revised by more than twenty amendments since its passage to fix some of these shortcomings. The **Supreme Court** ruled on the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act in the 1941 case of *United States v. Darby Lumber Company.* The act continues to be enforced by the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor through workplace inspections and audits.

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A Farewell to Arms

Ernest Hemingway's 1929 novel, *A Farewell to Arms,* is often regarded as his best artistic achievement. The novel established Hemingway as the master of a literary style characterized by brisk, assertive, and crisply precise prose. The novel also contributed to the public perception of Hemingway as the epitome of American machismo, or an exaggerated sense of masculine toughness.

Background

Like most of Hemingway's novels, *A Farewell to Arms* is based on events and people from his own life. During **World War I** (1914–18), the young writer was prevented from enlisting in the armed forces because of his poor eyesight. Determined to see action, Hemingway volunteered to drive ambulances for the **American Red Cross** in Italy. In June 1918, he began transporting Italian wounded from a battlefront (the line along which opposing armies face each other) in a mountain area to base hospitals near Milan. In July, he was carrying cigarettes and chocolate to the Italian soldiers entrenched along the western riverbank when an Austrian trench mortar (a weapon that fires shells) made a direct hit on the dugout where he worked. Hemingway was severely wounded in the legs and feet by metal fragments. Even so, he behaved heroically, carrying a dying companion to the rear.

Hemingway was later taken to the Red Cross Hospital in Milan. There he spent the summer and fall, recovering from his wounds and falling in love with Agnes von Kurowsky, an American nurse. These experiences, suitably fictionalized, gave him the substance for *A Farewell to Arms.*

A Farewell to Arms *is based on events and people from Ernest Hemingway's own life. Hemingway (below) was severely wounded in World War I and fell in love with an American nurse who worked at the hospital where he was*



Plot

The novel relates the story of Frederic Henry, a young American who volunteers for service as an ambulance driver with the Italian army in World

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War I. He falls in love with an English nurse, Catherine Barkley, and then has to return to the fighting at the front. When a shell wounds him, he is taken to a field hospital, where Catherine finds him. While he awaits surgery, they have a romantic summer together in Milan, and Catherine becomes pregnant. Eventually, Frederic has to return to the front. There he finds the Italians in a chaotic and violent retreat. Frederic decides to desert, and winds up on a train heading back to Catherine. Sick of the war and finished with fighting for a nation that is not even his own, Frederic makes his "farewell to arms":

> Anger was washed away in the river along with any obligation…. I was not against them. I was through. I wished them all the luck. There were the good ones, and the brave ones, and the calm ones and the sensible ones, and they deserved it. But it was not my show any more and I wished this bloody train would get to Mestre and I would eat and stop thinking. I would have to stop…. I was not made to think. I was made to eat. My God, yes. Eat and drink and sleep with Catherine. Tonight maybe. No that was impossible. But tomorrow night, and a good meal and sheets and never going away again except together.

Frederic finds Catherine and together they escape to Switzerland. There they spend a happy autumn, as Catherine awaits childbirth. The delivery, however, does not go well, and as Catherine is prepared for surgery, the nurse sends Frederic out to get something to eat. When he returns he learns that the baby is dead and that Catherine has begun to hemorrhage (bleed). She and Frederic say good-bye, and then Catherine slips into unconsciousness and dies, leaving Frederic to walk back to the hotel alone.

Writing about war

World War I raised some unsettling questions. People began to question the values and decisions of their national leaders and institutions whose policies had caused such an incredible loss of life and economic devastation. Frederic represents, for Hemingway, this questioning of how human beings can knowingly cause such terrible destruction and human suffering.

Hemingway's novel demonstrates his stand that traditions such as loyalty to one's nation or culture were no longer appropriate. He focused instead on the self, a viewpoint known as individualism. His characters,

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disgusted with the war but unable to escape it, avoid slipping into mental instability by falling back on the self. In doing so, they reject the calls for loyalty and sacrifice to their nations or traditions. The view seems hard-hearted, but in Hemingway's novel, retreating into the self is the only means of coping with the seemingly random cruelty of the world. "The world breaks everyone," reflects the protagonist, "and afterward many are strong in the broken places. But those that it will not break it kills. It kills the very good and the very gentle and the very brave impartially. If you are none of those you can be sure that it will kill you too, but there will be no special hurry." Frederic and Catherine attempt to cope with the horror of war by losing themselves in one another. There is no escape; Frederic is alone at the end, facing the pain of his lost love.

In *A Farewell to Arms,* Hemingway employs dialogue at the expense of narrative whenever he can. He reveals information about the plot through a dialogue marked by terse, direct language. This effort at realism makes it impossible to define Hemingway's actual position on any of the themes in the novel. Since the story tells itself through the characters, the reader is deliberately left to form his or her own thoughts on the subject.

James Farmer

A founding member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), James Farmer was one of the major leaders of the nonviolent African American **civil rights movement** of the 1950s and 1960s.

Academic world

James Farmer was born January 12, 1920. His father was James Leonard Farmer Sr., the son of a slave, who was an ordained minister and who had earned a doctorate from Boston University. He is believed to have been the first African American man from **Texas** to receive a doctorate. A campus chaplain and professor of religion and philosophy, he worked at several small black Methodist colleges in the South.

Growing up in the academic world, Farmer encountered less racism than other African American children in the South during that era. But as he entered his teens, **segregation** (the separation of blacks and whites in public places) began to disturb him deeply.

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James Farmer was a founding member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and initiated the freedom rides, one of the most important campaigns of the civil rights movement. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Farmer was an excellent student and began attending Wiley College in Texas at the age of fourteen. He graduated with a bachelor's degree in chemistry in 1938. He went on to study religion at Howard University, hoping to use the ministry as a way to participate in the civil rights movement. At the time, Howard boasted some of the best minds of the day. It was there that Farmer learned about the ideas of Indian spiritual leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), who led the **civil disobedience** and nonviolent protest movement for India's independence from Britain. As his studies progressed, Farmer began to have doubts about entering the ministry. He wrote his graduate thesis on religion and racism, and he became disillusioned with the Methodist Church, which was segregated by race.

Pioneer in civil rights

In 1942, Farmer became a founding member of CORE in Chicago, **Illinois**. He organized the country's first sit-in with about twenty-five others, black and white, at a coffee shop that refused service to blacks. (See **Sit-in Movement**.) CORE eventually gained national recognition, and Farmer was elected chairperson, then an unpaid position. He also worked as a labor organizer.

After the successful **Montgomery bus boycott** in **Alabama** in 1956, in which the African American residents of the town refused to ride Montgomery's segregated buses for a year, forcing the bus system to desegregate, Farmer immersed himself in the civil rights struggle. He joined the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP). The NAACP worked mainly through the court system and was never a confrontational group. Farmer, interested in developing the direct action, nonviolent techniques that Gandhi had used, took a second look at CORE.

Organizes the Freedom Rides

In 1961, Farmer took a paid position as national director of CORE and soon initiated the **freedom rides**, one of the most important campaigns

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of the civil rights movement. Although discrimination was illegal on interstate bus lines, many Southern states still had segregated waiting rooms and made blacks ride at the back of the bus. Farmer and a dozen others set out in 1961 to challenge these practices. In direct violation of **Jim Crow laws** of the South, which required the separation of blacks and whites in public places, black freedom riders planned to sit in the front of the buses while white freedom riders sat in the back. They would "desegregate" every station along the way by having the black riders use the "white" waiting rooms while the white riders used the "colored" facilities.

Opposition to the freedom riders in the South was strong. There were a few ugly incidents at first, but it was in Alabama that violence erupted. Riders were severely beaten by mobs there and one of the buses was firebombed. Farmer missed the violence because he had to leave the group when his father died. He rejoined for the final leg of the freedom rides and was arrested and imprisoned for forty days. In the end, U.S. attorney general **Robert Kennedy** (1925–1968) ordered desegregation of buses, and the effort brought great support to the civil rights movement.

Changing course

By the mid-1960s, Farmer realized that disagreement within the ranks of the protestors themselves threatened the civil rights movement. Many members of the movement were growing dissatisfied with nonviolent tactics, claiming they were not working fast enough. Also, a growing number of factions were competing for attention and support. Farmer resigned from CORE in 1965.

In his later career, Farmer held several academic teaching positions. In 1968, he ran for Congress in **New York**, but he was defeated by an African American, New York assemblywoman **Shirley Chisholm** (1924–2005). In 1969, Farmer briefly served as assistant secretary in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, where he implemented **affirmative action** programs—programs designed to correct past discrimination with active measures to ensure equal opportunity. He wrote books on labor and race relations as well as an autobiography, *Lay Bare the Heart* (1985). President **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1998. Farmer died in Fredericksburg, **Virginia**, at the age of 79.

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FBI

See **Federal Bureau of Investigation**

FCC

See **Federal Communications Commission**

Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was established within the **Department of Justice** in 1908. Initially called the Bureau of Investigation, it went through several name changes before finally becoming the FBI in 1935.

The most famous director of the FBI was **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972), who led the bureau for nearly forty-eight years (1924–72). Under his leadership, the FBI disgraced itself when, at the start of **World War I** (1914–18), it rounded up thousands of young men suspected of being draft dodgers (people trying to illegally escape serving in the military). Only a handful of them were found guilty as accused.

In 1919, the U.S. attorney general conducted raids on individuals suspected of having ties to the Communist Party or of holding anti-American views. Hoover prepared legal cases against twenty-five hundred suspects and earned a reputation as an expert on radicals and subversives. It was common knowledge that the director tended to exaggerate the danger of these potential radicals, however, and many questioned his tactics and ethics.

Mistakes aside, Hoover was highly respected during his tenure with the FBI. Under his direction, the organization became the leading authority on domestic intelligence, and Hoover was directly responsible for the development of the FBI laboratory in 1932. The lab was used to examine all evidence collected by the bureau's agents. Hoover brought a level of professionalism to the FBI that was previously nonexistent. For example, Hoover implemented a system that promoted agents based on their performance rather than by seniority, or how long they had worked for the bureau. Only those agents who lived up to the standards of the FBI were promoted and given raises. One of Hoover's most important achievements was establishing a criminal identification division that collected and maintained fingerprints.

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By the 1930s, a decade marked not only by the **Great Depression** (1929–41; a time of economic downturn in the United States) but also by an increase in crime, the FBI's agents were nicknamed "G-Men" (for "Government Men"). In large part because of Hoover's skill at marketing the FBI and its special agents, for the first time the public understood FBI agents to be better trained than any other law enforcement agents. These G-Men were credited with the capture or killing of several notorious gangsters, including "Pretty Boy" Floyd (1904–1934), "Machine Gun" Kelly (1895–1954), and John Dillinger (1903–1934).

The organized crime wave gave way to further threats—either real or perceived of subversives and radicals as **World War II** (1939–45) loomed. With Americans still concerned about the potential spread of **communism** (a fear enhanced by the war), each of the FBI's forty-two field offices included at least one agent specially trained in defense plant protection. Through its own networks and informational sources, the FBI stayed abreast of and investigated all serious threats to national security. In 1940, Congress reestablished the draft, by which all males over the age of seventeen were required to enlist in the military and participate in the war. As they did during World War I, FBI agents again went after draft dodgers and deserters (soldiers who left their units without permission).

Most of the early to mid-1940s were taken up with war-related and traditional criminal investigations. By 1945, the spread of communism was a threat foremost in Americans' minds. Work related to stemming communism almost completely took over the FBI, and its investigations included looking into the personal lives of anyone involved or trying to get involved in government work. The FBI conducted investigations on anyone suspected of possible espionage (spying) or treason (disloyalty). No one was exempt from Hoover's investigations, and he kept files on important figures such as civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–68), President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–63; served 1961–63), and his brother, Attorney General **Robert Kennedy** (1925–68). As the American public learned of these "secret" files, many became concerned that Hoover had too much power and that the FBI had lost its focus on crime.

By the time Hoover died in 1972, most experts agreed that the FBI and Hoover had overstepped their bounds and infringed upon the individual rights of many people. Reforms and standards were implemented to limit the FBI's power. The debate over the bureau's role in federal government continues in the early twenty-first century.

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Federal Communications Commission

Created by the Communications Act of 1934, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) is an independent agency in charge of regulating interstate and foreign communications by radio, television, satellite, wire, and cable. It is responsible for the development and operation of broadcast services and must provide rapid and efficient **telephone** and telegraph service at reasonable rates throughout the world. In the event of a national emergency, the FCC coordinates licensed communications services to help keep the public informed.

Five commissioners sit on the FCC, each appointed to a five-year term by the U.S. president with the consent of the Senate. One of these commissioners is appointed chairman. There are seven operating bureaus and ten staff offices.

When the FCC was established, it had a budget of just over $1 million and 442 staff members. The estimated budget for 2008 was $313 million, and the staff numbered around 2,000.

FCC is everywhere

It is common knowledge that the FCC regulates interstate and international communications. But the commission plays a more active role in daily life than most Americans may realize. For example, most electrical and electronic equipment emit radio frequencies that the FCC must protect. Every time a person sets a home security alarm, opens the garage door with a remote control, or heats food in a microwave, he or she is being protected by FCC rules.

Where once the FCC's focus was primarily on radio and television, much of the commission's work in the twenty-first century involves the Internet. One of the newest technologies is broadband, which integrates several digital services such as cable, satellite, wireless, phone lines, and power lines to bring Internet users the fastest speeds available. The FCC has worked closely with those industries involved in the evolving technology of broadband, and by the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, 45 percent of American households that accessed the Internet did so via broadband. All of the rules and regulations of Internet use are presided over and enforced by the FCC.

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There have been times when the FCC has been accused of censorship, and decisions of the FCC can be appealed to the courts. With responsibilities and power that extend to such vast and various segments of daily life, it is inevitable that the FCC will be challenged. Very few individuals or businesses have ever won an appeal against the FCC.

Federal Reserve Act

On December 23, 1913, President **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) signed the Federal Reserve Act, creating the Federal Reserve System. The purpose of the act was to promote economic stability, which had become more important as the U.S. economy grew both at home and overseas. The Federal Reserve System became the central banking authority of the United States.

Under the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Reserve System conducts U.S. monetary policy, maintains the stability of the country's financial system, regulates banks and protects consumers' credit rights, and provides financial services to the federal government, the public, and financial institutions located in the United States and abroad.

When the United States was first formed, the economy was based mostly on agriculture, or farming. Most citizens had little if any banking experience, and the attitude of the day was that the central government should let the people make their own decisions. At the same time, members of Congress believed a banking system was necessary to developing a stable economy, so they established the First Bank of the United States in 1791.

As the country's population increased, state laws were passed allowing state-controlled banks to open. These banks were not regulated closely or according to specific guidelines, and there were bank failures in which people lost their entire savings.

War and panic

The government made no attempt to intervene in the financial sector again until the American **Civil War** (1861–65). In 1863 and 1864, Congress passed National Bank Acts that created a system of privately owned banks, called national banks. These federally regulated banks issued a uniform **currency** nationwide, but the new system had problems

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because it was not designed to meet the money-supply needs of a rapidly growing economy.

In 1873 and 1907, there were financial panics as the U.S. economy fell on hard times. Unemployment was high, and public attention focused on the need for banking and monetary reform. The National Monetary Commission's investigation of the banking system resulted in the passage of the Federal Reserve Act.

The Federal Reserve Act created twelve Federal Reserve Districts, each with its own Federal Reserve Bank and Federal Reserve Board to coordinate operation for the whole system. The Federal Advisory Council was established so that commercial bankers would have representation. The council was comprised of twelve members, one from each district, who was elected by member banks of that district.

Any bank with "National Bank" in its name had to belong to the system, and state-chartered banks could become members if they were willing to invest 6 percent of their capital in the system.

Modern-day money

The Banking Act of 1935 took care of the conflict that arose between the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve System by removing the treasury secretary and comptroller of the currency from the board. That same act also established the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC), a group made up of bank presidents and board members. The FOMC kept control of the country's money supply for more than fifty years.

In the twenty-first century, the Federal Reserve System remains an independent agency of the government. It continues to control the flow of money and credit in the U.S. economy.

Federalism

Federalism is the doctrine of government under which power is shared between numerous subnational governments and a central power. Federalism can be organized in a number of ways. The American federal system consists of state governments united under the federal government. Although the structure of government is well defined, the division of power between the governments is not clearly outlined. The balance of power between federal and state authorities therefore has been a constant source of debate within the system.

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Evolution of American federalism

Four distinct phases of federalism exist in the short history of the United States. American federalism has roots extending back to the governments of the founding British colonies. Established to take care of local issues, each colonial government was responsible to the English crown. Each colony operated independently and established its own local laws and relationship to the Crown. When the Crown's rule became unbearable and ran against the wishes of colonists, they united in common interest and rebelled. The **American Revolution** (1775–83) marked the birth of federalism in America.

During the American Revolution, worries that a central government might become tyrannical created resistance to organizing one. It was apparent, however, that a central government would help the fight for independence by uniting and coordinating state efforts. Nevertheless, the former colonies had no interest in abandoning the independent nature of local rule. Under the **Articles of Confederation**, they united to form a federal government, but it was given very little power. Its Congress could not regulate commerce, raise an army, or levy taxes. As a result, it was barely able to function, and the revolutionary cause operated weakly as a result.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION VS. THE CONSTITUTION

The Federal Government is Empowered to:	Under the Articles of Confederation:	Under the United States Constitution:
Declare War and make peace	Yes	Yes
Control foreign affairs	Yes	Yes
Create a postal system	Yes	Yes
Coin money	Yes	Yes
Impose taxes	No	Yes
Utilize state militia	No	Yes
Trade regulation	No	Yes
Organize a court system	No	Yes
Protect copyrights	No	Yes
Take other necessary actions to manage the federal government	No	Yes

This chart shows how certain privileges that were not a part of the Articles of Confederation were extended to the federal government as part of the U.S. Constitution.
THE GALE GROUP

Lessons from the balance of power under which the central government had little influence over the independent states led to the creation of a new government. The government based on the Articles of Confederation was abandoned, and a stronger federal government was defined by the U.S. **Constitution**, which extended certain privileges to the federal government. Congress could now levy taxes, coin money, raise and maintain a military, declare war, and regulate commerce. Other privileges were reserved for the state governments.

The Constitution is largely vague about how governing power should be shared between the federal and state governments. As a result, much of the nation's history has included political struggles in Congress as federal lawmakers have tried to establish whether the state or federal

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government has overriding control of an issue. State governmental officials, too, have worked to answer this question through their political conduct.

The breaking point

The rapid growth of the United States in the early nineteenth century accentuated the issue of state versus federal power. The new Constitutional government was vague enough to allow both the state and federal governments to maintain a great deal of control. This arrangement is sometimes called dual federalism, and it worked only briefly. As the nation's territory rapidly expanded and more states joined the Union, debates escalated concerning the rights of states to govern themselves.

The institution of **slavery** within new territories was especially agitating. Would the federal government prevent the expansion of slavery, or would states maintain the power to choose slavery over the human rights of slaves and the **abolition movement**'s call for freedom? This issue alone brought the young Union to the breaking point several times throughout the 1800s.

As the debates raged about slavery, varied preferences for a strong federal government or for states' rights grew. Northern commercial interests were best served by a strong central government. Southern states, hoping to preserve slavery or expand it, struggled for stronger state rule. Both regions had strong economic reasons for their positions, and compromise was difficult to achieve. The differences sparked debates among lawmakers and finally led to the **secession** of the southern states. The American **Civil War** (1861–65) stemmed in part from the nation's struggle to define the balance of governmental power in American federalism.

State Power and the Right to Self-Government

Just as federalism creates tension between the federal and state governments, there is tension between state and local governments within each state. These tensions are illustrated by legal doctrines called Dillon's Rule and the Cooley Doctrine.

John Forrest Dillon (1831–1914) was a justice on the Supreme Court of Iowa in the late nineteenth century. Dillon wrote a book on the law of local governments. He explained that local governments are state creations that only have power given to them by state governments. According to Dillon, states can eliminate local governments completely if they want to do so. His opinion of the weak power of local governments became known as Dillon's Rule.

Thomas McIntyre Cooley (1824–1898) was a justice on the Supreme Court of Michigan in the late nineteenth century. His ideas on the power of local governments differed from Dillon's ideas. Cooley believed that people in local governments have a right of self-government that states can regulate but cannot eliminate. Cooley's ideas are sometimes called the Cooley Doctrine. In the early twenty-first century, many local governments are using the idea of an inalienable right of self-government to pass laws regulating businesses just as states are empowered to do.

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Contemporary federalism

With a northern victory in the Civil War, a strong central government gained the upper hand. States' rights were minimized as federal power grew. The federal government defined national citizenship and, in theory, imposed limits on the power of states to violate any civil rights that national citizenship granted.

State resistance to these policies was strong, but economic developments such as interstate business made a strong central government attractive to commercial interests. All states had to adhere to the same laws, and businesses operated across state lines with more ease. Many state governments, however, found ways to maintain their independence and to work around disagreeable policies.

A strong federal government proved to be beneficial to all states during the **Great Depression** (1929–41). The government established federal agencies and bureaus to set national policies in an effort to bring economic relief and stability. Under these programs, states deferred to national authorities and embraced the relief efforts. The success of the federal programs set a trend for a strong federal government that leads the policies of state governments.

The trend of growing federal power continued into the twentieth century under Republican and Democratic presidencies and Congresses. Some Americans fear that the country's federalism has become unbalanced—that the federal government has become too strong. Some speculate that a new phase of federalism is necessary and see indicators that politicians are seeking a new balance.

Federalist Party

The Federalist Party was the first lasting political party to arise in the United States. The supporters of a new federal **constitution**, drafted in 1787, were called Federalists due to their desire for a strong central federal, or national, government. The supporters were eventually drawn into an official political organization led by controversial Federalist **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804), during the presidency of **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97).

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Beginnings

When delegates gathered at the **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, in 1787, their assignment was to decide whether and how to strengthen the powers of Congress under the **Articles of Confederation**. Congress had functioned under the articles officially since 1781. After the **American Revolution** (1775–83) ended successfully (leading to American independence), Congress faced challenges stemming from lack of power over the states.

Within the first few days of the Convention of 1787, the delegates decided to abandon the Articles of Confederation and to write a new framework for the federal government. The process proved to be difficult as delegates were faced with resolving different needs among the vastly different states.

Those delegates who became known as Federalists worked to craft a strong central government. They believed that in order to maintain a unified nation of states, it was necessary to have a federal government that was more powerful than the individual state governments. The Federalists wanted a government with enough power to promote the security, financial stability, commercial prosperity, and general well-being of all of the states.

A group of delegates who thought that individual state governments should be more powerful than a federal government opposed the Federalists. These delegates sought to prevent an overly powerful central government, which they felt could result in tyranny at the expense of state's rights. They became known as the **Anti-Federalists**.

Because there were more Federalists than Anti-Federalists at the convention, the Constitution written that summer of 1787 contained many provisions that the Federalists wanted for a strong central government. Ratification, or approval, of the Constitution occurred in 1788 with a well-organized effort by the Federalists.

Party politics

The Federalists gained control of the first installation of government under the Constitution. Hamilton, one of the most vocal Federalists at the Constitutional Convention, was the first secretary of the treasury of the United States. He was responsible for establishing the United States as a strong economic force. His policies advocated a strong federal gov-

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ernment, the creation of a national bank, and government support for commerce and shipping.

Although Hamilton's policies were important in establishing the United States as a respectable and successful nation in the eyes of other countries, they stirred concerns within the United States. Hamilton was aggressive with his opinions and policies, and opposition to his policies began to grow. During the 1790s, those who opposed Hamilton and his supporters organized under the **Democratic-Republican Party**, which was led by **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826). The Federalists, as a result, became more formally aligned into a political party.

Dissolution

While the Federalists enjoyed a powerful beginning, their party proved difficult to sustain. Although they managed to elect **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801) president in 1796 after George Washington served two terms, the Federalists began to lose power after 1800. Lack of organization against powerful opposition from the Democratic-Republicans, internal divisions, aversion to compromise, and the death of Hamilton in 1804 led to the party's gradual demise. By 1817, the Federalist Party had dissolved into history.

Feminism

Feminism is a principle that promotes the idea that women and men are equal and so deserve the same rights and opportunities economically, socially, and politically. Its roots are in the struggle for **women's suffrage** (the right to vote), which began with the **Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention** in 1848 and ended with the passage of the **Nineteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution** in 1920. That era of activism is generally accepted as the first wave of the feminist movement.

The second wave

The second wave of the feminist movement was begun by educated, middle-class women whose lives no longer neatly fit the socially accepted norm for their gender. As access to higher education and their participation in the workforce increased, women were no longer willing to be forced into the role of full-time housewife and mother. They wanted

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more, but as new opportunities were opening up to them, they faced discrimination. By law, companies were permitted to pay women less than men for performing the same jobs. Job listings in newspapers were divided into men's and women's categories.

The 1960s was a decade of great social and political unrest in America. The country was involved in the unpopular **Vietnam War** (1954–75), and the country was divided about whether America should participate in the war. The **civil rights movement** (1954–65) was generating violent and hateful conflict. Cultural and social norms were being challenged on virtually every level, and when women became vocal with their displeasure, many resented them.

U.S. president **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) was progressive. In 1961, he appointed a Commission on the Status of Women. The commission's purpose was to reexamine women's places in the family, legal system, and economy, and the first chair of the group was former first lady **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962), who held the position until her death in 1962.

The commission was staffed by a network of powerful women of every race and included lawyers, academics, union organizers, and government officials. Their 1963 report documented what life for women was like, with unequal pay, employment discrimination, legal injustices, and a lack of social services, including accessible child care. The report led to almost every state conducting its own investigation, and 1963 proved to be a year filled with feminist milestones. The Equal Pay Act made it illegal to pay women less than men for the same work. Feminist writer and activist **Betty Friedan** (1921–2006) wrote her groundbreaking book *The Feminine Mystique,* in which she explored the causes of frustrations of modern women in traditional roles.

The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** included gender along with race, creed (religion), and national origin as prohibited grounds for employment discrimination, and women found themselves with a legal tool they never had before. Progress was slow, however. When women filed complaints with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the agency set up to enforce this facet of the Civil Rights Act, bureaucrats took their time in assisting them. It became clear that women needed their own civil rights organization.

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Women's rights organizations

During the 1966 Third National Conference of the Commission on the Status of Women, the **National Organization for Women** (NOW) was established. Its mission was to bring women into full participation within mainstream American society and give them true equality. NOW used lobbying as well as legal and direct action strategies to enhance the laws and encourage enforcement of them.

In 1968, NOW members endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Suffragist Alice Paul (1885–1977) first drafted the ERA in 1923. It guarantees equal rights under the law for all Americans, regardless of gender. It has been reintroduced in Congress every year since 1982, and as of the first decade of the twenty-first century, it still has not been ratified by the necessary number of states to become law.



The National Organization for Women (NOW) was established to bring women into full participation within mainstream American society and give them true equality. It had many influential members, including Gloria Steinem, front left. AP IMAGES

NOW remained the largest organization of the second wave of the feminist movement, but smaller, more focused groups gave the movement a unifying power it otherwise probably could not have sustained. Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), formed by former NOW members, focused solely on the issue of abortion rights.

Women's lib

The activists of NOW did the organizing and laid the legal groundwork for the second wave of the movement, and while they were busy doing that, the younger generation established a more extreme feminist movement called "women's liberation." This movement originated in 1967 as small clusters of women active in other social movements, such as civil rights and antiwar, began meeting in larger cities. These activists believed in consciousness raising, which means that when they met, they discussed their experiences as women, whether those experiences were rooted in work, sex, education, or domestic life. Consciousness-raising allowed women who previously believed their experiences were unique to understand that others shared them. The result was empowering for them.

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In September 1968, activists demonstrated against the Miss America beauty pageant, claiming the show objectified women and judged them unfairly. AP IMAGES

Women's "libbers" received media attention and public scrutiny for their outrageous tactics. They staged a demonstration outside the building that hosted the 1968 Miss America Pageant. They dramatically threw away girdles, bras, and curlers. For this, they were labeled "bra burners," even though they did not actually burn bras at the event. The media covered their antics, but did so in a mocking way. Nonetheless, the women's liberation movement progressed at an amazing rate from 1968 to 1969. Whereas NOW held organized meetings with agendas, the consciousness-raising groups had no structure whatsoever. They developed wherever women were: at school, in offices, and even in carpools. By 1969, numerous newsletters and journals representing the voice of women's liberation had been established.

These consciousness-raising groups eventually morphed into other groups, more focused on one particular issue such as pornography, day care, women's health, or domestic violence. The women established coffeehouses, bookstores, and shelters. While mainstream America may not

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have taken them seriously, these women took themselves seriously and made huge social strides for women and children.

Grassroots power

Feminism was a highly political movement that relied as much on creativity as it did on funding and the sheer determination of women. The movement grew quickly because the issues it covered and the demands of its purpose touched women on a deeply personal level at a time when they had no voice to represent them. NOW encouraged women to establish task forces at the local and national levels to tackle nearly every issue they were facing. Those task forces produced reports along with recommendations for action.

NOW put out a call for a nationwide strike for equality on August 26, 1970, the fiftieth anniversary of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. In New York City alone, twenty to fifty thousand women staged the largest women's rights demonstration since the suffrage movement. They blocked Fifth Avenue during rush hour. And while they were doing that, their feminist sisters were staging similar demonstrations and rallies in forty cities across the nation.

Across the country, college and university campuses were seeing a new field of study, women's studies, proliferate. It began as a class offered here and there, usually in an informal setting. As more and more students attended these classes, teachers began developing guidelines for topics and areas of study. By the mid-1970s, hundreds of campuses had added women's studies classes to their course offerings.

For women, oppression is often directly related to one's physical body. Consciousness raising included a focus on women's intimate experiences with men, motherhood, marriage, abortion, rape, and incest. Some groups held "speak-outs," at which women would share their very private, personal stories involving these experiences. These speak-outs raised awareness of the degree of loneliness to which many women lived on a daily basis because of the secrets they had long kept.

The idea of abortion rights developed into an abortion law reform movement. Until 1973, abortion was illegal. Women began forming groups to help other women find competent doctors willing to break the law and perform abortions. One Chicago-based group named Jane began performing the abortions themselves. Between 1971 and 1973, they performed eleven thousand abortions, with a safety record that

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matched that of doctor-performed legal abortions. In 1973, the **Supreme Court** ruled in the case ***Roe v. Wade*** that most laws restricting a woman's right to an abortion were unconstitutional.

In an extension of the effort to give women power over their own bodies, the feminist movement addressed sexual violence and vulnerability. The first rape crisis hotline was established in 1972. By the mid-1970s, NOW had formed more than three hundred local and state rape task forces across the nation. Crisis centers gave counsel and advice to rape victims, helped them deal with police and the medical establishment, offered self-defense courses, and developed support groups.

Soon shelters for battered women experienced a similar growth. The first shelter was established as a consciousness-raising group in St. Paul, **Minnesota**, in 1971. It was opened by a group called Women's Advocates, and they wrote a handbook on divorce. When they implemented a telephone service to provide legal information to victims of domestic violence, they were inundated with requests for emergency housing. They raised funds to rent a small apartment for this purpose in 1973, but it was not enough. Soon members were taking victims into their own homes. Women's Advocates officially opened in 1974, but its staff already had eighteen months of working with women. Soon other shelters were established.

Even with all the consciousness-raising, one segment of America's female population continued to feel marginalized and unaccepted. Lesbian feminists created tension within the larger movement because they felt that they still lacked a public identity. Although a **gay liberation movement** had begun in 1969, lesbians were still highly underrepresented in the feminist movement. Some formed separatist groups while others brought the principles of women's liberation and consciousness-raising into the gay liberation movement. By 1977, the feminist movement acknowledged the importance of lesbian leadership and began fighting homophobic discrimination as part of its larger struggle.

Although middle-class women drove the movement, working-class and minority women soon participated by establishing their own organizations. Their particular interests included labor unions and sexism in the workplace. Women of color also formed their own organizations. Although they had their own principle, which they called black feminism, the racial differences of women did not keep them from working together.

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The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), first drafted in 1923, guarantees equal rights under the law for all Americans, regardless of gender. It has been reintroduced in Congress every year since 1982, but it still has not been ratified by the necessary number of states to become law. AP IMAGES

The women's movement found another strong voice at that time in long-time activist Gloria Steinem (1934–). In 1972, with others, Steinem founded *Ms.,* the first mass-market feminist magazine. Its first printing of three hundred thousand copies sold out within eight days. The magazine took up many feminist issues, including abortion rights, sexuality, economic justice, marriage, the family, and the culture. In the early 1970s, Steinem and Friedan joined U.S. representatives **Shirley Chisholm** (1924–2005) and Bella Abzug (1920–1998), both of **New York**, in the formation of the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), which worked to get women elected and appointed to political offices.

Feminist policy

Feminists represented more than half of the voting public, and the period between 1968 and 1975 saw the passage of much feminist legisla-

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tion. In 1969, the Supreme Court ruled that an employer would have to prove that substantially all women could not perform a required task to justify hiring a man if women applied for the position. It would be up to the woman to determine if she could perform a particularly hard job, just as it was up to the man. Although twenty-two of the required thirty-eight states had ratified the ERA by 1972, the bill still did not have enough support to pass into law.

Title IX of the Higher Education Act, passed in the early 1970s, stated that no woman shall be excluded from participating in an educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance solely because of her sex. This was the catalyst for the provision of several million dollars to fund projects designed to improve the quality of education for girls. The Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974 guaranteed women independent access to credit in their own names. Prior to that, a woman's access to credit was determined by her relationship to a man.

Feminism not for everyone

Not all women were feminists, and as the movement gained momentum, opponents organized to fight it. Activist Phyllis Schlafly (1924–) formed Stop ERA in 1972 on the claim that most women did not want to be liberated. Around that same time, a movement known in the twenty-first century as the pro-life movement took shape. The **Republican Party** as a whole was against the women's movement, claiming it was hostile and antagonistic. After enjoying much optimism and progress, the feminist movement was forced into the position of defending its values by the end of the 1970s. With the defeat of the ERA in 1982, the second wave of feminism was considered over.

Fifteenth Amendment

The Fifteenth Amendment of the U.S. **Constitution** makes it illegal for federal and state governments to restrict voting rights based on a citizen's race or color. Ratified (or approved) in 1870, it was the last constitutional amendment adopted during the **Reconstruction** era after the end of the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

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The politics of equal rights

The Reconstruction Era was a time when the states of the former **Confederate States of America** rejoined the **Union** of the United States of America. Congress proposed three constitutional amendments during this time. The **Thirteenth Amendment**, which the states had ratified by the end of 1865, made **slavery** illegal. The **Fourteenth Amendment**, ratified in 1868, defined citizenship in America and made it illegal for states to deny certain rights to their citizens.

The Fourteenth Amendment did not address the right to vote. Whether newly freed slaves and other African Americans would be allowed to vote was a controversial topic in America. African Americans wanted the right to vote. Among white Americans, however, there was not widespread political support for the voting rights of African Americans, even in the North. Many state constitutions excluded African Americans from voting.

The presidential and congressional elections of 1868 helped to change the political situation. African Americans who were allowed to vote tended to support the **Republican Party**, which had been the party of **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), who was called the Great Emancipator. With support from African Americans, Republican **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885; served 1869–77), the famous Union general of the Civil War, won the presidential election of 1868 by a slim margin. In the congressional elections, Republicans lost some seats in Congress. These results motivated the Republican Party to fight for voting rights for African Americans to improve election results for the party in the future.

Crafting the Fifteenth Amendment

In the U.S. House of Representatives, Republican George S. Boutwell (1818–1905) of **Massachusetts** proposed an amendment to make it illegal for governments to deny the right to vote by reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The House approved the idea in January 1869.

Meanwhile in the U.S. Senate, Republican William M. Stewart (1827–1909) of **Nevada** proposed an amendment that would have protected the right to hold office as well as the right to vote. Henry Wilson (1812–1875) of Massachusetts made a different proposal that would also

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The Text of the Fifteenth Amendment

The Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution states:

> Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
>
> Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

outlaw voting restrictions based on birthplace, property holdings, education, or religious belief. The Senate ultimately approved Stewart's idea.

On February 24, 1869, the House and Senate formed a conference committee to consider their two proposals. The committee proposed an amendment similar to the one originally introduced by Senator Stewart but without protection for holding office. The House approved the proposal on February 25, and the Senate approved it on February 26, officially offering the Fifteenth Amendment to the nation.

In his first inaugural address in March 1869, President Grant supported the Fifteenth Amendment. To become law, the amendment had to be ratified by at least three-fourths of the states. Not only did Republicans control state legislatures in the North, but they also controlled state legislatures in the South because, from Congress, they controlled the process of Reconstruction. In April 1869, Congress passed a law that required **Mississippi**, **Texas**, and **Virginia** to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment in order to be readmitted to the Union.

By February 1870, twenty-nine states, which equaled the three-fourths requirement, ratified the Fifteenth Amendment. Congress declared the ratification the following month.

Voting rights denied

Despite the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, states that wanted to deny voting rights to African Americans found ways to do so. Poll taxes made it impossible for poor African Americans to afford to vote. Literacy tests blocked uneducated African Americans from voting. These laws blocked some white Americans from voting too, but they were most often enforced only against African Americans.

The U.S. Supreme Court found that poll taxes and literacy tests did not violate any constitutional amendments. As a result, African Americans did not truly have widespread voting rights for over a century after the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified. That began to change in the 1960s. The **Twenty-fourth Amendment** made poll taxes illegal for fed-

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eral elections. With the **Voting Rights Act** of 1965, Congress finally began to enforce the true meaning and spirit of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Fifth Amendment

When the U.S. **Constitution** was written in 1787, it contained few guarantees of individual freedom and liberty. The **Federalist Party** argued that such guarantees were unnecessary because the Constitution did not give the national government power to violate individual freedoms. In contrast, **Anti-Federalists** argued that unless individual freedoms were specifically protected in the Constitution, the government would not be able to resist using its power to violate those freedoms. To convince the Anti-Federalists to adopt the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights** to protect individual freedoms from the government.

The Fifth Amendment was the fifth of ten amendments included in the Bill of Rights, which the United States adopted in 1791. It contains clauses about protecting some of the rights of people accused of crimes, and a clause regarding seizure of property by the government for public use.

The Grand Jury Clause requires the federal government to use grand juries to accuse people of capital or infamous crimes. Capital crimes are those punishable by death, and infamous crimes are those punishable by imprisonment. A grand jury is a group of citizens that reviews evidence to decide whether the government has good reason to charge someone with a crime. The purpose of the Fifth Amendment's Grand Jury Clause is to make sure that the government cannot charge a person with a serious crime unless people from the community agree that the accused should stand trial for the crime.

The Double Jeopardy Clause prevents the federal government from trying a person twice for the same crime. It also prevents the government from appealing a criminal verdict in cases that it loses.

The Self-incrimination Clause says the federal government may not force a person to be a witness against himself or herself in criminal cases. This means that the government cannot force a criminal defendant to take the stand in a criminal trial. It also means that people have the right to refuse to answer questions in investigations if the answer might make

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The Text of the Fifth Amendment

The Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution reads:

> No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

them admit to a crime. This clause, along with the **Sixth Amendment**'s right to counsel, is the source of the requirement that law-enforcement officers arresting people must warn them that they have a right to remain silent, and that anything they say can be used against them in court.

The Due Process Clause says the government may not deprive a person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. This is the most difficult clause to interpret in the Fifth Amendment. Some people think it only means that the federal government must follow written laws when bringing criminals to justice. Others think the clause affects how fair those laws must be.

The final clause of the Fifth Amendment is the Takings Clause, which says that the federal government may not take private property for public use without giving just compensation. The clause affects the governmental power of eminent domain, which is the power to take private land or other property to use for governmental purposes. The extent of the power of eminent domain is a controversial subject, and the Fifth Amendment does not provide clear guidance on the subject.

Millard Fillmore

Millard Fillmore overcame the challenges of a poor frontier upbringing to become a successful lawyer. He had a career in state and federal politics before becoming vice president of the United States in 1848. He became the thirteenth president of the United States upon the death of President **Zachary Taylor** (1784–1850; served 1849–50) in 1850.

Early years

Fillmore was born on January 7, 1800, in a log cabin on the frontier in western **New York**. His parents, Nathaniel and Phoebe Fillmore, had a small farm.

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Fillmore learned to read as a child, but he did not attend school until he was nineteen. At the Academy of Good Hope in New Hope, New York, Fillmore fell in love with books and a young teacher, Abigail Powers. A long courtship began, and they were married on February 5, 1826. They had two children.

Abigail continued to teach throughout their courtship and marriage while Fillmore studied to become a lawyer. He never attended law school, but learned by studying and working in the offices of a county judge and other attorneys. In 1823, Fillmore passed the bar, a test that must be taken and passed to become a lawyer. Fillmore then established a successful practice in East Aurora, New York, and eventually formed a partnership with two other attorneys in nearby Buffalo. In 1830, he moved his family to Buffalo.



New York politician Millard Fillmore, right, became vice president of the United States in 1848 and later became the thirteenth president of the United States upon the death of President Zachary Taylor.
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Politics

Fillmore was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1828. As a member of the **Whig Party**, Fillmore supported the national bank, protective U.S. tariffs, and internal improvements sponsored by the federal government. After serving three terms in the state legislature, he won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1832. He served one term of two years and then returned to his home in Buffalo to practice law.

Fillmore ran for Congress again in 1836 and returned to serve in the House of Representatives for three more terms, declining nomination in 1842. He rose rapidly within the Whig Party and became the chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee during his last term.

The Whig Party was the second major political party in the United States by the mid-1840s. As a successful congressman, Fillmore earned his party's attention and was nominated for governor of New York in 1844. Fillmore lost the election to U.S. senator Silas Wright (1795–1847) by only ten thousand votes. He was elected as New York comptroller in 1847, but he remained in that position only briefly. In 1848, the Whigs nominated him as vice president to run with the pres-

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idential nominee, Mexican-American War general Zachary Taylor. They won election in November and were inaugurated in March 1849.

The presidency

President Taylor fell ill and died in July 1850. Upon Taylor's death, Fillmore was sworn in as president on July 10, 1850. At that time, debates concerning the westward expansion of **slavery** were raging in Congress, and the nation was on the verge of being torn apart by the issue.

In an effort to avert civil war, compromise legislation had been introduced in Congress. Fillmore backed the proposal. At first it was defeated, but when the legislation was broken down into five different bills, it passed. The **Compromise of 1850** was adopted in September 1850 with Fillmore's approval.

The slavery issue was the most challenging aspect of Fillmore's presidency. The Compromise of 1850 was not fully satisfactory to the proslavery or antislavery political factions. Abolitionists and slaves remained determined to end slavery forever. Emotions were heightened by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required the federal government to enforce the return of runaway slaves. National debate continued with the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's antislavery book ***Uncle Tom's Cabin*** in 1852.

By 1852, internal differences were weakening the Whig Party, and it was in decline. As a result, Fillmore failed to gain the party's support for nomination in the presidential election of 1852. It was the last presidential election in which the Whigs would participate, and the party dissolved soon after.

Many Whigs, including Fillmore, found a temporary political home in the **Know-Nothing Party** (also known as the American Party). In 1856, it nominated Fillmore as the party's presidential candidate. His campaign stressed the value of the Union and the dangers of sectionalism, and he lost.

Later years

Abigail had died soon after they left the White House in 1853. After losing the election in 1856, Fillmore returned to Buffalo and he soon busied himself with civic affairs. He was the first president of the Buffalo

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Historical Society, first chancellor of the University of Buffalo, a founder of the Buffalo General Hospital, and a trustee of the local library. In February 1858, he married a local widow, Caroline McIntosh. They shared life together in Buffalo until Fillmore's death, from a series of strokes, on March 8, 1874.

Films

See **Movies**

First Amendment

When the U.S. **Constitution** was written in 1787, it contained few guarantees of individual freedom and liberty. Many members of the **Federalist Party** argued that such guarantees were unnecessary because the Constitution did not give the federal government power to violate individual freedoms. Many **Anti-Federalists** argued that without protecting individual freedom in the Constitution, the government would not be able to resist using its power in violation of such freedom. Federalists believed that in order to maintain a unified nation of states, it was necessary to have a federal government that was more powerful than the individual state governments. Anti-Federalists, on the other hand, believed that individual state governments should be more powerful than a federal government. To ensure that the Anti-Federalists would adopt the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights** to protect individual freedoms from the government.

The Bill of Rights, which America adopted in 1791, contains ten amendments. The First Amendment sets out many of the most cherished freedoms in America, including the freedoms of religion, speech, and assembly.

The freedom of religion

The First Amendment contains two important clauses (distinct sections of a document) concerning religion. The first says that Congress may not make any laws respecting the establishment of religion. This clause is the source of the controversial doctrine of the separation of church and state. Some Americans think it means the government cannot be involved in religion at all. To others, the clause means the government cannot force people to follow a particular religion but that, in the course of conduct-

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The Text of the First Amendment

The First Amendment of the Constitution states:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ing its business, the government can acknowledge God.

The second clause on religion says that Congress may not abridge the free exercise of religion. This means that Americans are free to practice whatever religion they want. There are limits, however, to this freedom. Federal courts have ruled that the freedom of religion does not allow people to disobey laws that prohibit the use of drugs, having more than one spouse, or sacrificing animals.

Freedom of speech

The First Amendment says Congress may not make laws that violate the freedom of speech or the press, meaning written, published speech. Many American revolutionaries believed that the freedom to criticize the government was essential to place limits on government power. The main reason for adopting the First Amendment was to prevent the federal government from controlling speech critical of it.

Although the free speech clause contains just a few simple words, federal courts apply it differently to different kinds of speech. The courts offer the most protection to political and religious speech. Political speech includes the donation of money to politicians and political parties, although some people believe such donations do not truly constitute speech.

Commercial speech and speech in public schools receive less protection than political and religious speech, but they are still part of free speech. Finally, there are certain kinds of speech that receive no protection. These include fighting words, libel, and obscenity. Despite the First Amendment, courts have ruled that Congress can ban such speech entirely.

Freedom of assembly

The First Amendment says Congress may not make laws violating the right of the people to assemble and to petition the government. The freedom of assembly is sometimes called the freedom of association. It means

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people are free to form and gather peacefully in private groups. The freedom to petition the government includes the right to demonstrate on public property and to ask the government to make laws the people want or to strike unwanted laws.

First Americans, Origin Theories of

Thousands of years ago, bands of people traveled to North and South America from faraway homes and they stayed, becoming the first Americans. These early migrations (movements in groups from one home to another) remain a mystery. No one knows when the first Americans came, where they came from, or whether they traveled by boat or by foot. It is also unknown how many different migrations there may have been. New evidence has emerged that disproves long-accepted views about the first migrations to the Americas and experts in the early twenty-first century have made some educated guesses based on an abundance of new evidence and research.

Bering Land Bridge and the Clovis theory

Scientists believe that a glacial period (a period of extreme cold when great portions of the earth were covered with masses of ice called glaciers) began around one hundred thousand years ago. So much water froze that the sea level dropped to about 300 or 400 feet below what it is today. Scientists theorize that the low water level exposed a vast land bridge spanning the distance across the Bering Strait, from Siberia in northern Russia to the northwest tip of North America (present-day **Alaska**). The Bering Land Bridge probably remained exposed until about twelve thousand years ago when the climate began to warm.

From the late 1950s to the end of the century, most scholars believed that the first Americans migrated from northeast Asian areas such as China, Siberia, and Mongolia by walking across the Bering Land Bridge in pursuit of big game. According to this theory, within about one thousand years, these big game hunters populated the American continents, from northern Canada to the southernmost tip of South America, and they gradually developed into what is now known as the Clovis culture. Artifacts (things made by humans) of the Clovis culture, such as carefully crafted spear points and tool kits, were found throughout the United States and parts of Central America that date back to 9000 BCE.

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Artifacts of the Clovis culture, such as these Clovis spear points, have been found throughout the United States and date back to 9000 BCE. These are possibly remnants of the earliest life in the Americas. © WARREN MORGAN/CORBIS

Scientists thought these were the remnants of the earliest life in the Americas.

Alternative theories

In 1977, artifacts of an even earlier human settlement were found at Monte Verde in south-central Chile that were at least 12,500 years old. Gradually, even older sites were found. By the beginning of the twenty-

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first century, most scientists were convinced that the Clovis people were not the first Americans. Some scientists have found evidence that the earliest populations may have come from origins other than northeast Asia; some have presented alternatives to the Bering Land Bridge theory; and many now believe that there was more than one migration.

Other origins

According to the Bering Land Bridge theory, early Americans traveled the ten-thousand-mile distance from the land bridge to the southern reaches of South America in a period of one thousand years. Some scientists doubt that each generation would keep moving at this kind of rate over that period of time. They theorize that at least part of the journey took place in boats.

One group of scientists noted a similarity between Clovis tools and the tools of the Solutrean culture, a European culture that developed around France about twenty thousand years ago. They think that the Solutreans traveled by boat across the Atlantic Ocean about twelve thousand years ago, navigating among glaciers and islands, and settled in the area that is now the southeastern United States. These people would have been the ancestors of the Clovis people. Many scientists dispute this Solutrean theory for its lack of evidence.

Experts assumed that the first Americans were northern Asians from Mongolia, Siberia, and China because modern American Indians share physical characteristics with these northern Asian people. Recent evidence, however, points to other groups being present on the continent *before* the northern Asians. Analysis of ancient skeletons has shown that some have Caucasian or Negroid rather than Mongoloid features, meaning they came from white or black racial stock rather than Asian racial stock. The skeletons with non-Mongoloid features are actually older than any of those found from the northern Asian stock.

Some of the ancient skeletons have similarities to a native Japanese group called the Ainu; others resemble Southeast Asians; some resemble Europeans. The scientists pursuing these alternative origins theories propose that groups of people known as the Paleoamericans migrated to the Americas at an unknown date and lived there before the northern Asians (the Paleo-Indians) arrived. The Paleoamericans either perished in warfare with the Paleo-Indians or the two groups merged through intermar-

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riages and their descendants took on the current physical traits of American Indians.

Linguistic theory

In the 1980s and 1990s, linguist Joanna Nichols undertook a large study of American Indian languages and found 150 language families on the North and South American continents. Nichols argued that the Americas had to have been inhabited by humans for at least thirty thousand to forty thousand years to account for the language development that occurred, and she thinks that three different migrations took place.

Nichols has proposed the following sequence of migration, based on language variations: about thirty thousand to forty thousand years ago, humans crossed the Bering Land Bridge and traveled down to South America; between fourteen thousand and twenty-two thousand years ago, the glaciers in the north spread, forcing humans to stay in the warmer climate of South America; about fourteen thousand years ago, humans in South America began to spread north, inhabiting North America; around twelve thousand years ago, another migration came across the Bering Land Bridge and spread down the coast; about five thousand years ago, another migration occurred through the waters near the land bridge, and these people settled in Alaska, Greenland, and Canada.

Scientists who have compared the genes (the basic units of heredity that are passed from one generation to the next and determine traits) of American Indians and Asians have reached similar conclusions about the time line of migrations. Although none of the new theories about the first Americans are accepted as the last word on the subject, they provided scientists with new ways of studying the early history of the Americas as evidence and new theories continue to emerge.

First Continental Congress

See **Continental Congress, First**

F. Scott Fitzgerald

F. Scott Fitzgerald was the literary chronicler of the **Roaring Twenties**, or Jazz Age, a period of prosperity and excess that began after the end of **World War I** (1914–18) and ended with the 1929 stock-market crash.

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Fitzgerald's novels and stories examine a generation's search for the elusive American dream of wealth and happiness.

Early years

Fitzgerald was born on September 24, 1896, the son of well-to-do Midwestern parents. He was an exceptionally smart child with an early interest in writing plays and poetry. As a young man, he tried to copy the actions of the rich, youthful, and beautiful American upper classes. Following two years in an eastern preparatory school, he enrolled in 1913 at Princeton University. His first stories appeared in Princeton's literary magazine.

Fitzgerald left Princeton to join the U.S. **Army** during World War I. During his fifteen-month army career, he completed a draft of a novel, the tale of a young man's late childhood and years at Princeton. Although the publishing house Charles Scribner's Sons did not accept his manuscript, he was encouraged to rewrite and resubmit it.

While he was stationed near Montgomery, **Alabama**, Fitzgerald met and fell in love with eighteen-year-old Zelda Sayre, the youngest daughter of an Alabama Supreme Court judge. Fitzgerald was not particularly well liked by her family. He placed high hopes in Scribner's accepting his revised novel, which would, he hoped, raise his status in the eyes of Zelda's upper-class family.

A celebrity

After being discharged from the army in 1919, Fitzgerald rewrote his novel, retitling it *This Side of Paradise.* It was published and immediately became a smash hit. Fitzgerald was suddenly famous as the voice of his generation.

A week after his novel's release, Fitzgerald married Zelda in New York and the couple began their life together as young celebrities. In order to support their lavish lifestyle, Fitzgerald wrote short stories for mass-circulation magazines. Because he wrote many of them for money, Fitzgerald often felt that his short stories were not artistic achievements. However, many critics today find great literary merit in them. Fitzgerald published some 160 magazine stories in his lifetime, an extraordinarily high number by any count.

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The early writings

In his first two novels, *This Side of Paradise* and *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922), Fitzgerald examined the lives of young characters who resembled himself and his friends. They lived for pleasure and acquisitions, and they were jaded and rebellious. These wealthy East Coast youths helped secure the popular image of the "lost generation" of the Roaring Twenties. Fitzgerald described them at the conclusion of *This Side of Paradise* as "a new generation dedicated more than the last to the fear of poverty and the worship of success; grown up to find all Gods dead, all wars fought, all faiths in man shaken."

In 1922, Fitzgerald published a second collection of short stories and finished a play, *The Vegetable,* which he considered his best work. He moved to New York to be near the **Broadway** opening, but the play flopped.

Fitzgerald maintained his high standard of living by continually borrowing money from Scribner's against the sale of future writing. After the play flopped, he found himself even further in debt. He and Zelda were increasingly fighting, often after heavy drinking. They retreated to Europe in an attempt to find peace.

Gatsby

Fitzgerald's strongest and most famous work, ***The Great Gatsby,*** was published in 1925. In this novel, Fitzgerald used a first-person narrator, Nick Carraway, to tell the story. The title character, Jay Gatsby, is a farmer's son who gains wealth illegally solely to gain acceptance into the sophisticated, moneyed world of the woman he loves, Daisy Buchanan. Gatsby's romantic illusions about Daisy and her world are interwoven with episodes that show the lack of feeling and moral irresponsibility of the wealthy American society of the 1920s. Because Gatsby idealizes Daisy and her world, he fails to see the ugly reality there. Through Gatsby's quest and violent death, Fitzgerald depicts the failure of the American dream in the Roaring Twenties.

Hard times

Gatsby is today considered a classic. At the time of its release, however, it received little notice and sold poorly. Fitzgerald, like the nation around him, fell on extremely hard times during the **Great Depression**

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(1929–41), a time of economic downturn in the United States, when many businesses failed and people lost their jobs. His stories no longer sold well.

In 1930, Zelda experienced her first mental breakdown. Her mental problems lasted the remainder of her life, which she spent in and out of sanitariums (hospitals for long-term recuperation from illness). Zelda's medical condition was of great concern to Fitzgerald, and it failed to diminish his love for her. The medical expenses were immense, and Fitzgerald's drinking increased along with his debt.

Last decade

In the decade before his death, Fitzgerald attempted his most complex and ambitious work, *Tender Is the Night* (1934). The novel, set in Europe during the 1920s, presents the story of a brilliant young psychiatrist, Dick Diver, and his wife Nicole, who suffers from an emotional disorder. The victim of rape by her father when she was fifteen, Nicole steadily recovers through the care of her husband. He, on the other hand, suffers under the demands of the complex roles he must serve in the marriage as doctor, husband, and father. Broader in scope than his previous novels, *Tender Is the Night* drew criticism from readers who considered it confusing and unfocused. It was only after Fitzgerald's death that critics recognized the novel's depth.

In 1934, Zelda was placed permanently in a sanitarium. Fitzgerald withdrew into a deep despair, drinking heavily and destroying his health. For a time in the mid-1930s, his writing career came to a standstill. Trying to start anew at the end of the 1930s, he became a motion-picture scriptwriter and began *The Last Tycoon,* a novel based on his Hollywood experiences. The novel remained unfinished when he died of a heart attack on December 21, 1940.

Fitzgerald revival

At the time of his death, Fitzgerald was virtually forgotten and unread. But a growing Fitzgerald revival in the 1950s led to the publication of numerous volumes of stories, letters, and notebooks. Since then, critics have praised Fitzgerald's mastery of style and technique. He is studied in American classrooms as one of the great American fiction writers and once again regarded as the voice of the Roaring Twenties.

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Flag

See **American Flag; Confederate Flag**

Florida

Florida was the twenty-seventh state admitted to the Union (March 3, 1845). The Sunshine State is the second-largest state east of the Mississippi River and ranks twenty-second in size among all fifty states. It is located in the extreme southeastern region of the United States and is bordered on the north by **Alabama** and **Georgia**.

Native Americans in 2000 BCE enjoyed an agricultural and hunting economy in what is now north Florida. Those in the south did not practice agriculture until around 450 BCE. When Europeans arrived in the early sixteenth century, nearly one hundred thousand Native Americans populated the region. The Spanish attempted to convert these tribes to Christianity. The results were disastrous: most of the Native Americans there died of European-induced disease or were killed in conflict. (See **Epidemics in the New World**.) Only three hundred tribal members remained in 1763, and they left when the Spaniards departed for home.

The most violent and longest of the **Plains Indian Wars** (1866–90) was fought in Florida. The Seminole War lasted from 1836 until 1842, when all but about three hundred Seminole Indians were forced to leave Florida and relocate to **Oklahoma**.

In 2006, Florida was home to over eighteen million people. Although many think of Florida as a place people retire to, just 17 percent of the population was age sixty-five and older. Twenty-six percent were between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four, and another 25 percent were between forty-five and sixty-four. The state's capital, Tallahassee, is the third-smallest major city, Jacksonville the largest. The state has a large and growing Hispanic population, a significant proportion of which is first- and second-generation Cuban Americans.

Florida is a favorite location for immigrants who enter the United States in hopes of taking advantage of the state's diversified economy. Its leading industries include food processing, electric and electronic equipment, transportation equipment, and chemicals. It ranks high in the manufacturing of guided missiles and space vehicles. Florida also depends on agriculture for a sound economy; its most important products

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are citrus fruits.The famous Florida orange was actually not native to the region but introduced by Spanish settlers around 1570.

Because the state has the fourth-highest population in the country and has twenty-seven votes in the **electoral college**, it plays a key role in presidential elections. Traditionally a state that votes Democratic, Florida has seen an increase in Republican voting since the late twentieth century. This lack of a clear-cut political preference, along with the large number of electoral college votes, makes it a swing state, in which the candidate of either party has a reasonable chance of winning.

Never was the outcome of the presidential vote in Florida so crucial to American politics as in the controversial 2000 election. The candidates were Democrat **Al Gore** (1948–) and Republican **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–). The outcome of their race hung on a margin of approximately five hundred Florida votes. After several recounts and legal battles, it was determined that Bush won the presidency. However, some remained unconvinced that his victory was legitimate.

Folk Music

Folk music is traditional music in the sense that it has been passed down from one generation to the next, usually by memorization rather than by writing. In a more modern sense, folk music is music written for and about, and performed by, common people.

Prior to the twentieth century, folk music was reflective of one's culture. Throughout the world, each culture claimed its own type of folk music, songs that told of the history of its people. The music would be played at festivals and celebrations, and young and old alike knew the words as well as the dance steps. Folk music was very much a part of one's cultural identity.

Folk music as comfort and as protest

In the early decades of the twentieth century, American folk music began to play an important social role. In the 1930s, the nation was in the midst of the **Great Depression** (1929–41). Millions of Americans were without jobs or homes, and many went hungry. In a time of little hope, musicians like **Woody Guthrie** (1912–1967) began singing songs written to give the common man some comfort. His simple tunes, sung

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Folk singers Noel Paul Stookey, left, Mary Travers, and Peter Yarrow, right, of the folk music group Peter, Paul and Mary. AP IMAGES

while he strummed his guitar, promised better days ahead and let those who were down and out know they were not alone.

Guthrie influenced many folk singers who came after him, such as Pete Seeger (1919–), whose own solo career began in the 1950s. He was famous for songs protesting war and calling for peace and harmony. Beginning in the 1940s, Burl Ives (1909–1995) became a popular singer of traditional folk songs and ballads. In the 1950s, folk musicians like Harry Belafonte (1927–), who popularized Caribbean folk music, and folk groups like the Limeliters and the Kingston Trio found commercial success by recording much-loved songs from the past.

Arguably the most well-known folk singer to break onto the music scene in the 1960s was **Bob Dylan** (1941–). Dylan was heavily influenced by Guthrie, and one of his most popular early tunes was "Song for Woody." Dylan's music was cherished by many who sought political and social change in the United States. Perhaps his most famous song, "Blowin' in the Wind," became the anthem of the **civil rights movement** when folk group Peter, Paul and Mary performed and recorded it in 1963. The group's members are Peter Yarrow (1938–), Noel Paul Stookey (1937–), and Mary Travers (1937–).

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With the 1962 release of the album *Peter, Paul and Mary,* the group shot to stardom. The album remained in the Top 10 for ten months and in the Top 20 for two years. Within one year, the trio had three albums in the top six slots on the record charts. Their popularity was solidified with hits like "If I Had a Hammer" and "Puff, the Magic Dragon."

Folk musicians became famous not only for their music but also for living its message. Many, like Joan Baez (1941–) and Peter, Paul and Mary, were deeply involved in protests against the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). They performed and spoke out at demonstrations, marches, and fundraisers.

Canada was experiencing its own folk movement during the 1960s and early 1970s. The most famous Canadian folk musicians—Gordon Lightfoot (1938–), Leonard Cohen (1934–), and Joni Mitchell (1943–)—all became international stars. Peter, Paul and Mary recorded Lightfoot's tune, "In the Early Mornin' Rain," which helped them achieve eight gold and five platinum albums by 1970.

Changing times

By the mid-1970s, folk music as a genre had declined in popularity. New musicians were blending folk with popular music or country music and playing it with electric guitars and syncopated (off-beat) rhythms. Other genres, such as heavy metal and hard rock, incorporate folk melodies and traditional folk instruments such as fiddles and bagpipes.

Popular musicians continue to acknowledge the value of folk tradition. In 2006, for instance, rock superstar Bruce Springsteen (1949–) released *We Shall Overcome: The Seeger Sessions.* Along with about a dozen musicians playing banjos, fiddles, and accordions, Springsteen paid tribute to Seeger by covering his most beloved songs. In giving these songs a **rock-and-roll** twist, Springsteen illustrated that folk music is the basis of American classic rock.

Gerald R. Ford

Gerald R. Ford became president of the United States in 1974 when President **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) resigned after being accused of wrongdoing.

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An uneventful childhood

Gerald R. Ford was born July 14, 1913, and was initially named Leslie King Jr., after his biological father. When his parents divorced just two years after his birth, Ford's mother remarried and allowed her son's name to be legally changed to Gerald R. Ford, after his stepfather. Young Ford did not learn of his true identity until his early teens, and his only meeting with his biological father was both brief and disappointing.

Ford attended the University of Michigan, where he played football and studied economics. Two years after graduation, he entered Yale Law School in New Haven, **Connecticut**. Ford graduated in the top 25 percent of his class in 1941 and returned to **Michigan** to open a law firm with a classmate. His plans were interrupted by **World War II** (1939–45), during which Ford served in the U.S. **Navy**.

Enters politics

Ford was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1948. That same year, he married Betty Warren (1918–). The couple eventually had four children.



Republican Gerald Ford became president in 1974 when Richard Nixon resigned. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Ford was well liked and respected among his fellow Republicans. He was active on various political committees and got along with everyone. Even when given the task of opposing a Democratic president's programs, as was the case with President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69), Ford refused to pointedly attack the man or his goals. Instead, he made suggestions on how to counterbalance the programs the Republicans found so worrisome.

The **Vietnam War** (1954–75) was not going well for the United States, and like most Republicans in 1967, Ford publicly questioned Johnson's strategies overseas. When Nixon was elected in 1968, Ford served as his primary contact and consultant in the House of Representatives, even though he personally did not agree with Nixon on some issues.

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President Ford shakes hands with U.S. senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii before voiding the executive order that set up Japanese American detention camps during World War II. AP IMAGES

Unexpected promotions

Nixon's vice president, Spiro T. Agnew (1918–1996), was forced to resign in 1973 when his involvement in a financial scandal while governor of **Maryland** became public knowledge. Ford was offered the vice presidency and he accepted it. He was almost immediately beset with problems stemming from Nixon's involvement in the **Watergate scandal**. Members of Nixon's administration had broken into the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate Hotel in **Washington, D.C.**, and planted listening devices. The men, disguised as common burglars, were caught, and it eventually came to light that Nixon knew all about their activities. It was because of this scandal that Nixon was forced to resign.

When Nixon resigned in 1974, Ford automatically became president. One of his first acts was to formally forgive Nixon by pardoning

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him for his role in Watergate. By pardoning Nixon, Ford did what he thought was best for the country. If Nixon had gone to trial, the scandal could have continued for years. Ford thought that the scandal needed to end so the public could heal. Many Americans, however, believed Ford had made some sort of secret deal with Nixon, and they disliked and distrusted him from that point on.

While in office

In 1974, Congress had a Democratic majority. The Democrats knew Ford was unpopular, and they passed legislation without giving much thought to the president's views. As a result, Ford vetoed, or officially blocked, legislation with which he did not agree. It made for an uneasy government.

At the same time, international relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were worsening. Things deteriorated even further when the Soviets helped Egypt and Syria attack Israel. In 1973, Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) had formally agreed to accept joint responsibility for preserving international peace by refraining from the threat or use of force. The United States felt betrayed over Soviet assistance to Egypt and Syria. Ford attempted to ease the tension by providing assistance to both Israel and Egypt during his tenure; his efforts helped convince the two countries to call a temporary halt to the fighting. The president did not give up on improving relations with the Soviet Union, either; he worked with leaders there to set further limitations on nuclear weapons.

The Vietnam War

Although U.S. fighting troops had been evacuated from Vietnam by the time Ford became president, the war was not officially over. Ford was being advised by Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** (1923–) and others to lend financial assistance to South Vietnam in the event North Vietnam would make one final invasion. North Vietnam was communist, and **communism** was still greatly feared in the United States. Helping South Vietnam would keep communism from spreading.

Ford agreed and offered legislation that would aid South Vietnam. The 1974 congressional elections seated more Democrats, however, and these newcomers were not in favor of sending any more money to

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Vietnam. Ford's legislation was rejected. In the spring of 1975, North Vietnam attacked Saigon, South Vietnam's capital city. Ford ordered the few remaining U.S. troops to evacuate and declared the war over as far as America was concerned. South Vietnam fell to its enemy one week later.

Loses presidential election

Although Ford won the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, he lost the election to his Democratic rival, former **Georgia** governor **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81). Ford published his memoirs in 1979 and was approached the following year by Republican presidential hopeful **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89), who was considering Ford as his running mate. Reports indicated that Ford was interested in a copresidency; Reagan could not agree to such a plan and withdrew his offer.

Ford suffered a stroke in 2000 and was hospitalized on numerous occasions in 2006. He died that year at the age of ninety-six.

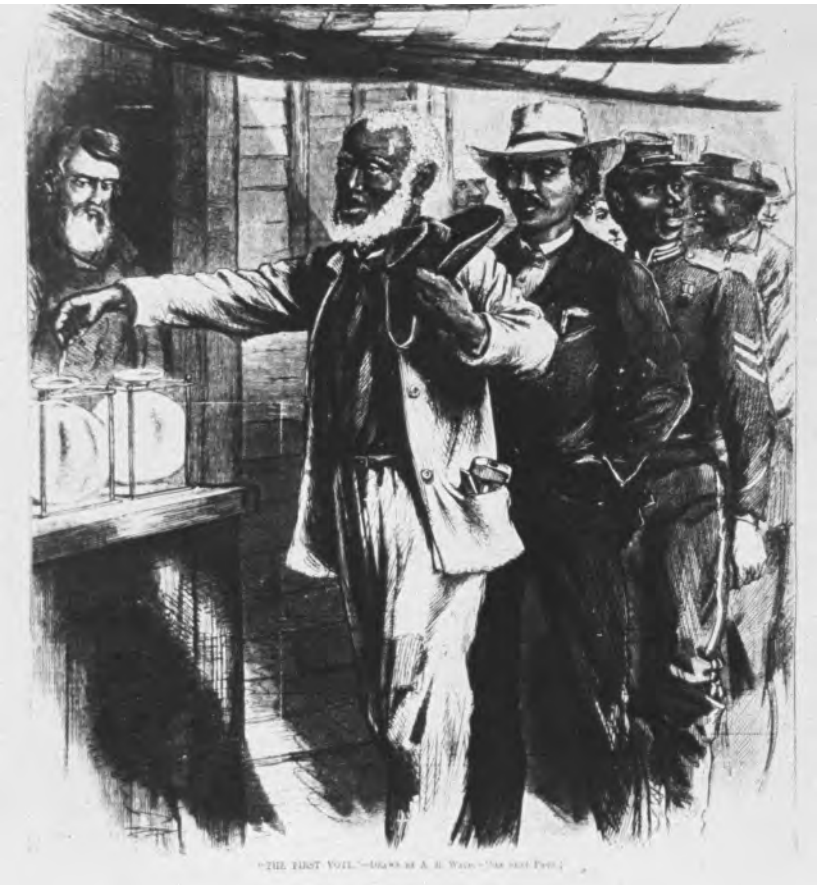
Fourteenth Amendment

Congress proposed three amendments to the U.S. **Constitution** in the years after the American **Civil War** (1861–65). The second proposal, which became the Fourteenth Amendment, established the rights of American citizens to be free from unfair state laws. The rights to due process of law and to equal protection under the law, both from the Fourteenth Amendment, have been particularly important in U.S. **Supreme Court** cases since 1868.

After the Civil War and the nationwide emancipation of slaves in 1865, southern states enacted legislation called **Black Codes** to restrict the rights of newly freed blacks. Congress attempted to obstruct the Black Codes by passing the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**. The act attempted to define citizenship and to guarantee certain individual rights by federal law.

The act proved to be difficult to uphold, so Congress was motivated to turn its provisions into a constitutional amendment. Incorporating many elements of the Civil Rights Act, Congress proposed the Fourteenth Amendment in June 1866. To become law, a constitutional amendment must be ratified, or approved, by at least three-fourths of the states. The Fourteenth Amendment achieved ratification in July 1868. Under federal **Reconstruction** law, support for the amendment was a re-

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Several black males line up to vote for the first time in an election. The Fourteenth Amendment, while not guaranteeing the right to vote, penalized Southern states if state law denied blacks the right to vote. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

quirement for former states of the **Confederate States of America** to be readmitted to the Union of the United States.

The Fourteenth Amendment has five sections. The first section sets forth a national definition of citizenship. It says all people born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the country and also of the state in which they reside. Section one makes it unlawful for states to deny a citizen the rights of citizenship and to deny any person due process of law and equal protection under the law.

Section two was inspired by the southern practice of denying voting rights to the black population. Under the three-fifths compromise of the original Constitution, every five slaves were counted as equal to three whites. Representation in Congress was established using this rule. With slaves acquiring both freedom and citizenship, the balance of representa-

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tives for southern states increased. If voting rights were denied to the black population, the effect of greater representation would simply give southern whites more political power.

Section two of the Fourteenth Amendment revised the three-fifths formula. It mandated that representation in the House of Representatives and the **electoral college** (a body of voters who represent each state to elect the president) be based on a state's population as a whole. If a state chose to deny a portion of its male citizens the right to vote, representation would be reduced proportionately. While it did not guarantee the right to vote, section two threatened southern states with a loss of representation if state law denied blacks the right to vote.

Sections three and four were also motivated by contemporary issues. Section three took away the power of the president to pardon rebels. Those who had been in military service or held a state or national office prior to 1860 had taken an oath to support the Constitution. As a result, those who had made such an oath but had then participated in the Confederate rebellion were denied the ability to hold any national or state civil or military office. Congress could remove this restriction for an individual with a two-thirds vote in both chambers.

Section four voided all debts acquired to support the rebellion and eliminated all claims for compensation for emancipated slaves. The fifth section gave Congress authority to pass further legislation as needed to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment has had a controversial history. By the 1880s, the Supreme Court was using it to protect the rights of business corporations by calling them "people" under section one. The black population across the United States, however, had to

Due Process and Equal Protection

Two clauses from section one of the Fourteenth Amendment are the Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause. The Due Process Clause says states shall not deny people "life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." The meaning of "due process of law" is not certain. In criminal cases, courts usually interpret it to mean that people must have notice of the charges against them and a fair hearing. In civil cases, it often means that the government cannot enforce a law that is arbitrary or unreasonable. These are subjective standards that make fair application of the clause in all cases essentially impossible.

The Equal Protection Clause says states shall not deny people "equal protection of the laws." In theory, it prevents states from treating different classes of people differently under the law. In reality, most discrimination is lawful if rationally related to a legitimate government purpose. Certain categories of discrimination, however, receive greater protection, such as discrimination based on race or gender. It is harder for such discrimination to survive a challenge under the Equal Protection Clause. The clause, however, applies only to state action, so it does not prevent discrimination by private persons.

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struggle for a century before beginning to realize many of the rights in the Fourteenth Amendment. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the Fourteenth Amendment was the foundation for landmark Supreme Court decisions concerning school **segregation**, equal housing, and abortion rights.

Fourth Amendment

When the U.S. **Constitution** was written in 1787, it contained few guarantees of individual freedom and liberty. The **Federalist Party** argued that such guarantees were unnecessary because the Constitution did not give the national government power to violate individual freedoms. In contrast, **Anti-Federalists** argued that unless individual freedoms were specifically protected in the Constitution, the government would not be able to resist using its power to violate those freedoms. Federalists were in favor of a federal government being more powerful than individual state governments. In contrast, Anti-Federalists believed that state governments should be more powerful. To convince the Anti-Federalists to adopt the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights** to protect individual freedoms from the government.

The Fourth Amendment was the fourth of ten amendments included in the Bill of Rights, which the United States adopted in 1791. The Fourth Amendment reads:

> The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrant shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Americans felt a need for the Fourth Amendment to protect people from unreasonable searches and seizures by the government. In the years leading up to the **American Revolution** (1775–83), Great Britain often had issued general warrants allowing officials to search freely for violations of its colonial taxation laws. At that time, Britain's former prime minister William Pitt (1708–1778), wrote, "The poorest man in his cottage may bid defiance to all the force of the Crown. It may be frail—its roof may shake—the wind may blow through it—the storm may enter—the rain may enter—but the King of England cannot enter; all his force dares not cross the threshold of that ruined tenement!"

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The Fourth Amendment has two main parts. The second part, called the Warrant Clause, requires the government to have a specific warrant to search a place, arrest a person, or seize evidence of a crime. A neutral magistrate, or judge, who does not have a personal interest in the matter must issue the warrant. The magistrate may issue the warrant only if there is probable cause, which means a good reason to believe that a crime has taken place that would make a search, arrest, or seizure necessary. The warrant must specifically name the place to be searched, the person to be arrested, or the things to be seized.

The Warrant Clause is often called the "general rule" under the Fourth Amendment, but that is misleading. Under the first clause, which says that there should be no unreasonable searches and seizures, Congress and the **Supreme Court** have created many exceptions to the warrant requirement. For instance, an officer who sees a crime does not need to get a warrant to make an arrest and seize evidence. An officer who thinks a crime might be in process can stop and frisk a suspect without fully searching the person. If an officer makes a lawful arrest, he or she may conduct a full search of the person without a warrant. Officers who enter a home or other place with a warrant can seize any evidence of a crime that is in plain view, even if the item is not mentioned in the warrant. Governments can search businesses under health and safety regulations without warrants.

The Fourth Amendment led the Supreme Court to create a controversial doctrine called the exclusionary rule. It says that when law enforcement gets evidence by violating the Fourth Amendment, it may not use the evidence in court against the person whose rights were violated. People who support the exclusionary rule say it is necessary to discourage law-enforcement officers from violating the Fourth Amendment on purpose. People who oppose the rule say that it punishes society by allowing criminals to go free when law-enforcement officers make innocent mistakes that happen to violate the Fourth Amendment.

Changes in society and technology raise new issues concerning the scope of protection under the Fourth Amendment. In the twentieth century, courts had to decide how the amendment applies to electronic wiretapping and to searches and seizures involving automobiles. With the growth of the Internet, courts face the question of whether the amendment protects people in online chat environments and email communications.

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Benjamin Franklin

Benjamin Franklin is considered to be one of the founding fathers of the United States. Unlike many of his contemporaries, however, Franklin had a life outside politics as well. He was expert in a variety of subjects and active in many careers throughout his life. He made great contributions through his writings and scientific experiments as well as through his political efforts.

Early years

Benjamin Franklin was born on January 17, 1706, in Boston, **Massachusetts**. He was the fifteenth of seventeen children born to Abiah Folger and Josiah Franklin, a candle and soap maker. Franklin had only two years of formal schooling before being apprenticed to his father at age ten. Franklin disliked the work, so he sought a printer's apprenticeship with an older brother.

Franklin spent five years working and learning to be an expert printer. A successful printer needed to be a researcher, writer, and editor as well as the technician who set the type and printed the page. Franklin excelled at this craft and learned to write well on many subjects.



Benjamin Franklin was a successful printer and scientist and served in the Second Continental Congress. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

At seventeen, Franklin followed his brother to Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, where he continued to work as a printer. In 1724, Franklin left Pennsylvania for England. He lived there for five years while continuing to write and perfect his skills as a printer. Franklin appreciated the lifestyle of London and the European continent, but he returned to Philadelphia in 1729.

Printing and other livelihoods

In Philadelphia, Franklin purchased the bankrupt *Pennsylvania Gazette* newspaper and turned it into the main publishing house in Pennsylvania. He also began his most famous publication, *Poor Richard's Almanack*, writing under the name Richard Saunders. It was a col-

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lection of astronomical information, advice about medicine, and moral anecdotes. During this time, Franklin also operated a bookstore, became clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and served as postmaster for Philadelphia.

On September 1, 1730, Deborah Read became Benjamin Franklin's common-law wife (living together but not legally married). Franklin refused to marry Read because she had debts from a first marriage that would become his debts if they married. The couple had two children together, in 1736 and 1743. They also raised an illegitimate son fathered by Franklin around 1729.

Retirement

By the time Franklin was forty-two, his business interests were very successful. He sold them and retired comfortably on the proceeds for the next twenty years. During retirement, Franklin devoted himself mainly to civic and governmental affairs.

Among his contributions to early American politics, Franklin served in the Second Continental Congress, where in the summer of 1776 he helped write the **Declaration of Independence**. (See also **Continental Congress, Second**.) During the **American Revolution** (1775–83), Franklin negotiated an important alliance with France. He continued to serve as a diplomat in France for nine years before returning to Philadelphia. In 1787, Franklin attended the **Constitutional Convention**, during which members wrote the U.S. **Constitution**.

Franklin is remembered for his avid interest in science. His curiosity led to experiments and inventions that benefited society. His experiments with electricity resulted in the creation of lightning rods, which protect buildings from lightning bolts. Franklin's understanding of heat inspired production of the Franklin stove, which enabled a more efficient heating of large rooms in winter. Other scientific endeavors included the invention of bifocal lenses and work in ship design and meteorology.

Franklin's hard work and successes earned him great attention. He received honorary degrees from Harvard, Yale, and Oxford universities. As a result of his scientific labors, Franklin was elected as a fellow to the distinguished Royal Society of London, a group of English scientists, in 1756.

Benjamin Franklin spent his final days living with his daughter in Philadelphia. He died there on April 17, 1790.

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Free Soil Party

The Free Soil Party formed during the presidential election of 1848. It contained members who had left the two major parties, the **Whig Party** and the **Democratic Party**, over the issue of **slavery**. Former president **Martin Van Buren** (1782–1862; served 1837–41), the party's candidate, came in third place in the popular vote behind the winner, the Whig Party's **Zachary Taylor** (1784–1850; served 1849–50), and the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass (1782–1866).

The United States annexed **Texas** from Mexico in 1845. After winning the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), the country acquired the lands that would become **California**, **Nevada**, **New Mexico**, **Utah**, most of **Arizona**, and parts of **Colorado** and **Wyoming**. The new land raised a question that was controversial in American politics: whether slavery would be allowed in the new American territories.

The Democratic Party was popular in the South, where free white people supported slavery. To avoid controversy over slavery in the election of 1848, the Democratic Party left the slavery expansion question out of its platform. It was well known, however, that Cass supported the right of the free people of new territories to decide on their own whether they wanted slavery.

The Whig Party was most popular in the North. Slavery was largely abolished there, but like the Democratic Party, the Whig Party decided to avoid the slavery expansion controversy. Taylor, in fact, was generally silent on all of the major questions of the day during the campaign.

Silence over the slavery question led dissatisfied members of both parties to form a new party, the Free Soil Party. Its motto was "Free soil, free speech, free labor and free men." Free soilers opposed the expansion of slavery because they believed that slavery interfered with the rights of free men to find work. In general, members of the Free Soil Party were not particularly concerned with the plight of slaves, and they did not support equal rights for African Americans.

Taylor won the election of 1848. The Free Soil Party declined after the election, but its philosophy led to the creation of the **Republican Party** in the 1850s.

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Freedmen's Bureau

U.S. Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (also called the Freedmen's Bureau) in 1865 and gave the bureau the job of aiding and protecting the four million slaves who became free through the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Under the direction of General Oliver O. Howard (1830–1909), the Freedmen's Bureau divided the former slave states into ten districts. Relief work in those districts focused on five tasks: relief for all citizens, black and white alike, in war-torn areas; regulation of black labor; management of abandoned and confiscated property; administration of justice for blacks; and education of former slaves. (See **Slavery**.)

The Freedmen's Bureau had poor funding and inadequate staffing, but it still managed to offer much-needed assistance. Working through its programs, the bureau distributed more than twenty-two million rations of food to impoverished black and white southerners. It provided medical assistance to more than one million freedmen. By 1871, the bureau had created sixty-one schools and eleven colleges and universities.

The Freedmen's Bureau was less successful in its effort to create courts for protecting the civil rights of African Americans. It also failed to make land ownership a reality for freed slaves. Congress had intended to transfer large amounts of confiscated southern lands to former slaves, but this was thwarted by the Proclamation of Pardon and Amnesty by President **Andrew Johnson** (1808–1875; served 1865–69) in 1865. The proclamation provided for much of the confiscated land to be returned to white southerners who were willing to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. The Freedmen's Bureau was forced instead to oversee the creation of **sharecropping** arrangements for farming these lands.

The original charter of the Freedmen's Bureau was for just one year, but Congress extended that period for most of the bureau's work until 1869. Its educational component lasted until 1872.

Freedom of Information Act

Before 1966, American citizens could get information about the government only on an unclearly defined "need to know" basis. The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) of 1966 provided the public with access to many federal government documents. The act is based on the

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principle that, in a democracy, the public has a right to know what the government is doing, unless that knowledge interferes with national security.

History of the act

The issue of freedom of information arose in the 1950s, when newspaper reporters and editors were frustrated by their lack of access to government information about which they believed the public had a right to know. The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) recruited former newspaper attorney Harold L. Cross to write a book about the nation's limited access to government information. The resulting volume, *The People's Right to Know* (1953), became the handbook of the freedom of information movement.

The U.S. Congress took up the freedom of information issue in 1954. John Moss (1915–1997), a Democratic representative from **California**, strongly championed freedom of information and initiated a long government debate on the issue. After years of argument, President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) signed the Freedom of Information Act into law in 1966, almost twenty years after ASNE had begun its campaign.

The act

The FOIA required government agencies to regularly publish certain documents, including federal laws, presidential documents, administrative regulations and notices, and descriptions of federal organizations, programs, and activities. The act also required agencies to make available for public inspection and copying 1) final opinions made in court cases, 2) statements of policy and interpretations adopted by an agency, 3) staff manuals that affect the public, and much more.

The FOIA was designed to help individuals obtain information about the actions of government. It required that citizens be given access to government records, unless releasing the records was prevented by law or for purposes of national security. If a government agency denied an individual's request for information, that agency had to give the individual a reason for the decision within ten days, and the individual had the right to appeal it.

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Privacy Act amendments

The FOIA was particularly beneficial to journalists and anyone interested in investigating the government. A 1974 amendment called the Privacy Act brought these benefits to individuals who wished to find out if the government was investigating them. The Privacy Act came about after the American public discovered that the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) and the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) were secretly spying on people simply because they disagreed with government policy.

During the 1960s, the powerful director of the FBI, **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972), stepped up the agency's programs to investigate and disrupt radical movements. By 1968, the FBI had established two counterintelligence programs: COINTELPRO–Black Nationalist Hate Groups was created to gather data on African American movements and COINTELPRO–New Left was created to spy on student movements.

The tactics of COINTELPRO included extensive wiretapping and planting listening devices in homes, hotel rooms, and meeting places of various organizations. FBI agents posing as black or student activists joined groups and purposely caused conflicts within the organizations. At times, these agents encouraged illegal activities in order to provoke public disapproval of the organizations, even going so far as to encourage students to participate in violent activities such as bombing buildings and killing police.

Civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) was under intense FBI scrutiny from 1961 until his death in 1968. Leaders of the **Black Panther Party** and the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC) were also targets of extreme FBI activity.

Although the CIA has no authority to gather information regarding domestic matters, that agency began collecting information on American citizens in 1967 to determine the role of foreign influence in the American peace movement. Some of the groups targeted for infiltration by the CIA included the SNCC, the Women's Strike for Peace, the Washington Peace Center, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). By the early 1970s, the CIA had accumulated open files on more than sixty-four thousand citizens and a computerized index of more than three hundred thousand individuals and organizations.

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In the mid-1970s, people became suspicious about the activities of the FBI and CIA and filed lawsuits under the FOIA. These resulted in the publication of a number of COINTELPRO files. The information in these files, coupled with documentation implicating the CIA in domestic intelligence abuses, prompted Congress to investigate the activities of both agencies. Although many FBI and CIA files had been destroyed or altered, the investigations revealed that both organizations had carried out a number of programs intended to undermine, discredit, or destroy the **civil rights movement** and **antiwar movement** in the 1960s.

Following the revelation of FBI and CIA abuses, there was a public outcry for curbs on both organizations. In 1974, Congress created amendments to the FOIA that would allow disclosure of documents to individuals subject to investigation as long as their release did not pose a security risk. Privacy Act amendments give individual Americans the right to see the government's records concerning themselves and to correct them if they are inaccurate. The amendments also determined that individuals can sue the government if it releases records about them to anyone not authorized to see those records under the act.

Freedom Rides

On May 4, 1961, thirteen civil-rights activists—seven blacks and six whites—led by **James Farmer** (1920–1999) set out in two buses from **Washington, D.C.** They called themselves freedom riders, and they were heading to New Orleans, **Louisiana**, via the states of the Deep South—**Alabama**, **Georgia**, **Mississippi**, and **South Carolina**. These were Jim Crow states where **segregation**, the enforced separation of races in almost every aspect of public life, had prevailed since the nineteenth century.

The freedom riders, who were sponsored by the nonviolent civil-rights group Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), were determined to speed up the process of desegregation (elimination of practices that separate people by race) in the South. In direct violation of **Jim Crow laws**, black freedom riders planned to sit in the front of the buses while white freedom riders sat in the back. They would "desegregate" every station along the way by having the black riders use the "white" waiting rooms while the white riders used the "colored" facilities. The riders were trained in nonviolent activism (see **Civil Disobedience**) and knew that

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Freedom riders arrive in Alabama in 1961 protected by National Guard troops. The freedom riders, who were sponsored by the nonviolent civil-rights group Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), were determined to speed up the process of desegregation in the South. AP IMAGES

hostile segregationists in the South were determined to stop them. They steeled themselves for the worst.

Violence in Alabama

On the first part of the trip, there were minor incidents, but it was in Alabama that the two buses carrying the freedom riders met with violence. An angry mob met the first bus in Anniston, Alabama, slashing its tires before the bus could pull away. When a flat tire forced the bus driver to stop outside of town, the mob caught up and renewed its attack. In the frenzy, someone threw a firebomb into the crowded bus; the freedom riders barely managed to escape before the bus burst into flames.

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The other bus fared no better. City authorities in Birmingham, Alabama, had failed to provide police protection for the riders, and an angry mob assaulted the freedom riders at the bus depot. Many were injured, and one of the riders was crippled for life.

The riders fled to New Orleans. With no bus drivers willing to transport them and the threat of violence growing, CORE decided to end its project. But civil-rights activists across the nation had been watching. Determined to prevent the segregationists from ending the freedom rides, members of the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC) quickly made a new plan. Despite the obvious danger, ten students, including one of the riders from the original two buses, John Lewis (1940–), prepared to finish the freedom rides.

Riot in Montgomery

National newspapers, television, and radio had covered the violence against the first freedom riders, shocking Americans with the scenes of mob brutality. When the second group of freedom riders arrived in Birmingham to begin their journey, the eyes of the nation were upon them. In Washington, D.C., Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** (1925–1968) had found a bus driver willing to transport the freedom riders and had obtained assurance from Alabama's segregationist governor, John Malcolm Patterson (1921–), that they would be protected. As the freedom riders' bus left Birmingham, a busload of policemen and a helicopter followed. When the bus arrived in Montgomery, however, all protection disappeared, and another mob attacked. With television cameras rolling, the mob severely beat the riders with lead pipes, bricks, and bats. The city police allowed the beatings to continue for some time before they intervened. Kennedy was outraged, and immediately sent six hundred U.S. marshals (federal law enforcement officers) to protect the riders.

After the bloodied freedom riders escaped the mob and were helped to safety by local families, they gathered with their supporters at Montgomery's First Baptist Church. There, minister and civil-rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) was preparing to address the crowd. A white mob gathered outside the church. As evening fell, the mob dissolved into rioting. A force of two hundred federal marshals was barely able to keep the mob from burning down the church. Finally, at 2 AM, Patterson sent state troops to restore order.

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Prison in Jackson

On May 25, after Alabama policemen drove the freedom riders to the state line, twenty-seven of them set off by bus for Jackson, Mississippi, to continue their mission. At the Mississippi state line, they found the state's national guard (military reserve units controlled by the state, but equipped by the federal government) lining both sides of the highway. At the Jackson bus depot, the police quietly escorted the riders into the whites-only waiting room and out the other side, and then arrested them for trespassing. The judge who heard their case refused to listen to their defense and sentenced them to thirty days in Parchman State Penitentiary, a segregated jail known for its abuse of African American inmates.

That summer, hundreds of activists followed the freedom riders' example, and many were arrested for it. In the fall, Robert Kennedy convinced the Interstate Commerce Commission (a federal regulatory agency) to enforce a 1960 **Supreme Court** ruling that banned segregation in interstate travel (travel from state to state).

The freedom rides put President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) on notice that civil-rights leaders expected his administration to take action to uphold the law. The **civil rights movement** also sent a clear message to the white segregationists that ugly mob violence would not stop civil-rights workers' efforts to integrate the South. Indeed, the freedom riders had proven that mob violence was actually its own worst enemy, because it turned national opinion against segregation and brought the forces of the federal government squarely into the desegregation movement.

Freedom Summer

Although the **Fifteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution** states that the right to vote may not be denied anyone because of race or color, in the early 1960s civil rights activists in **Mississippi** were struggling against great odds to make it possible for African Americans to vote. Mississippi's record on voting rights was not good. In 1960, blacks made up about 45 percent of the state's population, but only about 6 percent were registered to vote. White supremacists (people who believe that whites should rule over people of other races) had devised many methods to ensure that blacks did not vote. In some cases, literacy (the ability to read and write) or "interpretation" tests were required of blacks.

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Civil rights demonstrators kept an all-night vigil before the Democratic Convention Hall in 1964 in an attempt to seat members of the Freedom Democratic Party. Michael Schwerner's widow, Rita, is pictured in the center of the vigil. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

Whites graded the tests. In other cases, high poll taxes (money required in order to vote) were charged. Some blacks who tried to vote were beaten; some were even murdered. White employers often fired black employees who voted. Some counties published the names of every African American who tried to register to vote. The **Ku Klux Klan**, a secret, white-supremacist terrorist organization in the South, targeted black voters in their violent raids. Due to intimidation and unfair registration practices, there were entire counties in Mississippi where not one African American was registered to vote.

In 1962, several Mississippi civil rights groups joined together in one organization, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), to secure voting rights for African Americans. Organized mainly by civil rights leader Bob Moses (1935–), COFO was made up of the Mississippi chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the **Student**

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Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC; pronounced "Snick"), and the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP). The COFO faced powerful, and often violent, resistance from white segregationists (people who wanted to maintain the enforced separation of blacks and whites).

In 1963 the COFO invited northern white college students to come to Mississippi for the summer of 1964 to help with a massive black-voter registration drive and education campaign. They hoped that bringing in white volunteers would focus the nation's attention on the injustices and brutality African Americans faced in Mississippi and force the federal government to protect African Americans who were trying to exercise their voting rights. The 1964 campaign became known as Freedom Summer.

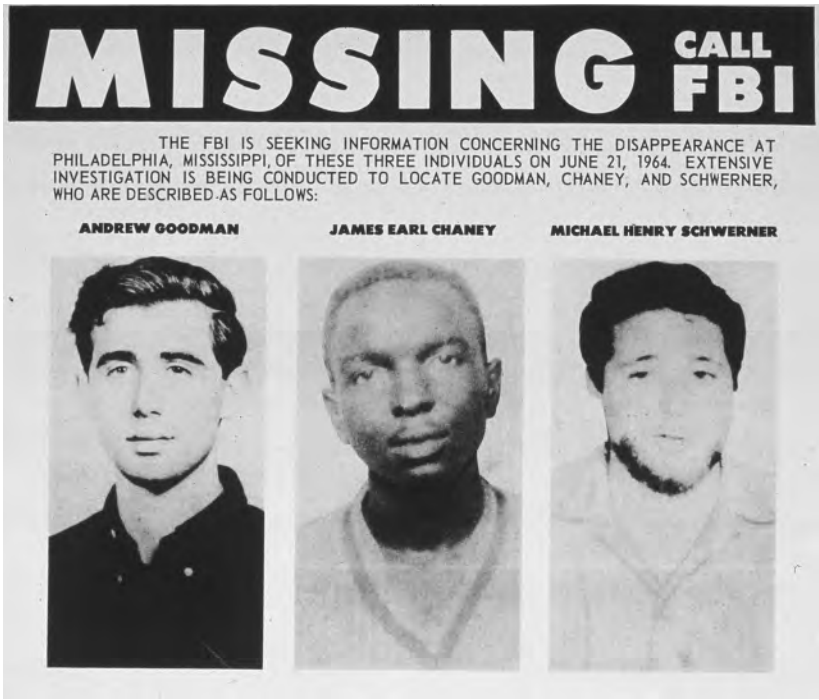
The program

In the early summer of 1964, thousands of white college students went south to join the COFO's work. Most took part in the ongoing voter-registration drive, working to persuade African Americans to register to vote despite the intimidation tactics of the white supremacists. Under the direction of SNCC veterans, some volunteers created community centers that provided basic services such as health care to the black community. Others initiated voter-education activities and literacy classes aimed at encouraging black Mississippians to register to vote. COFO volunteers also established "freedom schools" that provided normal academic subjects but concentrated on discussions about current events, black history, the philosophy behind the **civil rights movement**, and other cultural activities. Over three thousand African American students attended the freedom schools.

Mississippi Free Democratic Party

Freedom Summer activists also sought to get black Mississippians into elected office. The summer before, the COFO had sponsored the "Freedom Vote," during which nearly ninety thousand African Americans voted in a mock (imitation or pretend) election. The Mississippi **Democratic Party** was all white and had strong segregationist policies, so the activists formed a new party called the Mississippi Free Democratic Party (MFDP). In the summer of 1964, African Americans in Mississippi voted for sixty-eight MFDP delegates to attend the national Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, **New Jersey**.

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Andrew Goodman, left, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner were all members of the Congress for Racial Equality who were declared missing in 1964. All three civil rights workers were murdered by Ku Klux Klan members. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

When the MFDP delegates arrived at the convention and demanded that they be seated instead of the regular (white) Democrats, the Democratic Party was taken aback. Many white southern delegates threatened to walk out. A televised hearing was held to determine whether the MFDP delegates could be seated. The cofounder of the MFDP, Fannie Lou Hamer (1917–1977), presented a passionate appeal to include Mississippi's black community in the voting process. Fearing that the Democratic Party would lose the support of its white southern members, President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) stopped the hearing. The Democratic Party offered the MFDP two non-voting seats next to the regular Mississippi delegates, which the MFDP rejected. But Hamer's dramatic speech had gotten the nation's attention.

Violence

Michael Schwerner (1939–1964), a white volunteer, joined CORE in 1963 and opened a community center in Meridian, Mississippi. James Chaney (1943–1964), an African American Meridian native, and white volunteer Andrew Goodman (1943–1964) agreed to work with

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Schwerner during Freedom Summer. On June 21, 1964, these three civil rights workers were arrested, jailed, and held without being allowed a telephone call. The deputy sheriff who arrested them contacted members of the local Ku Klux Klan before releasing them that night. As the three drove home, Ku Klux Klan members stopped their car and took them to a deserted road. Schwerner and Goodman were both shot once through the heart; and Chaney was severely beaten and shot three times.

The disappearance of the three civil rights workers received considerable news coverage, and the publicity forced President Johnson to order the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) to begin a massive search and investigation. On August 4, an informant's tip led the FBI to the bodies of the missing men. In October 1967, after years of delay, seven men were convicted—not of murder, but of depriving Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner of their civil rights. They were sentenced to three to ten years in jail. In 2006, Edgar Ray Killen (1925–), an eighty-year-old former Ku Klux Klansman, was convicted of manslaughter in the killings, forty-two years after the crime.

The media continued to focus on the murder of the three civil rights workers, though by the end of Freedom Summer thirty-seven black churches and more than thirty homes and businesses belonging to African Americans had been burned or bombed. The murder of several other African Americans that summer went unnoticed by the press.

Impact

The impact and legacy of Freedom Summer stretched far beyond the borders of Mississippi and long after the summer ended. Freedom Summer community centers provided a model for federally funded clinics and programs. Freedom schools served as models for alternative schooling nationwide. Freedom Summer publicized the tremendous obstacles whites had placed in front of black voters. This convinced the nation of the need for the **Voting Rights Act** of 1965. After years of struggle, large numbers of African Americans were finally able to vote.

Freedom Summer brought a new political awareness to many white volunteers. At least one-third of the volunteers stayed in Mississippi to continue the struggle for black civil rights. Many volunteers who returned to the North became activists for other causes, particularly the women's rights movement and the **antiwar movement** protesting U.S. involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75).

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Freedom Summer had a very different effect on black civil rights workers. From the start, many black activists had not wanted to invite white volunteers to participate. Many felt that the presence of white volunteers—who too often assumed leadership roles and interacted with black people in a condescending manner—would undermine their goal of empowering Mississippi blacks. Many of these activists came out of Freedom Summer ready to move on to a new type of militant (aggressive) activism called the **Black Power movement**.

Freedom Summer's most enduring legacy was the new consciousness it created among black Mississippians. It succeeded in initiating thousands of African Americans into political action, providing black children with an antiracist education, and creating black-led institutions such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

John Charles Frémont

John Charles Frémont was known as "the Pathfinder" because he charted the best route to **Oregon** in the frontier days of the American West. A man of adventure, he helped to explore, survey, and map vast areas of the frontier. His widely publicized reports fired the imagination of Americans eager to move westward. Frémont was also involved in the takeover of **California** from Mexico, and he became a controversial figure in American history.

Born on January 21, 1813, Frémont was the illegitimate (born out of wedlock) son of a married aristocratic Virginian named Anne Pryor and her lover, a poor French emigrant. When Pryor's husband learned of the affair, Pryor and her lover fled to Savannah, Georgia, where John was born. Frémont's father died when the boy was five, and he was raised by his mother in Charleston, **South Carolina**.

Career as a surveyor

In 1829, Frémont entered the College of Charleston, where he showed an aptitude for mathematics. In the summer of 1836, he worked with a team that surveyed (measured land to determine its size, location and physical description) a proposed railway route between Charleston and Cincinnati, **Ohio**. Frémont liked this work so much he decided upon mapmaking (or cartography) and surveying as a career.

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John Charles Frémont helped to explore, survey, and map vast areas of the American West and was involved in the takeover of California from Mexico. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Commissioned in 1838 as a second lieutenant in the U.S. **Army**'s Topographical Corps, Frémont took part in the agency's massive task of surveying all the unmapped regions of the United States. One of his early adventures was an assignment to assist in surveying the region between the upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Frémont was in his element; he loved the hardship and rugged beauty of the wilderness.

Frémont was a frequent guest at the home of U.S. senator Thomas Hart Benton (1782–1858) of **Missouri**. Benton was a powerful politician and one of the nation's most ardent supporters of **Manifest Destiny**, the belief that it was the God-given mission of the United States to expand its borders across the entire continent. Frémont married Benton's daughter, Jessie, in 1841. The Benton family was initially opposed to the marriage, but the senator soon became Frémont's most important supporter.

Leader of expeditions to the West

In 1842, Frémont led his first frontier expedition, surveying a route extending from the Mississippi River to South Pass, **Wyoming**. Frémont

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used the famous mountain man Christopher "Kit" Carson (1809–1868) as a guide. (See also **Fur Traders and Mountain Men**)

Afterwards, Frémont and his wife, Jessie, who was a talented writer, wrote captivating accounts of his adventures that glamorized the exploration of the West and encouraged settlement of the area. The Frémonts laced these accounts with adventure stories about shooting river rapids, traversing the Great Salt Lake in a rubber boat, and fighting snow to cross the Sierra Nevada mountains in mid-January. The stories were detailed and fun, but they also provided very useful information about the countryside for settlers. As a result of these reports, Frémont became a national hero, though historians today credit Jessie Frémont with the colorful writing that changed her husband's dull reports into exciting and useful frontier literature.

Frémont's next expedition in 1843 set out to push beyond South Pass, Wyoming, to Oregon. During this trip, he surveyed the northern shores of the Great Salt Lake. His report on the survey encouraged the mass migration of the **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints** (Mormons), a sect of Christians who had been persecuted in Ohio, Missouri, and **Illinois**, and were forced to migrate to **Utah** from 1846 to 1857. On this expedition, Frémont also traveled north to the Snake River and then to the Columbia River, which he followed to its mouth on the Pacific at Fort Vancouver. From there, Frémont could not resist the lure of a Mexican province called California.

Although he was told it could not be done, Frémont made the treacherous trip across the Sierra Nevada Mountains and into California in winter. Suffering from cold and starvation, his party finally arrived in California in March 1844. Frémont was a sensation when he returned to St. Louis, Missouri. His reports fueled the ambitions of many powerful groups that were pushing for the United States to take over California from Mexico by force, if necessary.

Role in the "Bear Flag Revolt"

In 1845, Frémont led another expedition to California. When his party arrived, the Mexican government grew suspicious and ordered them to leave. Frémont retreated to Oregon.

In 1846, the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) erupted, mainly over territorial claims in **Texas**. Word of the war had not yet reached

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California, where U.S. agents were successfully negotiating with Mexico for a peaceful handover of California. Frémont, knowing nothing about the war or the negotiations, returned from Oregon with a battalion of armed volunteers, ready for battle. His army joined a group of U.S. settlers called the Bear Flaggers who wanted to overthrow the Mexican government there. Although Frémont later claimed he had received secret orders from Washington to support the Bear Flag Revolt, many historians believe he acted on his own and that the revolt was unnecessary and rash.

The Bear Flag Revolt succeeded easily because Mexico did not bother to defend its remote outpost. On July 4, 1846, Frémont declared a free California republic and raised the republic's flag, which featured a large star and a grizzly bear. The California Republic lasted less than a month. When the Bear Flaggers learned of the war with Mexico, they raised the U.S. flag over the republic.

Frémont served a brief term as governor of California, but later, as more U.S. authorities arrived, he was court-martialed and convicted on charges of mutiny and disobedience for his part in the revolt. President **James K. Polk** (1795–1849; served 1845–49) pardoned him, but Frémont resigned from the army in disgust.

Loss of fame and fortune

After the Bear Flag Revolt, Frémont's fortune was won and lost several times, in gold mining and railroad ventures. During the American **Civil War** (1861–65), he served a brief term as a major general headquartered in St. Louis. In 1861, he made a passionate statement in which he freed the slaves of Missouri rebels. He had no authority to make such a proclamation and President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) fired him for it.

Frémont also pursued a political career. He served a brief term in the U.S. Senate from 1853 to 1854. In 1856, he was the Republican nominee for president but lost to Democrat **James Buchanan** (1791–1868; served 1857–61). After the Civil War, Frémont was appointed territorial governor of **Arizona** but was later asked to resign for apparently corrupt practices.

In his later years, Jessie provided the family income with her writing. Frémont died in 1890.

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French and Dutch Immigration

During the seventeenth century, France and the Netherlands sought to expand their empires in the New World. Both countries established important colonies in North America but could not maintain them. French and Dutch people immigrated to these colonies in small numbers. After the establishment of the United States, larger numbers of French and Dutch immigrants came to America.

Persecution of the Huguenots

The first French colonists to the New World were the Huguenots, a group of Protestants who were followers of the doctrines of French theologian John Calvin (1509–1564). They believed that the symbols and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church were useless, and that the only instrument necessary to achieve grace (God's help or mercy) was the Bible. In their view, salvation and grace were available only to the few people—the "elect"—whom God had already chosen to receive divine favor.

Many French Huguenots were from powerful noble families, and the Catholic royal family felt threatened by them. In 1536, the French government issued a general order urging the extermination (killing of an entire population) of the Huguenots. By 1550, Huguenots who refused to convert to Catholicism were being burned at the stake. Over the next few decades, tens of thousands of Huguenots were killed.

Huguenot migrations

Some Huguenots, eager to escape the turmoil, looked to the New World colonies for a new home. The first group of 150 Huguenot settlers set up a colony in what is now **South Carolina**. They were ill-prepared to survive there and soon returned to France. A second expedition of 304 Huguenots settled in what is now Jacksonville, **Florida**. Spanish forces, threatened by France's presence in Florida, attacked the colony and killed the settlers.

In 1685, when the king of France renewed the persecution of Huguenots, they fled France by the hundreds of thousands. Between 1618 and 1725, between five thousand and seven thousand Huguenots reached the shores of America, concentrating in New England, **New York**, **Pennsylvania**, **Virginia**, and South Carolina.

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New France

Most of France's early dealings with North America involved the fur trade. French fur traders established alliances with many North American native tribal groups, who supplied them with furs, guides, and transportation in return for European goods. French missionaries arrived in the early 1600s to try to convert the natives to Christianity. In 1603,



Explorer Samuel de Champlain, right front, settled vast areas of present-day Canada. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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the French king sent the explorer **Samuel de Champlain** (c. 1567–1635) to investigate the area that was to become **New France**. Champlain succeeded in settling vast areas of what is now Canada, but despite his efforts, New France grew slowly. Most of the French people who arrived in the New World were trappers who lived in the wilderness. There was never a mass migration to New France, and the French colonies were never well populated.

In the seventeenth century, French explorers navigated down the Mississippi River all the way to New Orleans. By 1717, the colony of New France extended from the Gulf of St. Lawrence in Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. France governed the vast Louisiana Territory until 1763, when it ceded the Louisiana Territory to Spain and the rest of New France to England. France regained the Louisiana Territory temporarily in the early 1800s. However, realizing it could not control colonies overseas, France sold the whole Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803 in what became known as the **Louisiana Purchase**.

French Americans

During the entire century and a half of French colonization in North America, only about ten thousand people actually migrated from France to the New World. Between the 1790s and 1850s, after a shift in French politics, another wave of immigration brought between ten and twenty-five thousand French immigrants to America. Between 1840 and 1860, another estimated one hundred thousand French people arrived.

Most French Americans quickly assimilated (blended) into the mainstream culture. Only **Louisiana** and, to a lesser extent, New England maintained cultures that were distinctly French. Louisiana's population retained a mixture of people descended from free and enslaved Africans and Caribbean Africans, the French, the Spanish, and the Cajuns. Cajuns were people who were exiled (forced to leave) by the British from French-speaking Acadia, in present-day Nova Scotia, Canada.

In 2000, the U.S. Census listed 8,309,908 persons of French ancestry and an additional 2,349,684 with French Canadian ancestry.

The Dutch immigrants

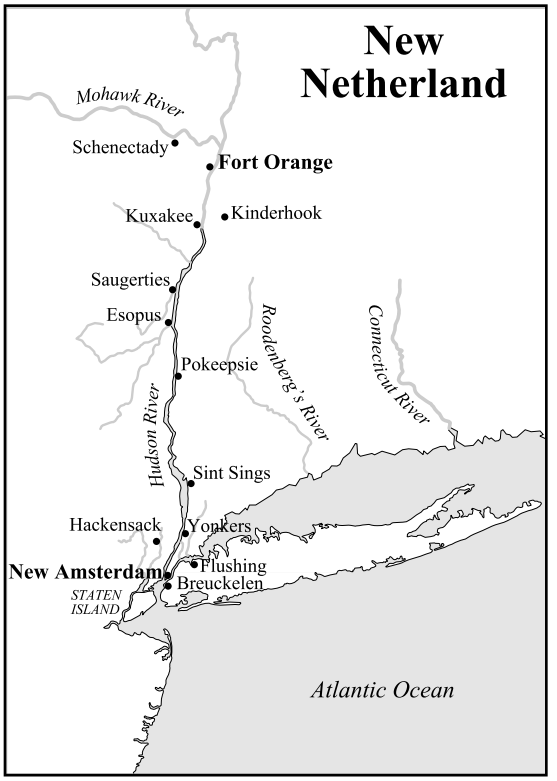
In the seventeenth century, the Netherlands was highly successful in international trade. The **Dutch East India Company** charted profitable

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trade routes to Africa and Asia, its ships coming home laden with riches. In 1609, the Dutch East India Company hired British explorer **Henry Hudson** (d. 1611) to explore the American continent. He found a river—now the Hudson River in present-day New York State—rich with furs, and claimed it for the Dutch.

The Netherlands then hired the Dutch West India Company to create a permanent trading post in the New World. The problem was that few Dutch people wanted to emigrate because life was comfortable in their homeland. The Dutch West India Company paid the first colonists to make the trip. They arrived in New Netherland, the Dutch colony in America, in 1624.

New Netherland encompassed Manhattan Island and New York Harbor, part of Long Island, and an area including most of present-day **New Jersey** and **Delaware** and part of Pennsylvania. The port in New Netherland was perfect for trade, and the land was fertile.



A map of the Dutch port of New Netherland, which had a lucrative port. THE GALE GROUP

Life in New Netherland

The first settlers in New Netherland were poor and illiterate, and life was rough. They lacked the skills in farming and manufacturing that were badly needed for building communities. In the 1660s, New Amsterdam, now New York City, was a community of about thirteen hundred people. It was very dirty, with animals running loose and sewage running down its streets.

As they settled in, the Dutch colonists tried to make their new home more like the Netherlands. They built schools and established the Dutch Reformed Church, a Protestant Calvinist denomination. The Dutch welcomed people of all religions, including Jews, and they were more open to freeing African slaves than other colonies. Immigrants from England, Sweden, and France began to pour into New Netherland.

The Dutch West India Company, which continued to govern the people of New Netherland, was mainly interested in profits, and the

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colonists were unhappy with its rule. In the 1660s, when Britain decided to try to seize the colony, the residents refused to defend it, allowing Britain to take over their government.

Postcolonial immigration

By the early nineteenth century, the Netherlands had ceased to be a global power, spurring greater Dutch immigration to the New World. Between 1820 and 1914, about two hundred thousand Dutch peasants immigrated to the United States in several major waves, including those in the 1860s, 1880s, and 1890s. Many of the Dutch immigrants headed out to the American Midwest and West to farm.

Most Dutch Americans immigrated in entire family units and settled in communities with others from the same province of the Netherlands. Creating tightly knit communities of Dutch Americans, they were slow to assimilate and kept Dutch culture intact for a number of generations.

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, 5,203,974 Americans claim Dutch descent. About one-third live in the Midwest, and a significant number continue to live in the Hudson River Valley area of New York.

French and Indian War

The French and Indian War (1754–63) was fought in America between England and France from 1754 to 1763. It was one war in a long and complicated history of conflicts between the two countries. Having both laid claim to territories in present-day **Ohio**, the two countries fought a long and costly war in the New World to settle the dispute. Both sides were joined in the fighting by colonists and Native Americans.

Continuing disagreements between England and France led to other conflicts in other parts of the world in what is known as the Seven Years' War (1756–63). The conclusion of war in 1763 marked the end of the French presence in North America and the beginning of English domination of the continent. It also led to problems between England and its colonies that resulted in the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

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A battle during the French and Indian War, during which both the British and the French were aided by colonial and Native American allies. After the war, French land in Canada was ceded to the British. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Settlement in the New World

Throughout three wars from 1689 to 1748, the French and the British struggled for control of the lands west of the British colonies in America. Although the British settlements were mostly confined along the eastern seaboard from **Maine** to **Florida**, some of the English colonies had claims west of the Appalachian Mountains, according to their original charters. Most of these areas were still unsettled by the 1740s, but many English colonists were interested in the land.

The French had established a lucrative fur trade in the region west of the Appalachians. Although there were few permanent settlements, the French had established missions, trading posts, and relationships with Native Americans there, and they wanted to protect these interests and establish permanent settlements. England, too, and France attempted to gain control by peacefully establishing settlements in the area.

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Tensions rise

In the 1740s, British traders began to enter areas close to French posts and to compete for trade relationships with the local Indians. British goods often were cheaper and of better quality than French wares, so many Indians chose to break ties with the French to trade with the British. The French responded by constructing a series of forts stretching from Lake Erie to the Ohio River.

The last, southernmost of the forts encroached on territory claimed by the British colony of **Virginia**. In November 1753, its governor, Robert Dinwiddie (1693–1770), sent General George Washington (1732–1799) to warn the French that they were trespassing. Overwhelming French forces pushed Washington back, forcing him to return to Virginia.

In 1754, the Virginia governor commanded that a fort be built to counter the French at the Forks of the Ohio River (present-day Pittsburgh, **Pennsylvania**). On April 17, 1754, a large number of French soldiers surrrounded the British sent to build the fort, forcing them back to Virginia, and then proceeded to build a French fort instead, Fort Duquesne. When Washington reached the area on May 28, he and a band of 150 reinforcements surprised a group of French soldiers at Jumonville Glen, killing ten in battle and then slaughtering all but one of their prisoners. This incident marked the beginning of the French and Indian War. France and England, however, did not formally declare war until May 1756, with the beginning of conflicts in Europe in the Seven Years' War.

The war in America

The first four years of the French and Indian War were dominated by the French and their Indian allies. The French had superior advantages: Their movements of troops and supplies were helped by access to the St. Lawrence River, and their Native American allies provided warriors and skillful knowledge of the lands.

In contrast, British forces struggled with inadequate leadership and difficulty maneuvering men and supplies across dense, unsettled land. They also failed to gain adequate support from the colonists. Many colonial businessmen resented the trade problems caused by the war, and

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colonists recruited to serve under English forces resented the strict discipline, harsh punishment, and unfair treatment they received.

In December 1756, William Pitt (1708–1778) became leader of the House of Commons (a house of Parliament) of Great Britain. His dynamic leadership led to important changes for the English troops in America. More financial and military support from England helped the troops create a network of roads, supply stations, and colonial manpower to transport necessities to the British front lines. Thus reinforced, the British began to make strong advances into French territory.

In October 1758, a new treaty brought many of France's Indian allies onto the British side of the war. By July 1759, the British managed to cut off the French from the St. Lawrence River, and in doing so, they cut French supply lines and crippled the French army. In September, the British captured Quebec, and Montreal fell the next year, in September 1760. The war in America was then effectively over, but the two countries continued to fight in Europe and elsewhere. The **Treaty of Paris**, which they signed in 1763, finally ended the wars and ceded French land in Canada to the British Empire.

Impact

The French and Indian War was a difficult struggle for England that depleted the financial resources in the British treasury. As a result, Parliament began to pass measures to raise funds through taxes on the American colonies. These measures angered the colonists and soured their relationship with England. A little more than a decade later, the colonists' resentment ignited the American Revolution.

Betty Friedan

Betty Friedan was born on February 4, 1921, just one year after women in the United States won the right to vote. Friedan's parents encouraged her to excel in everything she did, and she grew up a self-confident, intelligent young woman with plans to graduate from college and raise a family.

College and beyond

Friedan's mother, a former newspaperwoman, encouraged her daughter to become a journalist. Friedan began writing for her junior high school

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Feminist Betty Friedan's book, **The Feminine Mystique,** *advised women to develop an identity besides that of mother and wife, while continuing to care for their families.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

newspaper and continued writing throughout high school. She entered Smith College in **Massachusetts** at seventeen. While there, she continued to develop her writing skills but also followed her interest in psychology by majoring in the field. She graduated with honors in 1942.

The following year, she moved to Berkeley, **California**, to study at the University of California. After one year, she was offered a scholarship to study for her Ph.D. Friedan turned down the offer for fear that it would delay marriage too long. Friedan moved to New York City in 1944 and became a newspaper reporter.

Becomes political

The workers' newspaper Friedan wrote for covered labor union strikes and disputes. With **World War II** (1939–45) just beginning, many American men were overseas; this left women at home to take over men's jobs. Friedan investigated discrimination in the workplace, both by employers against male workers and by employers and unions against women. Women were paid a fraction of what men received to do the same jobs. When men returned from the war, women often were fired from their jobs without warning and expected to go back to lives spent inside the home. Labor unions did not take women's complaints seriously, and the women had nowhere to turn.

During this time, Friedan became politically active by attending antiwar rallies. She also helped arrange illegal abortions for women she knew. She met Carl Friedan in 1947. They married shortly thereafter and had a son.

Friedan continued to work for the newspaper until 1949. When she asked for a second maternity leave (time off to have a baby), she was fired. Again, she was struck by the unfair, unequal treatment of men and women: Men were allowed to have families and careers; women were forced to choose between the two. Friedan became a full-time wife and mother, and soon she and her husband had a third child.

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Revelations

As her life as a homemaker progressed, Friedan developed a theory on women. To her it was a myth that women should be completely satisfied with their roles as wives and mothers and that women are abnormal if they want a career or an identity separate from the family. At that time, U.S. society told women this was how they should live their lives, but Friedan felt incomplete.

To admit feeling dissatisfied was not something women easily did in the mid-1950s. Instead, they suffered silently, often to the point of depression. When Friedan learned that many other women felt the same way, she was glad to know that she was not alone, and she also knew she must write about the problem. She developed a questionnaire about women's issues and sent it to other Smith College graduates.

Friedan organized the data she collected from the questionnaire and wrote an article, which was rejected by male editors of every women's magazine to which she sent it. They told her only "sick" women felt dissatisfied being full-time wives and mothers. Friedan persisted; while her children were in school, she wrote a book based on her findings. She conducted interviews and did five years of research. In 1963, she labeled the silent suffering that millions of women were experiencing "the feminine mystique."

Leads a movement

When Friedan finally found a publisher for *The Feminine Mystique,* the company issued only a few thousand copies because it had low expectations for sales. However, sales were phenomenal, and by 1966 the book had sold three million copies.

Friedan's book advised women to develop an identity besides that of mother and wife, while continuing to care for their families. She encouraged them to fight for equal respect and equal pay for the work they performed. She never planned to launch a revolution, but that is exactly what she did. Friedan began the modern women's liberation movement in the United States with her groundbreaking book.

She began traveling around the country, giving lectures that explained her ideas for change. Not content to simply criticize, Friedan offered solutions to women's predicament in society. She was in favor of

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professional training and shared jobs, the development of on-site day care centers, and an end to sexual discrimination.

NOW

Friedan recognized the need for national organization if women were to make real progress on these issues. She and several other women activists met in June 1966 to structure the first formal organization of the women's movement. The **National Organization for Women** (NOW) was officially established on October 29, 1966. Friedan became its first president, an office she held through 1970. By that time, NOW was making great strides in its campaign for equality. Although her professional life was flourishing, Friedan's marriage had fallen apart. She divorced in 1969.

Friedan next focused on political reform by promoting the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution**, and by teaching and writing. She often was at odds with other women's liberation leaders whom she believed were advocating not equality, but instead a turning of the tables against men. Friedan saw this as hurting the women's movement; she wanted the focus to be on choices and equal opportunities for everyone—both women and men.

Humanist of the Year

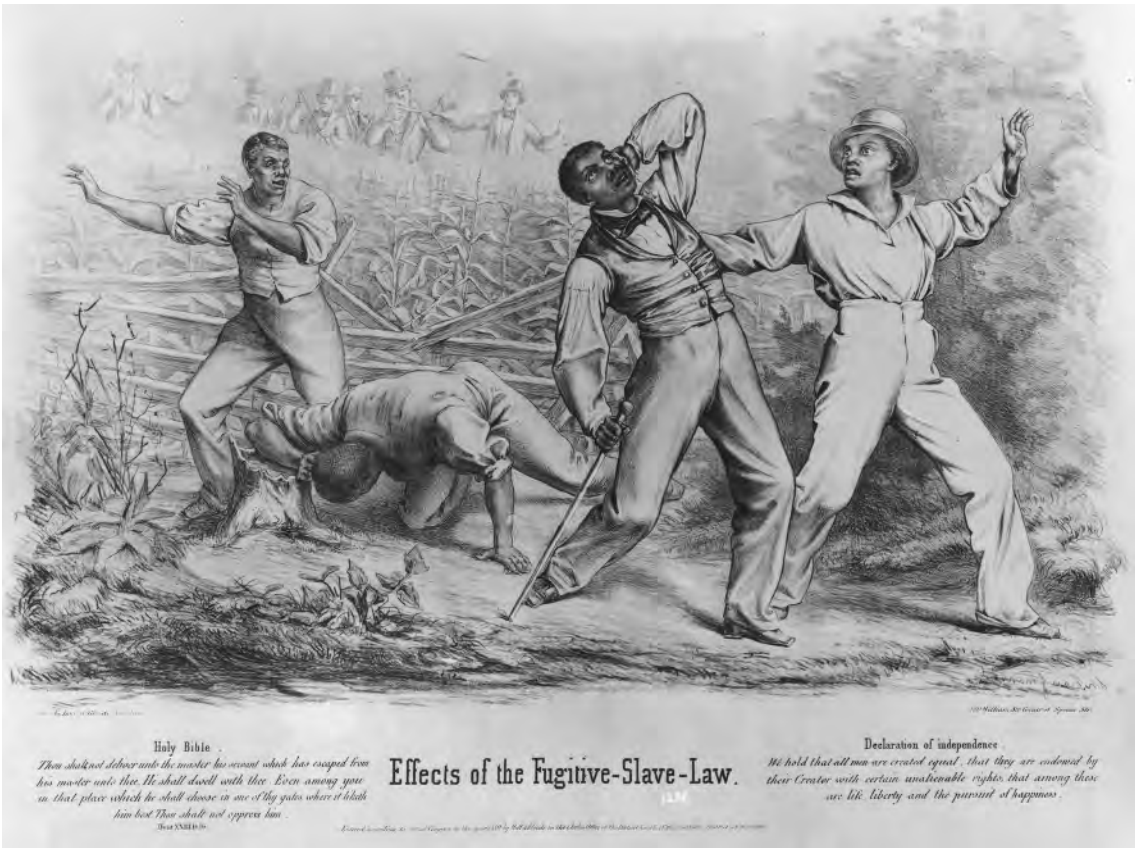
Friedan was named Humanist of the Year in 1975 for her efforts in promoting equality of the sexes. Though she continued to push for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the bill was repeatedly defeated and still had not passed by the time of her death in 2006.

Fugitive Slave Laws

Fugitive slave laws were laws that allowed slave owners to recover runaway slaves from other states, even free states (nonslaveholding states). The laws had their basis in the U.S. **Constitution** and were made clear by a 1793 act. In 1850, when the conflict between North and South over **slavery** was becoming a national crisis, Congress passed another, much stronger, fugitive slave law to satisfy Southerners. Northerners were outraged by the new law, and this heightened tensions to the breaking point.

Article IV, Section 2, of the U.S. Constitution said that "fugitives from labour"—that is, runaway slaves, apprentices, or indentured ser-

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The fugitive slave laws allowed slave owners to recover runaway slaves from other states, even free states. The owners often didn't even have to prove that the people they captured were actually their slaves. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

vants (laborers contracted to serve for a certain number of years)—could not become legally free by escaping to other states, but instead had to be returned on the demand of the person to whom they "owed" service or labor. The Constitution did not say how this was to be enforced. Controversy arose in 1790 when three **Virginia** men, who claimed to be recapturing an escaped slave, were accused of kidnapping a free black man in the free state of **Pennsylvania**. The case led Congress to pass an act in 1793 that regulated the return of fugitive slaves.

The 1793 fugitive slave law

The 1793 act allowed a slave owner to seize an alleged (claimed, but not proven) fugitive slave and bring him or her before a judge to determine

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if he or she was in fact the runaway slave of the claimant (the person claiming to be the slave owner). If the judge agreed that the person was the slave of the claimant, he would issue a certificate of removal, which allowed the slaveholder to take the slave back to his home state. The law introduced a $500 fine for anyone interfering with the return of a fugitive slave and allowed the slaveholder to sue anyone who had helped the fugitive.

Many Northerners did not like the fugitive slave laws. Some Northern states passed their own laws, called personal liberty acts, to protect free blacks from being kidnapped by Southern slaveholders. Many Northerners also argued that Congress had no power to pass the fugitive slave laws; they claimed this was interfering with "states' rights." The concept of states' rights is based on the idea that the powers of the federal government are limited and should not be allowed to interfere with the powers of the states to govern themselves. Ironically, slaveholders routinely invoked the doctrine of states' rights to help protect the institution of slavery in their states.

Compromise of 1850

The issue of runaway slaves again went before Congress in the **Compromise of 1850**. The compromise attempted to defuse growing North-South tensions over slavery by creating an assortment of acts, some designed to please the North and others to please the South. The compromise called for the admission of **California** as a free state, the use of popular sovereignty (deciding by popular vote) to let residents of **New Mexico** and **Utah** decide whether their states would be slave states or free states, the prohibition of the slave trade in **Washington, D.C.**, and the passage of a stricter fugitive slave law.

The Fugitive Slave Act was the most controversial part of the Compromise of 1850. Under the new act, the federal government became responsible for finding and returning slaves who had escaped to free states. The law created a system in which federally appointed commissioners heard fugitive slave cases. The commissioners were empowered to call out the military or federal law enforcement officers to aid slave owners. Penalties for helping escaped slaves included $1,000 fines (a very high sum at that time) and six-month jail sentences. The slave in question could not testify or have a jury at his or her hearing. Slave owners could claim their slaves with very little evidence proving their "own-

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ership." Moreover, a U.S. commissioner hearing such a case would get $5 if he decided in favor of the alleged slave, but $10 if he decided in favor of the master. This difference in fee was designed to compensate commissioners for the extra work of filling out certificates of removal, but to most Northerners it seemed a blatant attempt to bribe commissioners to help slave owners.

Response: North and South

Northerners condemned the Fugitive Slave Law and responded explosively to attempts to enforce it. The formerly peace-loving reformer **Frederick Douglass** (1817–1895) told an audience in Boston, **Massachusetts**, that if there was an attempt to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law in that city, the streets would run with blood. Indeed, the law led to riots in Boston and elsewhere. In 1851, a mob stormed a Boston courtroom to free a slave named Shadrack; in Syracuse, **New York**, a mob rescued a slave named Jerry from jail; and in Christiana, Pennsylvania, a slave owner was killed in a shoot-out with fugitive slaves. In 1854, citizens in Milwaukee, **Wisconsin**, led by abolitionist (antislavery activist) editor Sherman Booth (1812–1904), freed a slave named Joshua Glover from federal custody. In 1858, most of the students and faculty of Oberlin College charged a courthouse and freed a slave arrested in Wellington, **Ohio**.

One of the greatest blows to the Fugitive Slave Act came from writer Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), whose outrage at the act inspired her to write her famous novel, ***Uncle Tom's Cabin,*** published in 1852. The novel, a convincing condemnation of slavery, had an immediate and powerful influence on public opinion. More than three hundred thousand copies were sold in its first year of publication, a huge number for that time.

The highly publicized slave rescues gave Southerners the impression that a vast Northern group of abolitionists was conspiring to interfere with their rights. In a proclamation called the **Georgia** Platform, adopted in late 1850, representatives of the Southern states warned that the fate of the Union (the United States as a united group of states) depended on the North's faithful observance of the new fugitive slave act.

In the long run, the Fugitive Slave Act did little to help slave owners recover runaway slaves, but it did much to undermine the Union. Northern outrage over the 1850 law helped empower the **Republican**

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Party, enabling the election of **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) as a president who firmly advocated restrictions on slavery. Meanwhile, in 1860 and 1861, a number of Southern states debated the issue of **secession**, or withdrawing from the Union. They cited failure to enforce the fugitive slave laws as one of their reasons. In 1861, the American **Civil War** (1861–65) between the North and the South began. A Republican-dominated Congress repealed both fugitive slave laws in 1864, and Lincoln signed the bill into law.

Fur Traders and Mountain Men

After explorers Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838) led the first expedition of white explorers across the western half of North America in 1804–6, a large group of hardy adventurers prepared to head west. (See **Lewis and Clark Expedition**.) From Lewis and Clark's reports they had learned that the West was teeming with beavers, and they wished to make their fortune. After forging routes through the wilderness, the mountain men played a large role in the westward migration of American settlers.

The beaver trade

At that time, beaver hats were all the rage in Europe, providing an excellent market for the plentiful American beaver. But hunting for beaver in the American West was difficult and very dangerous. It required a very rugged type of individual to forge pathways through the western wilderness in search of beavers.

In 1822, businessman William Henry Ashley (c. 1778–1838), the lieutenant governor of **Missouri**, placed a newspaper advertisement calling for one hundred "Enterprising Young Men … to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years." The men who responded to this ad became known as mountain men. Only about fifteen hundred men ever held this position.

Most mountain men worked for Ashley. Most received only a portion of the proceeds of their catch, but in turn, Ashly supplied them with the equipment necessary to trap beaver. Another group, Ashley's "free trappers," received no wages and had no obligation to Ashley. He guaranteed to meet these hunters in the mountains and buy their furs at fixed prices. Ashley established a meeting, called the *rendezvous* (French for

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William Henry Ashley, center, at his summer "rendezvous." Ashley set up these large-scale meetings as a way to collect furs and resupply the fur trappers. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

"get-together"), as a means to collect furs and resupply the trappers. The rendezvous system allowed the mountain men to remain in the beaver-rich country year-round.

Every summer from 1825 to 1840, a four- to six-week rendezvous was held in a carnival-like atmosphere, combining trade with recreation. Supply trains of mules and wagons came from Missouri, and a year's trading was accomplished efficiently. However, many mountain men spent most of the money they received for the whole year's take of furs on drinking and entertainment at the rendezvous.

The mountain life

Mountain men's work took them far away from most European American settlements. Many mountain men married Native American women and learned Native American life and customs. Generally mountain men were rough and looked it. They wore their hair long, grew

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beards, and had weathered features. Their clothes were usually made of buckskin. The work was dangerous; Indians killed some five hundred mountain men over the three decades when the trade was booming. Others died in accidents or severe weather.

Mountain men were so good at what they did that the American beaver had nearly disappeared by 1840. By that time, beaver hats went out of style and the fur trade was finished. But the mountain men continued to work in the wilderness. They were very familiar with paths through the West and when people began to migrate to **Oregon** and **California** in the early 1840s, the mountain men became their guides. Leading pioneers over roads they had created themselves, they were instrumental in opening up the West for U.S. settlement.

Legendary mountain men

Mountain men captured the American imagination. To some they symbolized the rugged freedom of the frontier. In American novelist **James Fenimore Cooper**'s (1789–1851) *The Prairie* (1827), fur trapper Leatherstocking is possessed of natural virtue like the wilderness that surrounds him. Some writers, on the other hand, viewed the trappers as savages.

The most legendary of mountain men was Christopher "Kit" Carson (1809–1868), who gained fame first as **John Frémont**'s (1813–1890) scout during his expeditions into the Far West. In Frémont's reports of his expeditions into the Rocky Mountains, Oregon, and northern California, Carson appears as a real-life Leatherstocking figure, a brave but humble man of the wilderness. Carson soon became the subject of a number of biographies, novels, and sketches, and these accounts of his daring and skill became the model for many western heroes to come. Later, historians challenged this heroic image of Carson, arguing that he took part in monstrous brutality committed against the Navajo and others.

Jedediah Strong Smith (1799–1831) was twenty-two years old when he was hired by Ashley to go West with the first large group of mountain men. Smith later led the first party of white explorers to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains into California. He was killed by Comanches in 1831.

Jim Beckwourth (1798–1866), who was born a slave, joined one of Ashley's expeditions to the Rocky Mountains and the Far West in 1824.

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He lived for several years with the Crow Indians and opened a pass in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Beckwourth later narrated his autobiography to Thomas D. Bonner. The book, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth: Mountaineer, Scout, Pioneer and Chief of the Crow Nation* (1856), was an astonishing chronicle of adventure and of life among the Crow. Some, however, noted Beckwourth's tendency to glorify his own deeds.

Another teller of tall tales, Jim Bridger (1804–1881), went on his first Ashley expedition at the age of seventeen in 1822. He is considered the first white man to have seen Yellowstone Park and its geysers. During his long career as a mountain man, he married Flathead, Snake, and Ute wives and was highly respected as a master of Native American ways and a walking atlas of the northern Rockies.

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Gadsden Purchase

In 1853, the United States purchased lands from Mexico that had been in dispute since the border settlement that followed the **Mexican-American War** (1946–48). In this transaction, known as the Gadsden Purchase, the United States added the last piece of territory that would create the present-day contiguous, or touching, forty-eight states.

Disputed Mesilla Valley

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which set the terms for peace after the Mexican-American War, provided that representatives from Mexico and the United States would set the boundary between the two nations. The two sides agreed on a line extending from the mouth of the Rio Grande in **Texas** westward to San Diego, **California**, except for one disputed area: the Mesilla Valley in the border regions between Chihuahua, Mexico, and the **New Mexico** and **Arizona** territories. Both sides laid claim to this vast area and armed confrontation between military personnel in Chihuahua and New Mexico became a real possibility.

In 1853, President **Franklin Pierce** (1804–1869; served 1853–57) instructed James Gadsden (1788–1858), his minister to Mexico, to buy as much of the disputed territory as possible. He was especially motivated to buy the land because it was considered the ideal setting for a southern route for a transcontinental (spanning the continent from coast to coast) railroad. (See **Railroad Industry**.)

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A forceful transaction

Gadsden initially tried to purchase from Mexico an area that would have extended deep into what later became Mexico's northern states. Mexico was willing to give up some land, but made many demands on the United States. Gadsden refused to concede to any of Mexico's demands. Eventually, to pressure Mexico, he arranged for a show of U.S. military force.

Finally, Mexico's president, long-time U.S. foe Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876), signed the Gadsden Treaty in 1854, allowing the United States to buy a smaller area surrounding the Mesilla Valley for $10 million. The treaty turned out to be a catastrophe for Santa Anna. Mexico had already lost vast amounts of land to the United States, and many Mexicans feared the Gadsden Purchase was a sign of more land loss to come. Opponents rose up in rebellion, driving Santa Anna from power in 1855.

The Gadsden Purchase accomplished little for the United States, which was bitterly divided in these years preceding the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Antislavery forces in the United States opposed the Gadsden Purchase because they feared the new territories would become slave states. Supporters of the southern route of a transcontinental railroad were disappointed because the new lands were too mountainous for their project.

James A. Garfield

James A. Garfield (1831–1881; served 1881) served one of the shortest terms as president of the United States. After winning the election in November 1880, he was shot the following July and died that September. He had served six months and fifteen days.

Humble beginnings

Garfield was born on November 19, 1831, in a log cabin in **Ohio**. Within two years, his father died. Although not interested in schooling as a boy, Garfield's mother and a local schoolteacher eventually convinced him that an education was the key to a successful future.

After studying at Geauga Academy in Chester, Ohio, Garfield enrolled in the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute (now known as Hiram College) in Hiram, Ohio. The nineteen-year-old proved himself a wor-

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thy student and capable athlete. The combination of serious demeanor and impressive physique with his natural ability as an engaging public speaker would serve him well throughout his political life.

Garfield graduated in 1854 and entered Williams College, where he was elected to several leadership positions within the student body. He graduated with honors in 1856.

Of war and politics

Within a year, Garfield was elected president of Western Reserve Eclectic Institute. Under his leadership, the academy became the educational center of the region. In addition to running the school, he served as professor. In 1858, Garfield married Lucretia Rudolph, a fellow student at Geauga Academy.



James A. Garfield served one of the shortest terms as president of the United States. He served six months and fifteen days and died two-and-a-half months after being shot. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Because of his popularity and proven administrative skills, the **Republican Party** of Ohio nominated Garfield for state senate. He won the election easily in October 1859. He immediately earned himself a reputation as a gifted speaker and man of strong opinions. Garfield was against **slavery** and supported the American **Civil War** (1861–65) as the solution. He actively roused troops and was appointed colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Volunteer Infantry, whose ranks were mostly filled with former students.

Although Garfield had no formal training or military experience, he designed a campaign that drove Confederate forces out of **Kentucky**. Impressed with his skill, the military promoted him to brigadier general. As such, Garfield fought in one of the most fierce and historical battles in military history, the Battle of Chickamauga. His achievements garnered him the Republican nomination to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1862. He won that election and wound up serving nine consecutive terms.

Bigger ideas

Garfield was elected to serve as a delegate to the Seventh National Nominating Convention of the Republican Party in 1880. Although he

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never sought nomination to the presidency, he received it anyway—on the thirty-sixth ballot. Prior to that, former president **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885; served 1869–77) and U.S. senator James Blaine (1830–1893) of **Maine** battled it out without either receiving enough votes to secure victory. Ultimately, Garfield was seen as the candidate who could please everyone. His vice presidential running mate was **New York** politician **Chester A. Arthur** (1829–1886).

Garfield beat his Democratic opponent, Civil War general Winfield Scott Hancock (1824–1886), in the closest election of the nineteenth century. His tenure as president, however, was short. On July 2, 1881, Garfield was shot in a **Washington, D.C.**, train station by Charles Guiteau (c. 1840–1882), a mentally ill man who was angry over his unsuccessful attempts to gain a government position.

Garfield did not die immediately. He had been shot twice, and one of the bullets remained in his body. American inventor **Alexander Graham Bell** (1847–1922) devised a metal detector to try to locate the bullet, but the metal bed frame upon which Garfield rested made the instrument malfunction. Eventually, infection set in and weakened his heart. Garfield died on September 19, 1881.

Gay Liberation Movement

The 1960s were characterized by several movements calling for social and political change, chiefly the **civil rights movement** (1954–65), the **antiwar movement**, the women's liberation movement (also known as the feminist movement), and the gay liberation movement. Many gay liberation activists were also active in the other social movements, from which they gained a greater awareness of their own, more hidden, repression. Because most people saw sexual orientation as a personal issue, they did not consider it from a political perspective. **Feminism** helped alter that perception as it focused on the political meaning of women's individual experiences.

A history of persecution

Historically, gay people had kept their sexuality hidden because in many states homosexual activity was illegal. In New York and other big cities, there were districts where gays could openly communicate and be themselves. Gays often met publicly in gay bars, many of which were owned

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by crime syndicates that profited from the criminal status of homosexuality. Police raided gay bars frequently and used these raids as a chance to brutalize gays. Victims did not report the brutality, partly because they knew no one would come to their aid, partly because of the social stigma attached to homosexuality.

In the early morning of June 28, 1969, patrons at a bar called the Stonewall Inn in New York City's Greenwich Village surprised the police during a raid. Tired of suffering from injustice, they fought back. The violence moved to riot status and took to the streets. The riots lasted three days and were heavily covered by the media. The Stonewall incident is considered the official beginning of the gay liberation movement, which developed into the gay rights movement later in the century.

A turning point

Stonewall marked a turning point in the lives of gay Americans. Gay liberation organizations formed throughout the United States; although gays had organized into associations prior to the 1970s, there was little unity to make them effective tools for change. New York's Gay Liberation Front had chapters across the nation. Others were locally based and founded by activists in smaller cities and towns. Through dedication and hard work, gay rights activists managed to have homosexuality laws repealed in many states. By 1998, only nineteen states still maintained antigay legislation.

Legal reforms, as well as changes in the way gays were treated and viewed socially, began to alter the notion that homosexuality was a disease. Whereas in the past gays had often found themselves incarcerated in mental hospitals, subjected to "cures" like electroshock therapy, gay activists now demanded that homosexuality be stricken from the American Psychiatric Association's list of mental disorders; they achieved their goal in 1973.

Gay activists came from every class and race, and in some cases, groups were formed along ethnic or race lines. As always happens when a movement grows rapidly, other differences occurred within the gay liberation movement that caused some problems. The different roles and identities of gay women and gay men posed the biggest challenge. Many women activists came to the gay movement through feminism. Some questioned their commonalities with men and preferred to ally themselves with other (heterosexual) women. Some resented being labeled

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gay, as they considered it a word that defined homosexual men. They preferred the term "lesbian." At conferences, during protests, and in newspapers, the disparate members of the movement discussed their differences.

Fighting for acceptance

Mainstream society viewed the gay liberation activists as a threat to society's accepted norms of gender and gender roles, the nuclear family, monogamy (commitment to one person), and a sense of decorum about sex in American culture. Some worried about the acceptance of free sex, outside the confines of marriage, and how this would affect young people. Gay men in particular celebrated this sexual revolution, which found expression in the **disco** phenomenon that swept the country. Gay disco bars became social centers for gay men; because heterosexuals also enjoyed the music and atmosphere, this helped gay culture to find some acceptance in mainstream America. However, heavy drug use and sex with multiple partners, commonplace during the era, precipitated a health crisis.

The AIDS crisis

In the 1980s, the emergence of **AIDS** (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) became a severe crisis in the gay community, with thousands dying of the disease during the decade. The disease also provoked a backlash against the gay liberation movement. Many religious groups and right-wing political organizations and politicians adopted an antigay agenda, calling AIDS "the gays' disease." Until the medical community gained an understanding of how the disease was spread, the fear that infection could be brought about by casual contact took hold. The disease, and attitudes toward those suffering from it, became the focus of work for gay rights activists.

Major issues since the 1990s

In 1998, the issue of homophobia (fear of homosexuals) was brought once again to the forefront. University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard (1976–1998) was brutally murdered on October 7 by Russell Henderson and Aaron McKinney. Posing as gay men, they offered Shepard a ride in their car, then robbed, pistol-whipped, and tortured him, leaving him tied to a fence to die. The perpetrators were convicted

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of murder and sentenced to serve two consecutive life sentences. Many viewed Shepard's murder as a hate crime, prompting cries for federal hate crime legislation to be extended to include sexual orientation. Efforts to do so by President **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) failed. The Matthew Shepard Act was introduced in 2007, but as of early 2008 it had not been signed into law. As of 2008, thirty-one states and **Washington, D.C.**, had hate crime statutes that covered sexual orientation.

In 1994, activists demanded the repeal of the ban on gays in the military. As a compromise solution, the military adopted a "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, which allows gays to serve if they keep their sexual orientation a secret. In response to a major drive by the gay rights movement on the issue of marriage, some states legalized civil unions between same-sex couples, giving them the same state rights as heterosexual married couples. **Massachusetts** made same-sex marriage legal in 2004. By 2007, nearly nine thousand private companies, nonprofits, and labor unions offered domestic partner health benefits for same-sex couples. This measure gave gay couples the same health benefits as heterosexual couples. As of 2007, just five states—**Mississippi**, **Nebraska**, **Florida**, **Michigan**, and **Utah**—had laws restricting gays from adopting children. Many successes of the gay rights movement can be traced back to the early determination of the gay liberation movement.

Georgia

Georgia was admitted to the Union on January 2, 1788. It is named after King George II (1683–1760) of England and claims Atlanta as its capital. Georgia is the largest state east of the Mississippi River in terms of land area (i.e., excluding expanses of water) and is bordered by **Florida**, **Alabama**, **Tennessee**, **North Carolina**, **South Carolina**, and the Atlantic Ocean.

Georgia was once inhabited by several Native American tribes, the most notable among them being the Creek and the Cherokee. The Creek were expelled in 1826 by the English, who ascended to power and wanted the state to "belong" to Europeans. The Cherokee wanted to avoid expulsion, so they learned the ways of the Europeans. When gold was found on their land in the early 1830s, they were forced to move to **Oklahoma**. Thousands died on that journey, which is known today as the **Trail of Tears**.

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Georgia was a prosperous state in the late 1700s, due largely to the **cotton gin**, invented by **Eli Whitney** (1765–1825). As the American **Civil War** (1861–65) loomed near, Georgia followed South Carolina and withdrew from the Union in 1860. (See **Secession**.) Four years later, Atlanta was captured by General **William Sherman** (1820–1891). In November 1864, he presented the key military city of Savannah to President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) as a Christmas present.

Georgia was readmitted to the Union on July 15, 1870. Democrats took control of the state in 1871, and business interests controlled politics. Georgia was a highly segregated (separated according to race) state, and its racism would remain an emotional issue throughout the twentieth century.

Atlanta was the home base for the **civil rights movement** in the 1960s. The following decade was one of great economic development for Georgia, as it focused on building its service industries. By the early 1990s, however, the entire state entered a recession (a time of less consumer spending and higher unemployment rates).

The 1996 Summer Olympics were held in Atlanta. An explosion on July 27 killed one person and cast a pall over the celebration of the one-hundred-year anniversary of the modern Olympics.

Georgia's population in mid-2006 was 62.5 percent white and 29.3 percent African American, with smaller percentages of Asian and Native American. It was one of the poorer states in the nation in 2004, ranking thirty-sixth in terms of personal income. Georgia's economy is based on transportation, chemical, food processing, apparel, and textile industries. Its most famous product appeared in 1886, when Coca-Cola was introduced to the country.

German Immigration

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, 46.5 million Americans claimed German ancestry, making Germans the largest nationality group in the United States.

There was no nation called Germany prior to 1871. The ancestors of today's German Americans who immigrated prior to 1871 came from nation-states in the German-speaking regions of Western Europe, such as Brandenburg (Prussia), Saxony, Hesse, Rhineland, and Bavaria.

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The market square in Germantown, Pennsylvania, which became a booming community for German immigrants. WILLIAM BRITTON/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES

The German states

Like the rest of Europe, the German states were shaken up in 1517, when German priest and scholar Martin Luther (1483–1546) challenged the Roman Catholic Church. Luther believed that people should follow the Bible, not the pope. His call for reform brought about the rise of Protestant churches throughout Europe. Religious conflicts brought war to the German states, but eventually each German state was allowed to choose its own religion.

Religious freedom in the sixteenth century resulted in the rise of new forms of **Protestantism**. Calvinism, the strict "puritanical" form of Protestantism established by Swiss theologian John Calvin (1509–1564) was very popular throughout the German states. Also popular were "plain churches," which included the Anabaptists, Mennonites, Amish, German Brethren or Dunkards (so called for the way they baptized

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members by dunking them), and the Society of Friends, also called **Quakers**. All the plain church groups were nonviolent and believed that knowledge of God must come from within oneself. To them, the rituals of existing churches were a hindrance to true faith.

With more Protestants taking control over their own countries in the late sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic rulers armed for war. The Thirty Years' War began in 1618, and by the time it ended an estimated one-third of the population of the German states had died. When a peace agreement finally ended the fighting, there were three hundred independent German states, many only the size of a small city. The small states were often unable to defend themselves. Fearing the ongoing violence and uncertainty, Germans began to emigrate.

Colonial immigration and the Pennsylvania Dutch

From sixty-five thousand to one hundred thousand German-speaking people made their way to the United States during the colonial era (before 1776). The first immigrants joined the Quakers in the British colony of **Pennsylvania**, which had been founded as a holy commonwealth characterized by peace, brotherly love, and religious toleration. In 1638, thirteen families, mostly Mennonites from the Rhineland, sailed for Philadelphia. There they established Germantown, where they built stone houses and a church and created a successful linen-weaving business. Other German families joined them, and soon Germantown was a community of three thousand people.

Germantown was just the beginning of the settlement of large portions of Pennsylvania by German-speaking people. The first settlers in Pennsylvania sent home glowing reports of the new colony, leading more people to make the journey. Pennsylvania's population was one-third German by the time of the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

The Germans in Pennsylvania have come to be known as the Pennsylvania Dutch. Despite the name, they are not from the Netherlands. In the German language, the word for "German" is *Deutsch* (pronounced "doytch"), and other settlers probably mistook the German word for the English "Dutch." Although many people associate the Pennsylvania Dutch with the Amish population, the term actually includes all German-speaking immigrants who settled in Pennsylvania.

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Mass immigration begins

As industrialization began to change the economy in the German states in the early nineteenth century, many Germans were squeezed out of their traditional jobs as artisans and family farmers. A large-scale migration began in the 1830s, with Germans traveling to the United States in search of opportunities to farm or to ply their trades. The two peak decades for mass migration were the 1850s, when more than 950,000 German immigrants entered the United States, and the 1880s, when nearly 1.5 million Germans arrived. About three-fifths of the immigrants settled in rural areas to set up their own farms. The other two-fifths settled in the cities. Wherever they settled, they often established German-speaking communities, setting up their own churches, schools, newspapers, and other institutions, and keeping their culture alive in the New World.

One large group of German immigrants was known as the forty-eighters. These were rebels who had fought against tyrannical princes in various German states, hoping that the states could unite under one democratic, constitutional government. They set off a series of uprisings in 1848 but were defeated. Facing arrest, between four thousand and ten thousand disappointed forty-eighters immigrated to the United States. The forty-eighters were an elite group; many had been educated at the finest European universities and came from wealthy and powerful families.

The world wars

The German states, with the exception of Austria, were unified in 1871. Germany quickly became the strongest military, industrial, and economic power in Europe. In 1914, Germany and its allies went to war against the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and eventually the United States in what would come to be known as **World War I** (1914–18). When Germany was defeated in 1918, the reparations (payments for damages and war expenses) it was required to make financially devastated the nation. An economic crisis followed, and thousands of Germans left. Between 1919 and 1933, some 430,000 Germans immigrated to the United States.

By the time of World War I, German Americans had settled quietly into American life, often creating large German American communities or neighborhoods. With the start of the war, however, German Americans suddenly became the face of the enemy in the United States,

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and they suffered violent harassment. Many felt the need to change their names or otherwise hide their German background to avoid persecution.

When Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) came to power in Germany during the 1930s, another surge of intellectuals, many of them Jewish, fled to the United States. A total of 130,000 Germans immigrated between 1933 and 1945. During **World War II** (1939–45), the freedom and rights of thousands of German American citizens were restricted because of their ancestry. Still, German Americans made up one-third of the U.S. armed forces during the war.

Wartime hostilities toward German Americans passed quickly after the world wars. In any case, by that time most German Americans had taken steps to assimilate, or blend into the mainstream. German festivities and other elements of German culture remain popular, but the daily lives of most German Americans show few signs of distinct German heritage.



President Abraham Lincoln delivering the Gettysburg Address at a dedication at the Gettysburg battlefield in Pennsylvania. Lincoln urged the nation to rededicate itself to the Union cause and confirmed his own commitment to a government of, by, and for the people. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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Gettysburg Address

Gettysburg, **Pennsylvania**, was the site of intense fighting between Union and Confederate soldiers during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Over the course of three days in July 1863, forty-three thousand soldiers lost their lives during the **Battle of Gettysburg**. On November 19, 1863, a national cemetery was dedicated at the Gettysburg battlefield. U.S. president **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) was in attendance and gave a short but eloquent speech remembered as the Gettysburg Address.

President Lincoln was not the main speaker at the dedication. His speech followed that of former secretary of state Edward Everett (1794–1865), who spoke for two hours. Lincoln's address had just three hundred words and took only a few minutes to deliver. In it, he revisited themes from past speeches. He emphasized the historical union of the nation and the words of the nation's founders that all men were created equal. He urged the nation to rededicate itself to the Union cause and confirmed his own commitment to a government of, by, and for the people.

Lincoln's words were received by a tired crowd without much enthusiasm. Some people criticized the speech, but others immediately recognized its exceptional literary merit. The eloquent and precise poetic expressions in the Gettysburg Address make it one of Lincoln's most famous speeches.

Text of the Gettysburg Address

President Abraham Lincoln spoke these words during his Gettysburg Address in November 1863:

> Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and the government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

Gettysburg, Battle of

See **Battle of Gettysburg**

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G.I. Bill of Rights

The G.I. Bill of Rights was the common name for a bill passed by Congress called the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. The bill provided government aid to service personnel after **World War II** (1939–45). It was both a bonus for their services and sacrifices and support for reintegrating them into the civilian economy.

Benefits under the bill were available to any veteran who had served at least ninety days since September 16, 1940, and had received anything other than a dishonorable discharge. The benefits included aid for veterans' hospitals and vocational rehabilitation. A stipend (a fixed payment like an allowance) was available for up to one year to unemployed veterans looking for work. Loans with no down payment and low interest rate could be had for purchasing houses or setting up businesses. Assistance for tuition, fees, and books were provided to veterans who pursued education. A monthly allowance was also provided to veterans during their education.

Millions of veterans, slightly more than half of those eligible, collected benefits under the G.I. Bill of Rights. As a result, the G.I. Bill did much to avoid a post-war economic depression in the United States. Many veterans started their own businesses, bought homes, and acquired education that they otherwise could never have afforded. The success of the program encouraged Congress to extend the same provisions to the veterans of the **Korean War** (1950–53). In 1966, similar rights were extended to all veterans of service in times of both war and peace.

Gilded Age

The Gilded Age was an era in history following the American **Civil War** (1861–65) and **Reconstruction** (1866–77, the period after the American Civil War during which the Southern states were reorganized and brought back into the Union). Spanning approximately 1877 to 1900, it was a time of economic expansion and development, due primarily to the **Industrial Revolution**. The United States transformed itself from an agrarian (agricultural)-based economy to one rooted in industry and business.

With the advent of technology came the need for laborers, workers who could run the machines, man the factories, and work demanding

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schedules. These workers would be known as the working-class poor. In order to keep the various industries and factories operating smoothly, managers and office staff were required. Thus was born the middle class. Someone had to own the businesses, and that privilege belonged to a handful of men who were, for the most part, relentless in their pursuit of wealth. They grew rich at the expense of the working class and believed that was exactly as it should be. For this attitude, they were given the nickname **robber barons**. These select elite made up the upper class.

A characteristic of the Gilded Age was the tendency of the upper classes to go to great lengths to demonstrate and prove their wealth and position in society. Grandiose mansions and estates were built using ornate and detailed architecture. If big would suffice, gigantic was even better, and soon New York became home to most of the millionaires in the United States.

Yet while most of the nation's wealth was held by a small percentage of the population, the majority of Americans lived in poverty. Never before in the history of the United States had there existed so great a gap between those who had enough and those who had next to nothing. The working class began to fight back, and the Gilded Age was rife with labor strikes in which workers refused to do their jobs until industries met certain conditions. Unfortunately, decades would pass before the working class achieved the justice they were seeking.

Whenever power and wealth lie in the hands of a select few, corruption at any given level will often manifest. The Gilded Age was a time of intense political corruption. Favors were given and payment was expected, either in the form of jobs, money, or the passing of particular laws. Big business relied on political corruption to keep the wealth and power in the control of owners. In return, politicians got the support of

Mark Twain and the Gilded Age

The term "Gilded Age" was coined by **Samuel Clemens** (1835–1910), better known to his readers as Mark Twain. Twain and his novelist neighbor Charles Dudley Warner (1829–1900) were attending a dinner party one evening. After hearing the two men complain about the low quality of the novels their wives were reading, someone challenged the duo to write something better. The men accepted the challenge and in 1873 published a novel titled *The Gilded Age.* The book was about a time when the United States was run by powerful but corrupt politicians and big businesses. The rich increased their wealth through corruption while the poor got poorer. The novel turned out to be an eerily accurate foretelling of the future. It proved to be exactly how the late nineteenth century would be remembered.

Aside from *The Gilded Age* as well as hundreds of short stories, essays, and lesser-known novels, Twain penned the popular novels *Tom Sawyer* (1876), *The Prince and the Pauper* (1881), and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). The author earned a place in history as one of the writers whose works reflect the era in which he lived.

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big business by way of votes as well as huge monetary donations. It was a system that worked well for both parties, but which required the exploitation and suffering of the very people who ran the factories and businesses.

Gold Rush

See **California Gold Rush**

Good Neighbor Policy

The Good Neighbor Policy applied to the United States's stance on relations with other nations in the Western Hemisphere from 1933 through 1946. It was an important departure from American foreign policy in the region to that point. Most significantly, relations with the countries of Latin America improved considerably with the changes.

Until the 1930s, the United States freely intervened in the affairs of other countries in Latin America. Economic concerns and political motivations prompted the United States on more than one occasion to send armed forces into a country. By 1930, Latin American countries were deeply resentful and suspicious of the U.S. government. If relations were to improve with these countries, policymakers had to direct significant changes.

President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964, served 1929–33) was the first to initiate changes in government policy. A memo written by his undersecretary of state, J. Reuben Clark (1871–1961), became the first official statement of nonintervention in 1930. It rejected the notion that the United States had the right to police the Western Hemisphere. President Hoover then took action by withdrawing American forces in Nicaragua and prepared to withdraw from Haiti. His administration, however, failed to develop the concept to the extent that merited significant attention.

President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945, served 1933–1945) significantly expanded the policy begun by the Hoover administration. The concept of a good neighbor was introduced in his first inaugural address on March 4, 1933, as one who respects both him or herself and, as a result, the rights of others. By September 1933, President Roosevelt and his secretary of state, Cordell Hull (1871–1955), had further defined the Good Neighbor Policy. Noninterference and nonintervention

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became the keystones of U.S. policy in the region. Latin American countries began to surrender their resentments and engaged in more open dialogues with the U.S. government.

Many Latin American countries joined the Allied efforts in **World War II** (1939–45). Such assistance was viewed as a positive effect of the Good Neighbor Policy. Relations with Latin American countries continued to improve through the war effort. Changing administrations, however, and the new international situation following World War II brought shifts in U.S. policies. Though elements of the Good Neighbor Policy remained in various forms, it became less significant after 1946.

Al Gore

Albert "Al" Gore Jr. has served his country for decades as a U.S. representative, senator, forty-fifth vice president of the United States, and spokesperson for environmental issues.

Gore was born on March 31, 1948. He was the son of U.S. representative and senator Albert Gore Sr. (1907–1998) of **Tennessee**, who served for nearly three decades. Because of his father's occupation, Gore grew up in Washington, D.C. After graduating from high school, where he was an honor student and captain of the football team, he went to Harvard University. In 1969, he received a bachelor's degree, with honors, in government. After graduation, he enlisted in the U.S. **Army**, although he opposed the United States's intervention in the conflict in Southeast Asia that was the **Vietnam War** (1954–75).

Army reporter and more

While stationed in Vietnam, Gore served as an army reporter. He published some of his stories in a Nashville, Tennessee, newspaper. After Gore left the military in 1971, the *Nashville Tennessean* hired him as an investigative reporter and, later, as an editorial writer. Interested in religion and philosophy, Gore also enrolled in the Graduate School of Religion at Vanderbilt University in 1971. In 1974, he entered Vanderbilt's law school but left after two years to enter politics.

Career in Congress

It was in 1976 that Gore decided to run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. His name was well known because of his father's career,

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and he won that year and in the three following elections. In 1980, Gore was assigned to the House Intelligence Committee. He researched nuclear arms and eventually published a comprehensive manifesto (a written declaration of intentions or principles) on arms restructuring for future security. In 1984, Gore campaigned for a seat in the U.S. Senate and won with a large margin of votes.

While in Congress, Gore took an interest in health issues, the environment, and nuclear arms control and disarmament, as well as other defense issues. He stressed the potential of new technologies, such as biotechnology and computer development.

Early presidential aspirations

In 1988, the thirty-nine-year-old Gore attempted to win the **Democratic Party**'s presidential nomination. Criticized for changing positions and issues, and falling behind in the primaries, he eventually withdrew.

Two years later, he won election to a second term in the U.S. Senate. He chose not to seek the presidency in 1992, citing family concerns (his son, Albert III, had been hit by an automobile and was seriously injured). It was during this time that Gore wrote the book *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit,* which expressed his concern, ideas, and recommendations on conservation and the global environment.

Vice presidency

In the summer of 1992, the Democratic nominee for president, **Arkansas** governor **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) selected Gore as his vice presidential running mate. It was considered an unusual choice. Most presidential candidates choose running mates from different backgrounds or parts of the country in order to "balance the ticket." Clinton and Gore, both southern Democrats, projected the youthful vigor of the baby boomer generation (the generation of people born between 1946 and 1964). They considered themselves to be "New Democrats," moderates who hoped to move the party back to the center (away from political extremes). Gore did balance Clinton's strengths by providing experience in foreign and defense policy, expertise in environmental and new technology matters, and an image as an unwavering family man.

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Clinton and Gore won the election in 1992. At the age of forty-four, Gore became one of the youngest vice presidents in U.S. history. Clinton and Gore were reelected in 1996. During his time as vice president, Gore continued to stress environmental concerns.

The 2000 election

Gore announced his candidacy for the 2000 presidential election in June 1999; he was nominated by the Democratic Party in August 2000. Following the **Republican Party**'s convention, Gore's opponent became **Texas** governor **George W. Bush** (1946–). They faced off in one of the closest presidential contests in American history.

On the evening of election day, November 7, 2000, news agencies began projecting that Gore had won the popular vote and appeared to be the victor. Around 10 PM, however, news reporters began referring to Florida's popular vote as too close to call. By morning, there was still no new president-elect.

The problem was in **Florida**. Vote tallies completed there were extremely close, and serious technical voting problems had arisen in four counties. (See **Voting Techniques Controversy**). Recounts began. Republican officials tried to have the recounts stopped, which would have resulted in a narrow victory for Bush. Democrats took the matter before federal judges, and the Florida Supreme Court ruled unanimously that manual recounts could continue. Bush's lawyers appealed the ruling to the U.S. **Supreme Court**. The nation waited to find out who would be the next president.

On December 12, a bitterly divided Supreme Court ruled 5–4 that the recounts were unconstitutional. It ordered a halt to all further recounts. Gore, who had won the popular vote of the nation, conceded the election to Bush.

After the 2000 election

Gore's many followers urged him to run in the 2004 presidential election. A fierce opponent of the Bush administration's policies in the **Iraq Invasion** (2003–), Gore declined, saying he felt the country needed a fresh face for its next candidate. Gore was outspoken in his criticism of Bush and some of his top aides, even calling for their resignation for creating a catastrophe in the Middle East. He continued to strongly support

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the Democratic Party, but the next spotlight he stepped into was not in the political arena.

A different calling

As evidence of global warming—the gradual increase in the world's temperatures caused by the emission of gases that trap the sun's heat within the earth's atmosphere—grew strong, Gore turned most of his focus to his longtime interest in the environment. He put together a slide show to try to educate people about global warming and presented it in cities and towns throughout the country. In January 2006, the environmental documentary *An Inconvenient Truth,* directed by Davis Guggenheim, had its world premiere. The documentary simply films Gore presenting his compelling slide show. The documentary was viewed by millions and won many awards, including an Academy Award for best documentary.

In early 2007, Gore announced that he was collaborating with producers to launch Live Earth, a set of musical concerts featuring the biggest names in contemporary music, to be held in cities on every continent on July 7. The concert reached an estimated audience of nearly two billion people worldwide via television, raising consciousness about the urgency of global warming. For his efforts to educate the public about the environment and global warming, Gore won the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize.

Gore stated his intention not to run for the presidential election in 2008, though his documentary and concert and several years of outspokenness had enhanced his popularity.

Jay Gould

Jason "Jay" Gould was born on May 27, 1836, into a **New York** family of farmers. By the time he was sixteen, Gould's father had entered the hardware business, and Gould quit formal schooling to work for him. At eighteen, he became a land surveyor. Within two years, he had saved $5,000. He used that money to join forces with a New York politician named Zadock Pratt (1790–1871). The partners opened a tannery in **Pennsylvania**.

Without Pratt's knowledge, Gould stole small amounts of his partner's business funds and stashed them in an out-of-town bank account. When Pratt discovered Gould's crime, he sold his share of the business

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to Gould, which made Gould a millionaire. Gould eventually sold the business and entered the leather industry. He married Helen Day Miller in 1863, and the couple had three sons and two daughters.

Enters the railroad industry

Gould's father-in-law appointed him manager of the Rensselaer & Saratoga line, a company that was not doing well. Gould reorganized the line and, encouraged by his success, did the same for the Rutland & Washington Railway. He sold that line and made a major profit. (See **Railroad Industry**.)

In 1867, Gould joined the board of directors of the Erie Railroad, one of the most profitable railways in the East. As a director, Gould was privileged to information that allowed him to control a greater percentage of the railroad. He and fellow Erie directors Daniel Drew (1797–1879) and James Fisk (1834–1872) joined forces against Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794–1877) for complete control of the railway. By means that were not exactly illegal, but which were unethical, the trio managed to dilute Vanderbilt's power in the company. Vanderbilt eventually sold his shares of the Erie line for $9 million. Although this move nearly bankrupted the railway, Gould kept it afloat. But the board of directors had had enough of Gould. They voted him off of the board in 1872.

Black Friday

In 1869, Fisk and Gould once again partnered for financial gain. They set their sights on the U.S. gold market. Through their scheming, they managed to damage the American gold economy so severely that thousands of businesspeople and companies lost their fortunes. September 24, 1869, became known as **Black Friday**.

Gould continued to invest his money in railroads. By 1880, he owned 10,000 miles (16,000 kilometers) of railway in the West. This was equal to roughly one-ninth of the country's entire railway mileage, making Gould the owner of more track than any other man in the country.

Great Southwest Strike

Gould had little if any respect for the men he hired to work his railroads. His attitude was that he hired them and they should be grateful. Not sur-

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prisingly, Gould was not in favor of labor unions because he believed the workers should have no rights beyond what he already afforded them.

In 1885, Gould fired all the shopmen who belonged to the union known as the **Knights of Labor** (KOL). In response, workers on Gould's Wabash Railroad walked off the job and went on strike (refused to work until negotiations between workers and management could be agreed upon).

Without the Wabash, trains could not run throughout the Southwest. Gould realized the financial loss he faced, and agreed to stop discriminating against KOL members. But in 1886, he fired another KOL member, this one an employee of his Texas & Pacific Railway company. This time, workers across the region went on strike. Gould hired strikebreakers and security services to dismantle the strike, and he refused to negotiate. In retaliation, workers vandalized railyards and destroyed property. This violence turned the public against them, and collectively, the public decided the strikers were wrong. The Great Southwest Strike was a dismal failure.

Legacy

By the end of his life, Gould had been a director of seventeen major railroad lines and president of five of them. He died of tuberculosis (lung disease) at the age of fifty-seven and left a fortune estimated to be between $72 million and $77 million to his family.

Billy Graham

Billy Graham is one of the most prominent evangelists of twentieth-century America. In the course of his life, he has preached to more than 200 million people across the globe. He was included for five decades in the Gallup Poll's list of the "Ten Most Admired Men in the World."

Graham was born on November 17, 1918, to a religious couple who ran a dairy farm in **North Carolina**. He was interested in baseball and hoped to join the professional ranks. At the age of sixteen, Graham experienced a religious conversion, and by 1938 he believed God had called him to preach. His commitment to his faith was unswerving, and throughout his years at the Florida Bible Institute, he preached on street corners, in small churches, and at mission services.

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Graham earned a degree in anthropology from Wheaton College in **Illinois**. The Wheaton years marked two important events in the preacher's life: he decided at that point to take the Bible as the infallible word of God, and he met classmate Ruth Bell. The two married soon after graduation, and she remained his dedicated partner until her death in 2007. They had five children, nineteen grandchildren, and twenty-eight great-grandchildren.

Graham became a full-time evangelist for Youth for Christ International, a job that required him to tour the country conducting meetings. Because America had just celebrated a victorious conclusion to **World War II** (1939–45), church membership and interest in religion was on the rise. So, too, were the number of evangelists, many of whom were not truly dedicated to serve in a religious sense. As one religious scandal after another occurred, Graham and his team managed to avoid the pitfalls that often led to the toppling of a ministry.

In 1949, Graham scheduled a series of revival meetings in Los Angeles, **California**. These missions, which took place in circus tents set up in parking lots, lasted eight weeks, though they had been scheduled for just three. The popularity of the missions was largely a result of massive media coverage by newspapers owned by media mogul **William Randolph Hearst** (1863–1951). It was during this period that Graham became a national religious figure.

From 1948 to 1952, Graham was president of **Minnesota**'s Northwestern College. He established the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association in 1950, and his ministries included a radio program that lasted for more than fifty years, a newspaper column, a magazine, and even a movie production studio, World Wide Pictures.

Graham's ministries kept him in the spotlight. He took the missions overseas to London for twelve weeks, and continued touring Europe, where he preached to massive crowds. He then spent another sixteen weeks in New York City, where he preached to more than two million people. Graham spoke of the evils of **segregation**, and his friend, civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968), joined him at the pulpit during the mission. This 1957 New York City Crusade became the first ever to be broadcast on network television. By the late 1990s, his televised crusades reached sixty million viewers each year.

Graham served as spiritual advisor to an array of U.S. presidents, including **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) and **Gerald**

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Ford (1913–2006; served 1974–77). President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) called him "America's Pastor." Graham gave sermons after some of the most devastating tragedies on American soil, including the **Oklahoma City federal building bombing** in 1995 and the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**. The preacher attended his last crusade in 2006, along with son Franklin. This mission, called the "Festival of Hope," was held in New Orleans, **Louisiana**, which was recovering from the destruction wrought by Hurricane Katrina. In all, Graham had conducted more than forty-one evangelistic missions since 1948.

In his later years, Graham has suffered from Parkinson's disease and other ailments. He has spent his retirement years in Montreat, North Carolina.

Ulysses S. Grant

Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) rose from unremarkable beginnings to become a well-known figure in history. His bravery and leadership as a Union general were essential elements to the **Union** victory during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). As a national hero, Grant easily won election to the presidency in 1868 and again in 1872. Though his terms were marked by corruption and scandal around him, President Grant worked hard to establish national stability during a very difficult time.

Early years

Hiram Ulysses Grant was the name given to Ulysses Simpson Grant at his birth on April 27, 1822, in Point Pleasant, Ohio. His parents, Jesse and Hannah Simpson Grant, owned a successful tanning business. When Grant was only a year old, the family moved to Georgetown, Ohio, to be closer to the raw materials needed for the business.

His father's success allowed Grant to have a better than average education, and he attended good schools throughout his youth. Having no interest in his father's business, Grant worked on the family's farm and pursued his passion for working with horses. Toward the end of his schooling, Grant was still uncertain about what career to follow. Though he was not enthusiastic about a military career, his father obtained an appointment for Grant at the U. S. Military Academy. In 1839, Grant left for West Point.

It was during enrollment at West Point that Grant's name was changed. Noticing that his initials spelled HUG, he intended simply to

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switch his first and second name to prevent certain teasing from other cadets. The congressman who filled out the appointment papers on Grant's behalf, however, mistakenly incorporated his mother's maiden name, writing his name as Ulysses Simpson Grant. Grant kept the name and abandoned Hiram altogether.

Grant's years at West Point were generally unremarkable. Though his horsemanship skills stood out, academically he finished twenty-first in his class of thirty-nine cadets in 1843. He hoped his skill with horses would earn a position among the ranks of the calvary, but he was disappointed. He was assigned to the Fourth Infantry in St. Louis, **Missouri**.

Grant's friend and former roommate from West Point, Frederick Dent (1786–1873), was also assigned to St. Louis. Since it was near Dent's family home, Grant often visited the family and fell in love with Dent's sister, Julia Boggs Dent (1826–1902). They were engaged in 1844. Grant's military activity delayed a wedding until August 28, 1848. Together they had four children.



Union general Ulysses S. Grant was one of the most important figures in the American Civil War and later became the eighteenth president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Though Grant served with distinction during the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) and was promoted to first lieutenant, he was not enthusiastic about his military career. Eventually he was promoted to captain while serving in **California**, but he hated being apart from his family. Inclined to drink too much due to his depression, Grant decided to resign in 1854.

By late August, Grant was home with his family again, but now in need of money and an occupation. He pursued a series of different positions upon his return, but was unsuccessful with each. Eventually he settled into a post as a clerk in his father's store in **Illinois**. The outbreak of the Civil War would lead him back to the military and personal success.

Civil War

In April 1861, Confederate forces fired upon the federally controlled Fort Sumter in **South Carolina**. As President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865, served 1861–65) called for troops, volunteers began to

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gather. While Grant took the lead in gathering volunteers from his hometown of Galena, he pursued a higher position in the forming Union army.

In June 1861, the Illinois governor appointed Grant to colonel in the Twenty-first Volunteer Infantry Regiment. In August, as the Army expanded to meet the crisis of war, Grant was promoted to brigadier general. He was the commander of the southeast Missouri district and assigned to Cairo, Illinois. From there, he began his noted military campaigns.

Grant quickly proved to be an able leader, winning early victories as other Union generals struggled. Grant's armies eventually achieved Union control of the entire Mississippi River by 1863, providing a key turning point in the war. President Lincoln promoted Grant to major general with this development and in 1864 appointed him as the overall commander of Union forces. Grant's efforts to confront the troops of the **Confederate States of America** (Confederacy) on several fronts at once brought about success. On April 9, 1865, Grant's coordination and persistence paid off as Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) surrendered unconditionally at **Appomattox Courthouse**. The Civil War was effectively ended, and General Ulysses S. Grant was a hero.

Presidency

General Grant easily earned the Republican nomination for president in 1868. His wartime efforts made him extremely popular with the public, and his support of the Republican Congress's **Reconstruction** efforts to rebuild the nation made him an easy choice for the party. Following his victory in November, he took office on March 4, 1869. He was elected again for a second term in 1872.

President Grant took office during a difficult time in the nation's history. The previous president, **Andrew Johnson** (1808–1875; served 1865–69), had taken office following the assassination of President Lincoln in April 1865. He oversaw the initial efforts to reunite the country, but there was still a lot of work to do. Several former Confederate states still had to be readmitted to the Union, and there was violent reaction to the new status of blacks in the South. Conflicts with Native Americans were constant as the nation expanded westward. (See **Westward Expansion**.) Though Grant achieved some success with these

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issues, the focus on both Reconstruction and Native American policy faded as the nation's economy fell into a decline.

Unfortunately for Grant, his choice of trusted advisors was not always good. Numerous scandals hurt the Grant administration, including several that involved close aides. Though Grant himself was not involved in any unethical activity, the corruption that plagued his two terms would affect the evaluation of his presidency by many historians.

The overall success of Grant's presidency can be evaluated by the state of the nation that the next president, **Rutherford B. Hayes** (1822–1893, served 1877–81), inherited. Reconstruction was effectively over, and limited progress had been made in protecting the rights of southern blacks. New directions in Native American policy began to bring peace in the west. Grant's economic policies prevented the collapse of the U.S. **currency** and economy. He maintained peaceful international relations throughout his terms. Perhaps the greatest challenge awaiting President Hayes was the need to repair the damaged reputation of the presidency and the government in light of the Grant administration scandals.

Later years

Many Republicans were interested in having Grant run for president again in 1876, but Grant was ready to leave office. He was encouraged again by the party in 1880 and very nearly won another nomination, but he eventually lost the nomination to U.S. representative **James A. Garfield** (1831–1881) of Ohio. This marked the end of politics for Grant.

Money problems challenged Grant the rest of his life, and often friends and family had to come to his aid. Through the help of his son, he became president of the Mexican Southern Railroad and settled into a house in New York City. Investments in his son's firm proved to be unwise, and Grant went deeply into debt when scandals drove the firm out of business.

In need of money, Grant consented to write some articles on the Civil War. In late 1884, Grant suspected that he was developing throat cancer as a result of his lifetime habit of smoking cigars. Urged to write his memoirs, he set about the task in order to secure an income for his wife for after he was gone. From late-1884 to 1885, Grant wrote *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant.* It was a financial success, but Grant did not live to see it. On July 23, 1885, only a few days after finishing his

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writing, Grant died from cancer. He was buried in a magnificent Victorian tomb on the upper west side of New York City.

The Grapes of Wrath

America in the 1930s was in the midst of the **Great Depression** (1929–41), a period of severe economic downturn and high unemployment. The southern Great Plains region, particularly western **Oklahoma** and the **Texas** panhandle, was hit at the same time by a devastating drought. Most of the region's residents were farmers who depended on the land for their livelihood. Without rain, crops failed; without crops, there were no roots in the ground to anchor the topsoil. Huge dust storms formed on the prairies, at times so violent that the sun was blocked and daytime turned to night. Dust covered everything inside and out; it filled the noses, eyes, and mouths of people as well as animals, many of whom died. Because of the dust storms, the region became known as the **Dust Bowl**.

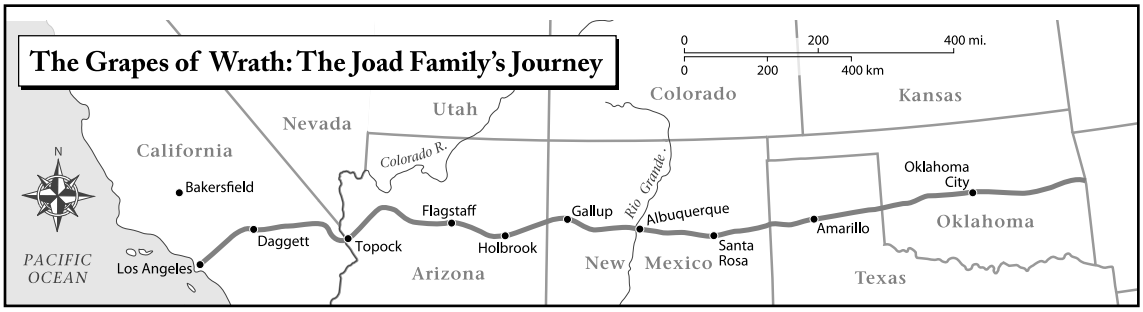
John Steinbeck (1902–1968) wrote several novels in the late 1930s that focused on the lives of migrant workers, those who traveled from place to place in search of work. The life of a migrant worker was hard under the best of circumstances, but during the 1930s, it was simply a matter of survival. Jobs were scarce, and those who left the Dust Bowl for better prospects in California were treated with prejudice. Many starved to death. *The Grapes of Wrath*, published in 1939, is the most famous of Steinbeck's migrant worker novels.

Plot

The plot revolves around an ex-convict named Tom Joad, who returns to his family's Oklahoma farm in the late 1930s. He meets former preacher Jim Casy along the way, and Casy accompanies Tom to his home. The men find all the farms in the area, including Tom's, deserted. An old neighbor happens by and explains that most families have taken off for California. Tom and Jim catch up with the Joad family, and together they begin the journey west.

The travelers encounter hostility in California. The migrant worker camps are overflowing with starving people. Tempers flare, and soon landowners begin to worry that the workers will rise up against them. When the workers get into an argument with a deputy sheriff over

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This map traces the journey of the fictional Joad family from John Steinbeck's **The Grapes of Wrath.** THE GALE GROUP

whether or not workers should organize into a union, Jim accidentally knocks the sheriff unconscious and is arrested. The Joads move to a government-controlled work camp.

Although conditions are better at that camp, the family still cannot find steady work. The Joads move on and find work picking fruit. They learn that the reason they are making good money is because they were hired as strikebreakers, workers who take over the jobs of those who refuse to work until conditions and wages are improved. Tom runs into Jim, who has been released from jail. Jim is now a labor organizer with many enemies among the wealthy and powerful landowners. When Jim is killed in front of Tom, Tom seeks revenge and kills a police officer. He goes into hiding, but then takes over where Jim left off.

As the picking season ends, the rest of the Joad family suffers. There is no work to be found for three months. A flood forces the family to seek shelter in a barn, where they find a young boy kneeling over his father, who is dying of starvation. The cycle of death and suffering continues.

Themes

Steinbeck's woeful story depicts human suffering at the hands of fellow humans. The powerful rely on violence and tyranny to keep the powerless lower classes down. Society is divided into those who have and those who have not.

The theme of dignity also runs through the novel. Although the Joads are treated like animals and experience terrible injustice, they refuse to be broken. They have suffered numerous losses, yet they do not let hate make them hate. Jim Casy is Steinbeck's most moral character;

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when he dies, Tom evolves into a man who, despite the wrongs that have been done to him, will choose to fight for justice. He declares, "Wherever there's a fight so hungry people can eat, I'll be there. Wherever there's a cop beatin' up a guy, I'll be there." Tom will use his rage to help the downtrodden retain their dignity.

Another dominant theme of *The Grapes of Wrath* is the power of family—both the Joads themselves and the larger collective family of migrant workers. As they left their homes for life on the road, "twenty families became one family, the children were the children of all. The loss of home became one loss, and the golden time in the West was one dream." Every worker faced adversity to one degree or another, and to survive each individual had to learn to embrace the other as family.

Steinbeck received the Nobel Prize in Literature as well as a Pulitzer Prize for *The Grapes of Wrath*, which remains on the reading lists of American high school and college English classes.

Great Awakening

The settlement of the original **thirteen colonies** was greatly influenced by religious groups seeking refuge from politics and persecutions that were happening in Europe. Colonies were set up to support the religious lives of specific groups of people. The colonists' own openness and tolerance of other belief systems, however, was often slight. Yet the religious experience within their communities was a focus of many colonists lives.

In 1743, an itinerant, or roving, preacher named George Whitefield (1714–1770) returned to America from England. He was on a preaching tour to raise funds for his orphanage in **Georgia**. His energetic style and simple messages attracted large, emotional crowds everywhere he went. The resulting revival of religious fervor, or interest, throughout many Christian denominations in the colonies is called the Great Awakening. Though it lasted longer in some places than others, the impact of the Great Awakening helped to define a uniquely American culture that ultimately led to the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

Religious quickening

Settlement of the American colonies was marked by periods of intense religious feeling from nearly the beginning. Prior to Whitefield's first

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tour of the colonies in 1739, there were individual incidents of religious quickening, or sudden renewed interest, among several Christian denominations beginning as early as 1720. Movements among the Dutch Reformed Church in **New Jersey** and among the Presbyterians of New Jersey and **Pennsylvania** are examples of efforts to revive piety, or devotion to God, in colonial **Protestantism**.

Whitefield's style, however, was the catalyst that allowed the movement to break through barriers separating different denominations and to spread as quickly as itinerant preachers could travel.

Whitefield's influence

Whitefield was a leading preacher in England before he came to America in 1739. His sermons, delivered in a deep, musical voice with great dramatic flair, attracted large crowds wherever he went. As his popularity spread throughout England, however, opposition from various religious leaders grew. Resenting Whitefield's appeal to the masses, his ability to raise money, and his belief that he was united with God, Whitefield's detractors managed to close most of the churches in England to him. Undaunted, Whitefield began delivering his sermons outdoors, and large crowds continued to follow.

In 1739, Whitefield came to America on a preaching tour through many cities along the East Coast. As in England, his style and message appealed to the people, and large crowds gathered and converted to a serious religious life wherever he went. His message was simple: repent, seek Jesus Christ, and be saved by the Holy Spirit, thereby becoming assured of salvation, or life with God in heaven after death. Whitefield's message dismissed intellectual theology, the differences between Christian denominations, and the authority of the clergy.

As Whitefield's popularity grew, so did the presence of other itinerant preachers. Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), William Tennent (1673–1746), and George Tennent are some of the leaders who embraced and carried the message of the Great Awakening through their own revivals. Criticism of the simplicity of their message, however, especially concerning an individual's role in salvation, caused opposition to the movement and rifts within denominations that permanently changed the religious landscape in America.

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Tensions build

As the Great Awakening gained momentum and the presence of revivals increased, tensions between the revivalists and established congregations began to appear. Revivalists focused on bringing to listeners an awareness of the spirit and presence of God in their lives. Revivalists preached about sin and tried to awaken a person's need to repent for his or her transgressions. According to the revivalists, only by accepting the gift of God's grace and rejecting sin at every opportunity could an individual be saved and have hope of reaching heaven. This "rebirth" of an individual was often an emotional and dramatic conversion in the middle of a revival meeting.

The revivalists' message about salvation conflicted with traditional Protestant doctrine known as predestination. According to predestination, an individual's salvation is not earned but is completely predetermined by God before birth. The revivalists' message about salvation created rifts within congregations and whole denominations. In some cases, new denominations that embraced the revivalists' message were created. Itinerancy and clerical responsibility for multiple, smaller congregations across communities thus became more common.

The individual experience of dramatic conversion caused tensions between clergy as well. The revivalists' claim that an individual's repentance and conversion led to salvation allowed laymen (those not in the clergy) to become respectable preachers. Revivalists such as George Tennent even conducted sermons on the "Danger of an Unconverted Ministry." Ministers were selected more for charisma and preaching style than for theology and counseling. During a time when traditional congregations valued an intellectual approach to religion and the education of their ministers, this caused a great stir.

Critics of the revivalists denounced their teachings and behavior as un-Christian. The critics argued that the gracious states of individuals are known only to God, and that God's will is revealed only through the Holy Scriptures, not through the emotional ranting of humans. For them, individuals can never have absolute knowledge of anything. They believed that to glorify God means developing virtuous Christian habits. Finally, the critics attacked the revivalists' lack of education, calling them ignorant.

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Legacy

Though the Great Awakening was mostly over by 1750, its presence never faded completely. The movement reached beyond individual religious experiences, impacting American political and social culture as well.

The movement's message of unity broke some denominational boundaries and encouraged religious tolerance among congregations. This helped to create networks of people connecting previously isolated communities and denominations throughout the colonies. Breaking social barriers between colonies laid some of the groundwork for their later split from England.

The Great Awakening helped individual experience became important in American religions, as the concept of free will in salvation was established and embraced. By questioning authority, the revivalists' message not only changed religion but also contributed to ideals that would fuel the approaching American Revolution.

The Great Awakening left different footprints on all of the colonial denominations and sects of Christianity. Though revival meetings would resurge again in the 1800s, the movement's greater impact was to create a new religious culture and open the doors for greater religious toleration and individual freedom that would become defining characteristics of the American experience.

Great Depression

When **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33) was inaugurated as the thirty-first president of the United States in March 1929, it seemed to most Americans that the economy was thriving. U.S. business was growing, manufactured goods and raw materials flowed from the United States to the rest of the world, and technology was developing at an impressive rate. In reality, there were weaknesses in the system, and the nation soon collapsed into the Great Depression.

Flaws in prosperity

After **World War I** (1914–18) ended in 1918, many European countries had debts to pay to the United States. At the same time, European economies were faltering, so debts to the United States were going unpaid. Tariffs, or taxes, imposed by the United States on imports from European companies made it more difficult for European nations to recover.

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Fair, slightly cooler tonight. Friday fair. Fresh southwest to west winds.

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89th YEAR—No. 295. ★ NEW YORK CITY, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1929. ★ 32 PAGES THREE CENTS

WALL ST. IN PANIC AS STOCKS CRASH

Attempt Made to Kill Italy's Crown Prince

ASSASSIN CAUGHT IN BRUSSELS MOB; PRINCE UNHURT

Royal Suitor Was About to Lay Wreath on Unknown Soldiers' Tomb.

Princess, Deeply Moved, Falls Into Fiance's Arms and Kisses Him

Hollywood Fire Destroys Films Worth Millions

ATTEMPT MADE ON LIFE

Crown Prince Humbert

Consolidated Studios Are Swept by Flames Fatal to One—Master Pictures Burned Include Many New Talkie Productions.

FEAR 52 PERISHED IN LAKE MICHIGAN; FERRY IS MISSING

Wreckage Picked Up Indicates Craft Went Down With All Aboard.

Freighter Donaldson Safe.

PIECE OF PLANE LIKE DITEMAN'S IS FOUND AT SEA

Black and Orange Wreckage Indicates Daring Flier Went to Death.

High Duty Group Gave $700,000 to Coolidge Drive

Grundy Agrees Rates Went Up Due to His Activities as Propagandist, Favors More Lobbying to 'Carry Out Voters' Wish.'

By HENRY SUYDAM.

FOR MORE LOBBYISTS

STOCKS CRASH IN RUSH TO SELL; BILLIONS LOST

Morgan, Mitchell Buying Stocks in Effort to Check Rush to Unload.

CARNEGIE CHARGE OF PAID ATHLETES

HOOVER'S TRAIN HALTED BY AUTO

WARDER SOUGHT TO KEEP SEA TRIP

SOMERS NAMED AS HEAD OF NEW

This newspaper headline announces the panic and fear that spread when the stock market collapsed on October 24 and again on October 29, 1929. FPG/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

American businesses took advantage of the struggling European economies by making massive investments in Europe. The international financial structure came to be almost entirely dependent on U.S. businesses and banks. It was a system that was strong only as long as the flow of U.S. capital, or monetary investment, continued.

Americans were generally prosperous throughout the 1920s, but the distribution of income across the nation was uneven. Portions of the population were struggling. The agricultural sector never recovered from the recession of 1921–22, so crop prices steadily declined. Industries continued to expand despite indications of overproduction. Wages increased only slowly, and therefore the use of credit, or borrowed money, expanded. A substantial 26 percent of the national income went to only 2 percent of wage earners, indicating a vast, unequal distribution of the prosperity that did exist.

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The unstable nature of the U.S. economy was evident in the stock market's behavior during the late 1920s. The stock market is where investors buy and sell shares, called stocks, in large American companies. The market saw rigorous buying and selling from 1927 to 1929. Investors were not necessarily interested in long-term investments. Many pursued a quick profit as stock prices continued to rise. Few investors actually had the full funds to purchase the stocks, so many speculated with



In the wake of the stock market crash, people rushed to withdraw their money from banks, deepening the economic fallout of the Great Depression. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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borrowed money. This behavior drove stock prices up, far beyond any real value in the businesses the stocks represented.

By autumn 1929, the system was out of control. On October 24 and again on October 29, the stock market collapsed as the prices of stocks dropped substantially. It signaled the beginning of a major economic crisis that would last for years and extend throughout the world. During this time, which came to be called the Great Depression, many people lost their savings, their jobs, and their homes.

The Great Depression

In the wake of the stock market crash, the U.S. economy crumbled. American industrial production decreased rapidly, and employment reached a staggering low. Up to 25 percent of the working population was unemployed at one point. For farmers, crop prices dropped drastically. People could not afford the basic needs of food and shelter. Makeshift shantytowns, called **Hoovervilles**, in dishonor of the president, appeared outside cities where the homeless gathered. Breadlines and soup kitchens kept many from starving. Thousands of unemployed people took to the road in search of work where they could find it.

The desperate economic conditions quickly affected the rest of the world. Businesses and investors who lost either their money or their confidence withdrew foreign investments. This led the already rickety European economy to collapse, which placed an even greater strain on U.S. businesses and banks. The entire industrialized world was in a downward economic spiral.

Attempted remedies

For the first two years of the Great Depression, President Hoover relied on the voluntary cooperation of business and labor to maintain payrolls and production. He encouraged them to foster industrial expansion, avoid strikes, share work when possible, stabilize prices, and provide relief where needed. He stressed that there must not be drastic wage cuts. At first, it seemed that this approach would work.

When the crisis deepened, however, Hoover took positive steps to stop the spread of economic collapse. His best effort was the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). The RFC functioned as a loan agency to aid large businesses, such as banks, railroads, and insur-

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ance companies. Hoover supported laws, such as the Home Loan Bank Act (1932), to aid people at risk of losing their homes and farms to the banks from which they borrowed to purchase them. The Emergency Relief and Construction Act (1932) provided money for local relief loans and public works.

Hoover had his limits, however, and refused to support direct federal aid to the unemployed. Believing that it would lower wages to a bare minimum and reward laziness, he insisted that helping the unemployed was the responsibility of local, not federal, agencies. Though Hoover is widely regarded as a do-nothing president, he worked hard to fix the nation's woes. His successor, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), would get the credit for really helping the nation, though he built upon many of Hoover's programs and ideas.

Roosevelt and the New Deal

President Roosevelt took office in 1933. With the economic crisis at its height, Roosevelt immediately dedicated himself to creating a flood of legislation aimed at relief, reform, and recovery. Roosevelt's advisors, known as the "brain trust," worked to establish the overall domestic policy that would become known as the **New Deal**.

The flurry of relief measures would include programs designed to assist farmers and unemployed workers who faced impossible financial challenges. Recovery measures were designed to normalize economic activity and to restore faith in the banking system. Measures aimed at reform would work to protect consumers by regulating businesses and to provide assistance to the elderly and unemployed. Many of these programs were introduced during the first few months of Roosevelt's term, referred to as The Hundred Days. As the government accepted a much greater responsibility for the general welfare of its citizens and the regulation of the economy, Roosevelt restored a measure of confidence to the country. Opponents of Roosevelt's New Deal feared that it amounted to communism.

Many of the programs that were introduced during Roosevelt's presidency still exist today. The **Social Security Act** of 1935 provided retirement payments for workers and benefits for widows, orphans, and the needy. The National Labor Relations Act (1935) established the right to choose and join unions without fear of discrimination. The U.S. Housing Act (1937) provided for federal housing projects, and the Glass-Steagall

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Act (1933) established a federal program of insurance for bank deposits. Though not all of Roosevelt 's New Deal legislation was effective or long-lasting, the progressive ideas served to restore American optimism.

The final recovery

By early 1937, there were definite signs of recovery. It was obvious that Roosevelt's New Deal legislation had eased much of the nation's distress. The economy, however, experienced another sharp decline, almost as bad as in 1929.

Though conditions improved again by mid-1938, it was the onset of **World War II** (1939–45) that brought an end to the Great Depression. The needs of war produced new, heightened demands for production and labor that Americans were eager to fill. With many men drafted to serve the war effort abroad, there were plenty of jobs at home. Hence war allowed the United States to enjoy another period of industrial prosperity.

The Great Gatsby

When it was published in 1925, *The Great Gatsby* was almost immediately hailed as an artistic success for its young author, **F. Scott Fitzgerald** (1896–1940). The novel reflects the outward glitter and the inward corruption of the **Roaring Twenties**, also known as the Jazz Age, a decade of prosperity and excess that began soon after the end of **World War I** (1914–18) in 1918 and ended with the 1929 stock-market crash.

Like almost all of Fitzgerald's work, *The Great Gatsby* is based on the author's own life and presents fictional versions of his thwarted loves, excessive drinking, and search for financial success. His wife, Zelda, was the model for the character Daisy Buchanan, and Fitzgerald drew upon the lavish Long Island parties he had attended to populate his story with a mix of intellectuals, frauds, bootleggers (people who sold alcohol illegally during **Prohibition**), gangsters, flappers (young women whose shorter dresses and bobbed hairstyles symbolized a new, more liberated era), and sad young men such as Nick Carraway, the book's narrator.

The story

Jay Gatsby, born James Gatz, grew up poor in **North Dakota** and had always aspired to become one of America's wealthy elite. During World War I, Gatsby had been an officer in the army when he met and fell in love

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with the beautiful, upper-class Daisy Fay. Gatsby had no money or position, but "he had deliberately given Daisy a sense of security; he let her believe that he was a person from much the same stratum as herself—that he was fully able to take care of her." When he went overseas, Daisy married Tom Buchanan, but Gatsby never got over Daisy; he idealized her and the upper-crust world in which she lived.

The novel tells the story of Gatsby's attempt to win Daisy back some four years later. He has made a great deal of money, partly from bootlegging liquor, and set himself up in an expensive mansion on Long Island. Daisy has given birth to a daughter; and Tom has taken as his mistress Myrtle Wilson, the wife of the owner of a garage in the ash heaps that lie along the road about halfway between West Egg, the fictitious Long Island town where Gatsby lives, and New York City.



Like much of Fitzgerald's work, **The Great Gatsby** *is based on the author's own life and presents fictional versions of his loves, excessive drinking, and search for financial success. His wife, Zelda, shown here with F. Scott and seated right, was the model for the character Daisy Buchanan.* AP IMAGES

The narrator

Nick Carraway, the novel's narrator, has a way of distancing himself from his story without sacrificing intensity. Nick does not particularly like Tom Buchanan, but he knows and understands him. At first, Gatsby is a mystery. He spends and entertains too lavishly; he wears pink suits and drives yellow cars. As the novel progresses, though, Nick comes to see that the Buchanans were "careless people … who smashed up things and creatures and then retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness, or whatever it was that kept them together, and let other people clean up the mess." He realizes that Gatsby, the bootlegger who followed his dream, was "worth the whole damn bunch put together."

The ideal and the real

Gatsby is murdered in the end and the Buchanans retreat back into their world. For all Fitzgerald lets us know, Gatsby dies with his dream of the ideal Daisy intact. Gatsby's greatness lies in his capacity for illusion. Had he seen Daisy for what she was, he could not have loved her with such

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single-minded devotion. Everything he has done, Gatsby has done in order to present himself as worthy of Daisy. Through his crassly materialistic efforts to become wealthy, Gatsby achieved more than his parents had. He felt he was pursuing a perfect dream, Daisy, who for him embodied the elements of success. He mirrors the ambition, despair, and disillusionment of America in the 1920s: its ideals lost behind the trappings of class and material success.

Fitzgerald no doubt identified greatly with Gatsby and his dreams, yet he could stand back with Nick Carraway and see how ridiculous the young man was. Part of Fitzgerald was realistic, aware of the rot festering beneath the glittering surface of his era. The other part was like Gatsby, forever seeking the elusive ideal. At the end of the book, Nick looks at Gatsby's mansion and ponders his life and that of his generation: "He had come a long way to this blue lawn, and his dream must have seemed so close that he could hardly fail to grasp it. He did not know that it was already behind him, somewhere back in that vast obscurity beyond the city, where the dark fields of the republic rolled on under the night…. Gatsby believed in the green light, the orgiastic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that's no matter—tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther.…"

Great Migration

Nine out of ten African Americans lived in the American South in 1900. By 1930, nearly three in ten lived outside the South. By 1970, about five in ten African Americans lived in the South, four in ten in the North, and one in ten in the West. This shift in African American population became known as the Great Migration. When people move from one geographic location to another, it is called migration.

Historians have debated the reasons African Americans failed to leave the South in greater numbers after they earned their freedom through the American **Civil War** (1861–65). It is commonly believed that former slaves remained in the South because that was the only lifestyle they had ever known. The North had become industrialized, with an economy dependent upon factories and business. Slaves had lived an agrarian lifestyle, one dependent on the land and agriculture. Although the prospect of finding work that paid a wage in the North attracted some former slaves, the migration was not as great as it might have been.

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Later in the nineteenth century, millions of European immigrants sailed to America's shores to find work and build a life in the North. Without these immigrants to fill the many factory and industrial positions, African American southerners might have had a greater likelihood of finding work. **World War I** (1914–18) reduced **immigration** to the United States, and immigration laws passed in the 1920s further restricted immigration. As a result, southern African Americans migrated in greater numbers during this period.

The 1930s was a decade known as the **Great Depression**, when unemployment rates across the country were at a record high. Migration decreased during this time because jobs were scarce no matter where in the country one lived.

The decade between 1940 and 1950 saw the greatest migration of southern African Americans in history. **World War II** (1939–45) had a tremendous impact on American business, and as thousands of American men went overseas to fight, there was a major need for workers—both men and women, black and white—to maintain the wartime industries. In contrast to the Great Depression, this decade brought definite employment for anyone willing to trade an agricultural existence for an urban life.

Great Railroad Strike

In 1873, the United States was in the midst of an economic depression, a period of low production and sales and high rates of unemployment and business failures. The root cause of the 1873 depression was the collapse of the mighty railroad, which had overextended itself. With the last spike driven into the transcontinental railroad in 1869, America's obsession with the railroad had begun. In the excitement, railroad tracks were being built in every direction. Two-thirds of the track headed west, an area still largely unsettled. By 1873, there were thousands of miles of railroad tracks going virtually nowhere, at least nowhere that was profitable to shippers or to the railroads themselves. One year earlier, two-thirds of all railroads were unable to pay their stockholders dividends (the amount of money an investor makes off a company).

In 1873, Jay Cooke & Company failed. Jay Cooke (1821–1905) had been the chief financier of the railroads. With branches closing in New York City and Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, railroad construction

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came to an abrupt halt. Railroad workers suddenly found themselves without jobs: By 1874, five hundred thousand railroad employees were out of work. By the end of 1873 alone, more than five thousand businesses—railroad and others— had failed.

By 1877, 20 percent of the entire labor force in the United States was unemployed. Another 20 percent was working regular hours; the remaining 60 percent worked irregular hours, taking work when it was available. Railroad workers were laboring at wages a full 35 percent below what they had made before the depression. The Pennsylvania Railroad announced that it would reduce wages by another 10 percent effective June 1, 1877, and soon, other eastern railroads announced similar cuts. Workers could take no more—they were already making next to nothing and working fifteen to eighteen hours a day to earn it.

On July 16, 1877, forty firemen and brakemen from the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad went on strike in **Maryland**. Police quickly broke up the crowd. A second strike took place the next day in **West Virginia**, and this time, strikers seized control of the train depot. Trains were not coming in or leaving. Police arrested strike leaders, but the crowd managed to release them. President **Rutherford B. Hayes** (1822–1893; served 1877–81) sent in federal troops to take control. It was the first time a U.S. president had taken federal action against strikers.

On July 19, strikers of the Pennsylvania Railroad marched in Pittsburgh. The demonstration ended in rioting. Federal troops were sent in from Philadelphia, and when they fired into the crowd, twenty-five people were killed and more were wounded. This event served only to infuriate the strikers further. They set fire to freight cars and sent them into the roundhouse (garage for trains), where soldiers were gathered. Though the soldiers escaped, they were not able to prevent the destruction of the depot by the angry mob, which had grown to somewhere between four thousand and five thousand people. Five hundred train cars, more than one hundred locomotives, and thirty-nine buildings were destroyed. While all this was happening, similar riots were taking place at depots across Pennsylvania. Freight was going nowhere; trains could not run. Federal troops restored order one city at a time. Strikers returned to work, having caused more than $10 million in property damages.

Although the railroad crisis lasted just one month, the consequences were felt for years. At first, the public had sided with the railroad laborers; they knew these men were working in unsatisfactory conditions and

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with very little pay. But after the Great Strike, middle- and upper-class Americans took a stand against labor. They felt these men, and not just railroad workers, must be controlled by any means available. Miners, sewer workers, and millhands all joined in on the side of the railroad strikers. It was privileged America against labor, and the battle had just taken a drastic turn. For the first time, workers realized they had true power.

Great Society

In his State of the Union message in 1964, President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) announced the Great Society he envisioned for the United States. Johnson's Great Society encompassed civil rights for minorities, an end to poverty, improved educational opportunities for all, improved health care for the poor and the aged, an improved quality of life in the cities, protection for the consumer, conservation, and environmental regulation.

The Great Society had its roots in two prior presidential administrations. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), promising a "**New Deal**" to all Americans when he was elected, passed a long list of employment, income-assistance, and labor legislation to help those in need. The New Deal came at a time of widespread poverty during the **Great Depression** (1929–41; a time of worldwide economic downturn). After **World War II** (1939–45), the United States experienced astounding economic growth. President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) believed this national wealth could be used to help those who had not yet shared in the good economic times. Like Roosevelt, Kennedy proposed employment, education, and health care legislation to help Americans in need.

When Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, Johnson assumed the presidency. He immediately began to push to make many of Kennedy's proposals into law. A masterful politician,



President Lyndon Johnson's idea for a Great Society was popular with citizens and even inspired a type of homage with a 1966 comic book showing the president as a superhero. DAVID J. FRENT COLLECTION

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Johnson relied heavily on his political skills as he faced strong opposition in Congress.

Building a dream

During the summer of 1964, Johnson challenged Congress to pass the Economic Opportunity Act, the foundation for what came to be known as the War on Poverty. The Economic Opportunity Act set up a new agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), to administer programs to help the poor, including Project Head Start for preschool children, a jobs corps for youths, job training for adults, a work-study program for needy college students, grants for farmers and rural businesses, loans to individuals and businesses willing to hire the unemployed, a domestic volunteer service program similar to the Peace Corps called Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and a community-action program dealing with juvenile delinquency. Johnson also proposed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which combated racial discrimination. Johnson told Congress that enacting these bills would be a fitting tribute to Kennedy.

Johnson's initiatives seemed to be popular with voters. He won the 1964 election in a landslide. With widespread support, he quickly proposed a wide range of programs for mass transportation, food stamps, immigration, and legal services for the poor. Bills aiding elementary, secondary, and higher education were also passed. **Medicaid and Medicare** were established to assist the poor and elderly, respectively, with medical treatment. Other initiatives created the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which aimed at improving housing conditions, particularly in crowded cities; the National Endowment for the Humanities; and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Obstacles

These Great Society programs cost billions of dollars but Johnson presented them as a way to expand the U.S. economy using education, job training, and income assistance. Had the prosperous and peaceful times of his early years in office continued, he would have had a chance to prove his point. But a daunting problem lay halfway around the world in Vietnam. By 1965, U.S. intervention in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) claimed an increasing amount of Johnson's attention. The money that was to be used to fund his projects was needed for the war effort as U.S.

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troops and supplies poured into the region. Johnson was pressured to raise taxes to cover the soaring costs of the war and his Great Society measures. Though his heart was in the Great Society, he believed the country was committed to Vietnam, and by 1968 his top economic and political priority was the increasingly unpopular war. Opposed from all sides for the war and the tax hikes, Johnson decided not to seek reelection in 1968.

Dismantling the Great Society

Twelve years after the 1968 election, **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) was elected president. Reagan claimed the burden of Great Society initiatives on taxpayers had become too great while poverty had only grown worse. From the 1980s on, cuts in Great Society programs reduced many of them to the levels they were at before Johnson's presidency. Republicans particularly criticized federal spending on programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, more commonly called welfare, which had been greatly expanded under the Great Society. Critics have charged that these initiatives resulted in high taxes and "big government," and that they actually hurt the very people they were designed to help.

Nonetheless, Great Society programs from Medicare to public television have remained popular into the twenty-first century, playing a crucial part in many Americans' lives. Johnson's dream of ending poverty and racism in the United States brought about some powerful changes, but his Great Society was never completed.

Greek Immigration

See **Italian and Greek Immigration**

Sarah and Angelina Grimké

Sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké grew up in a prominent family in Charleston, **South Carolina**. Sarah was born in 1792, and Angelina, her parents' fourteenth child, was born in 1805. The Grimkés lived alternately between a fashionable townhouse in Charleston and a sprawling plantation in the country. Like other large plantation owners, they kept scores of slaves who did all the labor, from picking cotton to caring for the children.

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Even as children, both Grimké sisters were uncomfortable with the social traditions around them, and particularly about their family owning slaves. Sarah defied her parents' rules—and South Carolina's laws—by teaching a young slave in the household how to read. She also questioned the roles she was expected to fulfill as a young woman. She knew she was good at debating legal and social issues with her well-educated brother and father, but when her brother left for law school, she was told that she could not follow in his footsteps because of her gender. When Angelina was born, the thirteen-year-old Sarah assumed responsibility for her youngest sibling. As Angelina grew older, she too struggled with the issue of **slavery**.

Moving north

In 1818, Sarah accompanied her father to Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**. He died, leaving Sarah temporarily alone in the big city. There she met some members of the city's Society of Friends (**Quakers**). They introduced Sarah to the works of Quaker leader John Woolman (1720–1772). Woolman strongly condemned slavery as evil and encouraged action against it. Sarah identified with his antislavery doctrine. She converted to the Quaker religion, particularly attracted by the fact that Quakers professed to allow women to become leaders within the church.

In 1827, when Sarah returned to Charleston for a visit, Angelina was impressed by the simplicity of her sister's lifestyle and her Quaker philosophy of nonviolence. She soon converted and joined her sister in Philadelphia.

Quakers and abolitionists

In Philadelphia, Sarah and Angelina strove to be active in the Quaker church and the antislavery cause. Sarah studied to become a member of the clergy, but it soon became apparent to her that the Quakers were not truly equality-minded when it came to the sexes. Meanwhile, Angelina attempted to further her education. The Quakers, disapproving of her ambitions, offered her a teaching position in an infant school. Angelina halfheartedly agreed.

At that time, a widespread **abolition movement** was forming. Antislavery speakers were flooding the East Coast with messages that included emancipation, or freedom for the slaves; abolition, or the end of

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slavery altogether; and recolonization, or sending the nation's black population to Africa, where they could live freely. Sarah and Angelina longed to be directly involved in the fight against slavery.

American Anti-Slavery Society

In 1833, Angelina read about the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) in fiery abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison's (1805–1879) abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator.* The Garrison-led AASS was the first interracial (composed of more than one race) society that supported immediate emancipation of slaves. Angelina attended AASS meetings in Philadelphia and became a member of the society's committee for the improvement of people of color.

Angelina wrote to Garrison telling him how important his fight against slavery was to her. Garrison, deeply moved by Angelina's letter, reprinted it in *The Liberator.* Response was overwhelming, and soon the letter was reprinted in all the major reform newspapers of the day. The antislavery community embraced the sisters. The Philadelphia Quakers, though, did not approve, and forced Angelina to renounce her Quaker membership. Angelina stepped up her efforts in the AASS, participating in its antislavery conventions. Meantime, Sarah supported the "Free Produce" movement—a call to boycott, or stop buying, products made by slaves.

Power of the pen

In early 1836, Sarah and Angelina had settled in **Rhode Island**, where they began to write a series of antislavery pamphlets and books. Angelina wrote *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* (1836), a pamphlet arguing that slavery violated the teachings of Jesus, the Bible, and the **Declaration of Independence**. It was the only known antislavery appeal ever written by a Southern woman for Southern women. Favorably reviewed by abolition supporters in the North, the pamphlet was burned in the South. Angelina was threatened with arrest if she returned to Charleston.

Sarah produced *An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States,* followed by *An Address to Free Colored Americans.* These antislavery tracts had a huge impact on public opinion of the era. Because the women had

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grown up in a respectable family in the South, their views carried more weight than any Northerner's views could.

Public speaking

The sisters began speaking before small groups of women about their experiences of slavery in the South. In 1837, the Anti-Slavery Society sponsored a New England speaking tour for Angelina and Sarah. The sisters received training for the tour from well-known abolitionist Theodore Weld (1803–1895). They lectured mainly in churches, giving some eighty speeches in sixty-seven communities, speaking to a combined audience of at least forty thousand men and women over a six-month period.

Up to that time, women did not address audiences with both men and women in attendance. The Grimkés added to the furor by being highly outspoken on the most controversial issues of the day. While some praised their courageous stand against slavery, many others attacked their character.

The Grimkés responded to their attackers. Angelina wrote a series of letters in *The Liberator* about the position of women in American society. (Garrison was one of the few abolitionist males willing to take up the cause of **feminism**, which lost him some advocates.) Meanwhile, Sarah wrote a pamphlet called *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women.*

Angelina addresses the Massachusetts legislature

On February 21, 1838, Angelina presented to the **Massachusetts** legislature a petition to end slavery that had been signed by twenty thousand Massachusetts women. She was the first woman in U.S. history to speak to a legislative body. In front of a packed house, she delivered a fiery speech, confronting curious and jeering faces in the audience. Ten years before the **Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention** in **New York**, the Grimkés faced criticism, threats, and mockery as they combined reform work on slavery with a public struggle for women's rights.

Afterward, Angelina married Weld. He and the sisters moved to a farm in **New Jersey**. There, the sisters wrote articles and speeches for others to recite at antislavery and women's rights conventions. They also took in abolitionists as boarders.

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Fighting for women

After the American **Civil War** (1861–65), Weld and the Grimkés relocated to Hyde Park, a part of Boston, where they opened a coeducational school and continued to fight for minority rights. On March 7, 1870, when Sarah was seventy-nine and Angelina sixty-six, the sisters boldly declared a woman's right to vote (suffrage) by depositing ballots in the local election. Along with forty-two women, the sisters marched in procession in a driving snowstorm to the polling place. Onlookers jeered them but, because of the sisters' ages, they were not arrested. The gesture did not change the law against women voting, but their fight for **women's suffrage** rights did receive a lot of publicity.

Sarah died in 1873. Angelina suffered several strokes after Sarah's death, which left her paralyzed for the last six years of her life. She died in 1879.

Woody Guthrie

Woody Guthrie was a folk singer whose music told the stories of the migrant and agricultural workers during America's **Great Depression** (1929–41), a period of high unemployment that began with the stock market crash in 1929. Of the hundreds of songs he wrote and recorded, he is probably best known for "This Land Is Your Land," which he wrote in 1940 and recorded in 1944.

Born on July 14, 1912, Guthrie's full name was Woodrow Wilson Guthrie, and he spent his childhood in various regions of **Oklahoma** and **Texas**. He married his best friend's sister in 1933 at the age of twenty-one. Always restless, Guthrie took to the road in search of work. He found a job in Los Angeles, **California**, as part of a singing duo, and his popularity grew along with his political awareness.

Americans across the nation could relate to the songs Guthrie wrote and performed. He often sang about the plight of the migrant workers who had left the **Dust Bowl**, a large area covering several Great Plains states that suffered severe drought and relentless dust storms during the 1930s.

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Activist musician

Guthrie released his first record album in 1940. Called *Dust Bowl Ballads,* its songs described the woes of farm labor employees and the exploits of the Oklahoma outlaw.

Guthrie's reputation as a spokesman for the poor rural population was reinforced through his friendship with another politically active folk singer, Pete Seeger (1919–). Together the two men joined a protest group called the Almanac Singers. With folklorist Alan Lomax (1915–2002), who interviewed and recorded numerous musicians, they recorded a collection of folk songs in 1967.

As a solo artist, Guthrie wrote and performed protest songs throughout the 1940s and 1950s. He also began writing songs for children. In all his music, Guthrie expressed his belief in justice, and he was convinced that it would prevail if people would be moved to action. He saw his role in music as that of a crusader for the oppressed and less fortunate.

Guthrie's influence on folk music was evident from the 1950s onward. Folk musician **Bob Dylan** (1941–) was a huge fan of Guthrie's, and he visited him in 1961 as Guthrie was dying from a genetic disorder called Huntington's disease, which he had inherited from his mother and passed along to two of his children. Guthrie's influence on Dylan can be heard particularly on the younger musician's early albums. Other modern musicians who have been influenced by Guthrie include rock singer-songwriter Bruce Springsteen (1949–), country singer Emmylou Harris (1947–), and Irish rock band U2.

Guthrie died in 1967, and his son Arlo (1947–) continued in his footsteps as a folk singer. In 1998, a new collection of the elder Guthrie's songs was released and contained lyrics written by him in the late 1940s and early 1950s. By the time he died, Guthrie had married three times and had recorded more than one thousand songs. He was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988 and honored with the Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award in 2000.

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H

Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton is counted as one of the founding fathers of the United States of America. Extremely vocal and active in politics, his vision of government shaped the American nation as it is today. His legal and political theories guided many of the nation's leading politicians of his time, yet he also attracted a vocal and popular opposition.

Early years

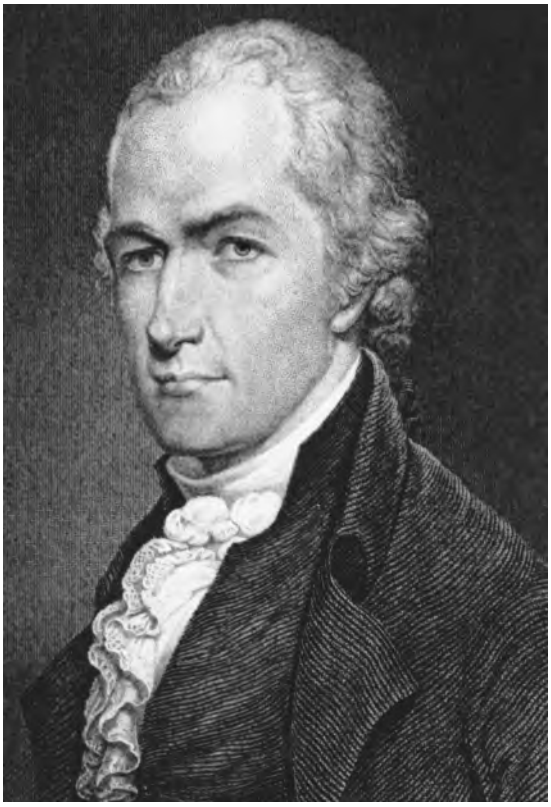
Alexander Hamilton was born on January 11, 1755, on the island of Nevis in the British West Indies. He was the son of James and Rachel Hamilton He had a difficult childhood on the neighboring Danish island of Saint Croix. His father abandoned the family when Alexander was ten, and his mother died three years later in 1768.

Hamilton's natural intelligence, ambition, and remarkable business judgment inspired relatives and prominent citizens to send Hamilton to a private school in **New Jersey**. He later enrolled at King's College (now Columbia University) in 1773. In 1780, Hamilton married Elizabeth Schuyler, the daughter of **American Revolution** general and **New York** politician Philip Schuyler (1733–1804). Hamilton was admitted to the bar to practice law in 1782, but he soon turned to politics.

A politician

Hamilton became interested in politics as a student at King's College, where he wrote his first pamphlets defending the colonists' War of Independence, or the American Revolution (1775–83). These writings

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Alexander Hamilton, one of the founding fathers of the United States, was the first secretary of the treasury.
AP IMAGES

captured the attention of General **George Washington** (1732–1799). At only twenty-two years of age, Hamilton joined the general's military staff as a lieutenant colonel. He became invaluable to Washington during his four years of service. The relationship they established during this time later enabled Hamilton to pursue politics as a career.

Hamilton supported the cause of the revolution, but he eventually criticized the American government set up in 1781 under the **Articles of Confederation** (the forerunner to the U.S. **Constitution**). He felt government under the articles was weak, and so he encouraged a change.

As one of New York's delegates to the **Constitutional Convention** in 1787, Hamilton proposed an extraordinarily powerful national government, one similar to a monarchy (a government ruled by a single person, such as a king or queen, with absolute power). The Constitution created a more democratic government, but Hamilton supported it. A series of essays he wrote with **Virginia** politician and future U.S. president **James Madison** (1751–1836) and Secretary of Foreign Affairs John Jay (1745–1829) proved to be very influential in the state conventions that met to approve the new Constitution. These eighty-five essays, the *Federalist Papers,* were published in a New York newspaper between October 1787 and May 1788. Credited with writing two-thirds of the essays, Hamilton used them to explain the powers of three branches of government under the proposed Constitution.

America's first secretary of the treasury

George Washington became president in 1789 and named Hamilton to be the first secretary of the treasury. It was a position Hamilton took seriously, and he worked swiftly to establish a strong national economy.

Hamilton believed the federal government should promote a strong economy by bolstering commerce. His belief in the connection between national power and commerce meant he did not limit his involvement

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to domestic financial policies. Hamilton injected himself into every major decision on financial, domestic, and foreign policy that could help make the United States a commercial powerhouse. To achieve such results, Hamilton interpreted the Constitution to give Congress almost unlimited legislative power. His aggressive policies and elitist politics created enemies among politicians and people who wanted government to be stronger at the state and local levels rather than at the federal level.

Even after retiring from the treasury position in 1795, Hamilton maintained his influence in national politics. He remained an important leader of the **Federalist Party**, which he had formed, by advising President Washington, President **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801), and various Federalist members of Congress. Hamilton's influence caused problems within President Adams's administration and within the Federalist Party itself. Several important leaders became political opponents of Hamilton, including Adams, President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9), and Vice President **Aaron Burr** (1756–1836).

The duel

Hamilton became an outspoken critic of Burr, a personal and political rival. Burr's politics vacillated, and he held governmental offices as both a Federalist and a Republican (the opposing political party at the time). In 1804, Hamilton criticized a Federalist plan to support Burr for governor of New York. (Burr was not being renominated as vice president.) Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel after Hamilton refused to apologize for scornful remarks he had made. On July 11, 1804, in Weehawken, New Jersey, Burr shot and wounded Hamilton. Hamilton died the next day in New York City.

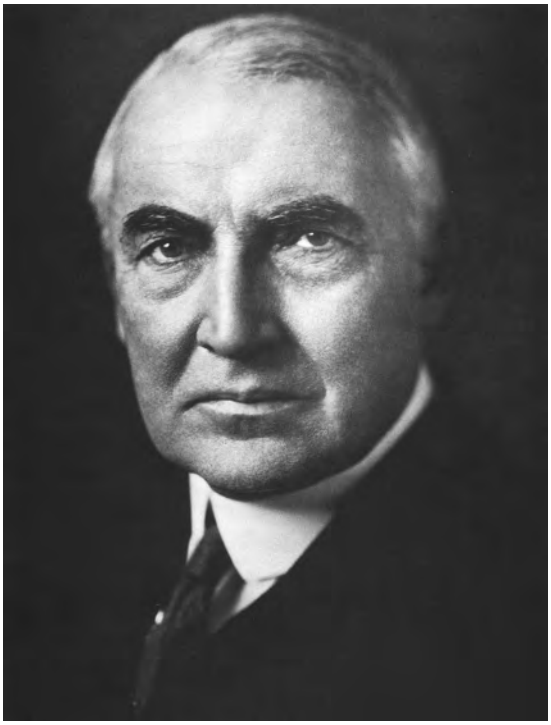
Warren G. Harding

Warren G. Harding served as president just under two and a half years before dying in office. His administration is most remembered for its scandals.

Newspaper man

Harding was born on November 2, 1865, and was one of eight children of an **Ohio** doctor and his wife. At sixteen, Harding attended Ohio

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Warren G. Harding's presidency was filled with scandal and he died after only two and a half years in office.
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Central College. He graduated in 1882 and taught school for one term before recognizing that teaching did not suit him well.

With a loan from his father, Harding purchased the *Marion Daily Star* in Marion, Ohio, in 1884. It was a failing newspaper, but with the help of two friends, Harding entered into the newspaper publishing business. His partners left the venture within a few months, but Harding stayed on to build the newspaper into a success by 1890. He married Florence Kling DeWolfe in 1891 and joined several civic and service organizations. Harding became well known in Marion.

Enters politics

Harding's political influence increased throughout the 1890s. He won a seat in the Ohio senate in 1899 and served two terms. In 1903, he was elected lieutenant governor of Ohio. Harding was popular among Ohio Republicans and his easygoing style appealed to leaders.

Beginning in 1905, Harding left politics for five years to focus on running his newspaper. It had become an important paper throughout the state of Ohio, primarily because of Harding's favorable reputation. In 1912, his name became known throughout the country when he nominated **William Howard Taft** (1857–1930; served 1909–13) for president at the Republican National Convention. Harding was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1914 and moved to **Washington, D.C.**

Senator Harding did not impress anyone with his performance. But when he voted in favor of the United States joining the **League of Nations** (an international organization favored by Democratic president **Woodrow Wilson** [1856–1924; served 1913–21] that promoted international peace and security) in 1916, he was looked upon favorably.

Harding announced his presidential candidacy in 1919 and received the nomination in 1920. He beat his Democratic opponent, Ohio governor James M. Cox (1870–1957), by receiving more popular (individual) votes than any candidate of any preceding presidential election.

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Conservative and scandalous

Harding supported a conservative financial program that included cutbacks in government spending, higher tariff (tax on imported goods) rates, and corporate (business) tax reduction. By signing the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, he created a Bureau of the Budget accountable to the president, which made it easier to keep track of spending. Harding vetoed the 1922 Soldier's Bonus Bill, which would have paid a cash bonus to veterans of **World War I** (1914–18).

By 1923, the United States's economy had turned around from one of hardship to one of prosperity. Newspapers praised Harding for the improvement. Within government, however, the picture was not so rosy. Rumor reached Harding that some of his friends were using their positions of power for their own personal glory and improvement.

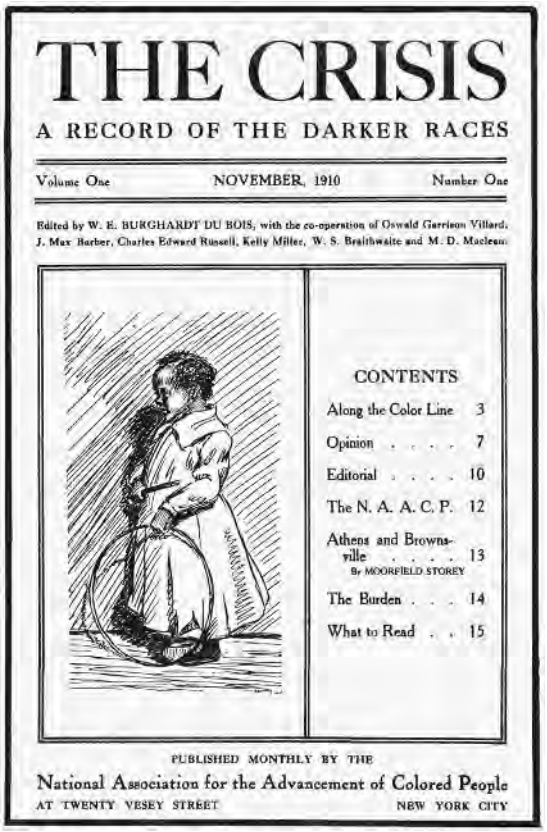
One scandal in particular overshadowed the Harding administration. Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall (1861–1944) improperly released government oil reserves in Teapot Dome, **Wyoming**, and Elk Hills, **California**, to private interests. And although Harding was not directly involved, he shouldered the blame because he knowingly appointed his friends to positions for which they were not skilled.

The Teapot Dome Scandal had not yet broken publicly, but privately Harding was nervous. He and his wife took a long-planned cross-country trip to the **Alaska** territory in June 1923. On the way home, while at a layover in San Francisco, Harding suffered a heart attack. He died on August 2 in his hotel room. Soon thereafter, the scandal broke, and Harding's reputation suffered greatly.

Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance refers to a time period that spanned the 1920s and early 1930s when African American artists and their work flourished. Though largely considered a literary movement, the Harlem Renaissance actually included philosophers, intellectuals, photographers, musicians, and other performance artists as well as those involved in the visual arts. During its heyday, the movement was referred to as the New Negro Movement. The alternate name was eventually given because the African American migration to northern cities in the early 1920s brought many blacks to Harlem, or upper Manhattan, **New York**. As a result, the two square miles between 114th and 156th Streets of Harlem

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
AT TWENTY VESEY STREET NEW YORK CITY

W. E. B. DuBois and his influential work with the NAACP's journal The Crisis *is considered by many as inspiration for the Harlem Renaissance.*

became known throughout the world as a cultural metropolis.

For white America, the Harlem Renaissance provided the gateway into an unfamiliar culture that was a major ingredient of the country's "melting pot" (society of many and various cultures and ethnicities). The movement introduced millions of Americans to literature, music, and art that had never before been seen, much less understood. In limited scope, the era helped erase some of the stereotypes assigned to the African American community. White Americans were able to recognize the talent, ability, and giftedness of the Harlem Renaissance's key figures, who in turn stepped forward to represent an entire race.

The movement was arguably more important to African Americans in that it allowed them to claim their heritage and develop their cultural and ethnic identity without feeling the need to hide who they were. For the first time in American history, African Americans were being celebrated for their contributions to society.

Culture and politics entwine

What sets the Harlem Renaissance apart from other cultural movements throughout American history is the fact that at the same time, major political changes were taking place.

The **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) was established in 1909, and it remained in the forefront of the civil rights struggle. Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) added to the political mix when he began advocating for African colonization and encouraged all African Americans to unite and form their own nation and government. Garvey's politics were controversial, yet the organization he founded in 1914, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, grew to include four million members by 1920. Black nationalism (strong allegiance to and identification with the African American culture, to the exclusion of all other races) was a major influence on the Harlem Renaissance.

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Given the tumultuous state of politics, much of the art—particularly the literature—generated throughout the Harlem Renaissance was political in nature. Other participants used their art in an attempt to correct unflattering or distorted ideas of their race and heritage. Garvey himself publicly criticized those African Americans who he felt exploited (used at their own expense) their intelligence and art by giving in to the demands of white audiences. In his eyes, these people betrayed their roots and identity in exchange for fame.

Key figures in the Renaissance

There are many influential figures from the Harlem Renaissance. Considered by many historians and experts to be the inspiration for the Harlem Renaissance, W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) secured a seat for himself at the forefront of early twentieth-century philosophical thought. The African American community embraced Du Bois as its intellectual leader, and as editor-in-chief for twenty-five years of the NAACPs journal the *Crisis,* he single-handedly was responsible for publishing some of the movement' most gifted and respected writers. Among them were poet Langston Hughes (1902–1967) and writer/philosopher Jean Toomer (1894–1967). Both men wrote of their experiences as African Americans in a white society. Du Bois himself was a talented writer, though his philosophy known as the Talented Tenth made him a somewhat controversial figure. According to his theory, the Negro race would be saved only by its exceptional men, who would pull the entire race into equality with whites. This small, elite group of literary and intellectual geniuses, he believed, had to be groomed and supported by the less-intelligent masses.

Other key authors of the Harlem Renaissance included Countee Cullen (1903–1946), Claude McKay (1890–1948), Alain Locke (1886–1954), Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960), and James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938).

Beyond the writers

Blues and **jazz** were the musical genres of the Harlem Renaissance, and both had their roots in the black South. Although many African American musicians had been performing for years in small venues, they found themselves suddenly famous after the founding of Okeh's Original Race Records label in 1921. Popular performers included Bessie Smith

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Blues and jazz were the musical genres of the Harlem Renaissance. Here, prominent jazz musicians Duke Ellington, seated at the piano, and Louis Armstrong play together in 1946. AP IMAGES

(c. 1894–1937), Ma Rainey (1886–1939), and Mamie Smith (1883–1946). These women used their cultural experiences to infuse meaning into songs. The blues tunes were all about loss of love, personal disaster, and the hardships of life in general.

Jazz followed closely on the heels of the blues, and the first big band (jazz orchestra) was organized in New York City in the early 1920s. The first great jazz soloist was Louis Armstrong (1901–1971), who blew his trumpet first for a smaller band in Chicago, **Illinois**, and then for Fletcher Henderson's (1898–1952) big band in New York in 1924. Other famous jazz musicians included Cab Calloway (1907–1994) and **Duke Ellington** (1899–1974).

There were fewer visual artists in the Harlem Renaissance, and even those who seized the opportunity for growth remain less well known. James Van Der Zee (1886–1983) was a Harlem photographer who had moved from **Massachusetts** in 1905. He was a bold artist and one of the first photographers to consider photography as a form of art. By the 1920s, he had built a successful portrait photography business. It is his

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work that gives the modern American a glimpse into the African American culture of the Harlem Renaissance.

Sculpture and painting were other artistic mediums that African American artists embraced. Meta Warrick Fuller (1877–1968) became famous for her 1914 sculpture *Ethiopia Awakening.* The piece depicts an African American woman wrapped like a mummy from the waist down, but whose upper torso is living and reaching upward. On her head she wears an Egyptian queen's headdress. The sculpture became a nationalist symbol for African Americans. This and other similar artistic works that reflected African heritage and identity played into white America's sudden interest in black folklore.

Archibald Motley (1891–1981) was an artist who favored oil paints as his medium. Unlike most other important figures of the Harlem Renaissance, he never actually lived in Harlem but claimed Chicago for his home. Motley's paintings documented the African American urban experience, particularly the club scene and nightlife as influenced by the **Roaring Twenties**, or Jazz Age (a period in U.S. history between **World War I** and the **Great Depression** when new forms of social, cultural, and artistic expression were emerging).

Other significant contributions were made in the field of visual arts by painter Aaron Douglas (1898–1979), sculptor Sargent Claude Johnson (1887–1967), and painter Palmer Hayden (1890–1973).

In all art forms, the Harlem Renaissance was a period of development for African American artists. They used their art to express who and what they were as well as were not, where they came from, and where they were going.

Harpers Ferry Raid

John Brown (1800–1859) was an American abolitionist and insurrectionist who planned an all-out war on slavery beginning with a violent raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, **Virginia**, in 1859. Brown's unsuccessful raid played a key role in heightening the tensions between the North and South that led to the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Violence in Kansas

Brown was a militant abolitionist (a person with an aggressive, or warlike, mission to end **slavery**) from **Ohio**. By 1855, his antislavery con-

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victions were so strong he believed that God had chosen him to free the slaves from bondage. He therefore traveled to **Kansas** Territory to join the growing struggle between proslavery and Free Soil forces over the legal status of slavery in Kansas. (The **Free Soil Party** was a U.S. political party with a main objective to prevent the extension of slavery to newly acquired U.S. territories.) Angered by the violent action of proslavery forces in the Free Soil town of Lawrence, Kansas, in May 1856, Brown and four of his sons launched a brutal raid in revenge. In a nighttime attack on a proslavery settlement, Brown and his followers killed five settlers. Learning of his attack, hundreds of settlers rushed to arm themselves. By the end of 1856, at least two hundred Kansans had died.

Brown prepares for war

Brown had long since lost faith in combating slavery by peaceful means, and the trouble in Kansas did not change his mind. He vowed to strike a violent blow at the heart of slavery. In 1857, Brown developed a plan in which he would seize a mountain fortress in Virginia with a small combat force and launch a **slave rebellion**. Once the rebellion had begun, Brown intended to establish an African American republic in the woods of Virginia. From this stronghold, he planned to wage war against the South, his forces continuously strengthened by slave rebellions and private northern assistance.

To that end, Brown began to campaign among the abolitionists in the North. Outwardly, he was seeking money to continue the Free State fight in Kansas. In secret, though, Brown won the support of six prominent antislavery figures who agreed to advise him and raise money for his mission to overthrow slavery. The "Secret Six" was a group of dedicated and well-educated abolitionists and reformers.

Throughout the remainder of 1857, Brown collected and trained a small group of abolitionists in preparation for his mission. In May 1858, Brown held a secret "Constitutional Convention" in Canada attended by a small band of thirty-four blacks and eleven whites. There he outlined his plans to invade Virginia, liberate and arm the slaves, defeat any military force brought against them, organize the blacks into a government, and force the southern states to concede emancipation (freeing the slaves). Under Brown's leadership, the convention approved a constitution for the new state and elected Brown commander in chief of the army.

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Brown's proposed invasion was delayed in 1858, when one of his followers partially divulged the plans to several prominent politicians. Brown was forced to go into hiding for a year. It was a disastrous time for postponement. While he waited out the danger, some of the most ardent supporters of his plan lost interest and he lost many of the soldiers he had trained.

The raid

Harpers Ferry, a town in northern Virginia (now located in **West Virginia**), was the site of a federal armory and arsenal (government buildings for storing arms and ammunition). The Harpers Ferry arsenal was the initial target in Brown's plan because he needed weapons to arm the slaves he planned to liberate. On July 3, 1859, Brown set up headquarters at a farm seven miles east of Harpers Ferry. Soon the rest of his twenty-one young recruits (sixteen whites and five blacks) arrived at the headquarters. On the night of October 16, 1859, after several months of refining his plans, Brown led eighteen of his followers on the Harpers Ferry raid. They quickly captured the arsenal, the armory, and a nearby rifle works, and then seized several hostages from the townspeople and surrounding countryside.

Fearing a slave rebellion, the people of Harpers Ferry armed themselves and gathered in the streets. Church bells tolled the alarm over the countryside. Brown stood his ground and anxiously waited for the slaves from the countryside to rally to his cause. Not a single slave arrived. By 11:00 AM the next day, a general battle was in progress between Brown's men, holed up in the small fire engine house of the armory, and the assembled townspeople, farmers, and militia. The raid's fate was sealed when a company of U.S. Marines under the command of army colonel **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) charged the engine house. Ten of his men were killed and Brown was wounded and captured.

Brown and his co-conspirators were tried in Virginia rather than by federal authorities, even though their attack had been against federal property. The jury found them guilty of inciting a slave rebellion, murder, and treason against the state of Virginia. After the trial, in a final attempt to save his life, Brown's lawyers collected statements from his friends and relatives alleging that Brown was suffering from insanity. Brown rejected this defense, claiming that he was as sane as anybody. He knew that he could better serve the abolitionist cause as a martyr (some-

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one who suffers or dies for his or her beliefs). He conducted his defense and went to his death with great dignity and conviction, inspiring sympathy among many Northern abolitionists.

Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry intensified the sectional bitterness that led to the American Civil War. The outraged South suspected all Northerners of participating in Brown's crime. In truth, the vast majority of Northerners condemned the incident as the work of a fanatic. The **Republican Party**, the political party that was calling for a stop to the expansion of slavery, had no links with Brown. On the other hand, some Northern abolitionists, including the Secret Six, gathered by the hundreds throughout the North to honor and acclaim Brown's martyrdom. Two years later, Northerners marched to war to the tune of a popular war song called "John Brown's Body."

Benjamin Harrison

Benjamin Harrison was born in 1833 in North Bend, **Ohio**. The grandson of the ninth U.S. president, **William Henry Harrison** (1773–1841; served 1841), Benjamin Harrison became a lawyer and moved to **Indiana**, where he volunteered in **Republican Party** campaigns. Harrison fought in the American **Civil War** (1861–65) as a colonel. When he returned home, he built a reputation as an excellent lawyer.

Harrison served in the U.S. Senate throughout most of the 1880s, where he supported Native Americans and Civil War veterans. In the 1888 presidential campaign, he defended high tariffs (taxes imposed on goods imported from other countries), conservation of wilderness lands, and limited civil service reform. He broke from the traditional Republican viewpoint in his opposition to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which ended Chinese **immigration** to the United States. (See **Asian Immigration**.)

Harrison was the first candidate to participate in what became known as "front porch speeches." People would visit him at his home in Indiana and listen to him speak from his front porch. This campaign style encouraged citizens to think of Harrison as one of them, a regular man with a regular home and family. These speeches were not as informal as they appeared; Harrison's campaign managers carefully selected which newspaper reporters and community members would attend.

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Harrison beat his opponent, President **Grover Cleveland** (1837–1908; served 1885–89 and 1893–97). A Republican president was back in office, and for the first time in years, the Republican Party dominated both the **executive branch** and **legislative branch** of the federal government.

In the White House

Harrison was not a unique leader, but his administration was efficient and productive. Some of the legislation that passed during his presidency had a major impact on American business. Harrison supported the McKinley Tariff of 1890, a law that raised tariff rates an average of 49.5 percent. The bill also gave the president expanded powers in the area of foreign trade.

The American public hated giant corporations and big businesses that took over the economy and forced consumers into paying high fees and prices. Republicans and Democrats alike rallied together in the call for reform of dishonest business practices such as **monopolies**. (Monopolies are businesses that have total control over a certain sector of the economy, including prices; in a monopoly, there is no competition.) As a result of this public outcry, the Harrison administration supported and passed the **Sherman Antitrust Act** of 1890. This act was the first federal law to regulate big business. The Sherman Antitrust Act made it a federal crime for businesses to form trusts (the concept of several companies banding together to form an organization that limits competition by controlling the production and distribution of a product or service). Although it had flaws, it was an important first step.

Another important piece of legislation passed during Harrison's term was the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. This bill had the U.S. Treasury purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver at market price each month. The silver was bought with treasury notes that could be redeemed in either gold or silver. Holders of these notes were so eager to turn them in for gold (because they received more money per note that way) that they nearly emptied the Treasury's supply. The act increased the production of silver, which sent silver prices down rather than up, and that was the intent. The act was repealed in 1893, the year of the worst economic decline the United States had ever experienced. Historians point to several factors that contributed to the **Panic of 1893**, including the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. In addition to the depletion

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of the nation's gold reserves and the decrease in silver prices, railroads went bankrupt and banks across the country began to fail. The result was high unemployment and a severe shortage of money circulating in the economy.

Harrison's foreign policy Harrison was one of the most active presidents in the area of foreign diplomacy. He took the United States to the brink of war with Chile over an incident involving American sailors who were harmed in the port city of Valparaiso. After discussion between the countries' leaders, Chile apologized and paid the United States $75,000 for the incident.

In 1889, the president called the first modern Pan-American Conference in **Washington, D.C.** Leaders from North, Central, and South America attended the conference in an effort to develop military, economic, social, political, and commercial cooperation between the three Americas. Conference attendees developed treaties on how to resolve international conflicts and revised tariff levels. In addition, an organization that would eventually be known as the Pan-American Union was established. The union offered technical and informational services to the Americas and provided a safe place for official documents. By forming various councils, the union took on the responsibility for furthering cooperative relations throughout the Americas. Its founding is celebrated on Pan-American Day each year in April.

As successful as he was in other foreign endeavors, Harrison did not achieve his goal where **Hawaii** was concerned. Harrison was in favor of annexing (adding another U.S. territory) Hawaii, but he was unable to convince the Senate to do so. Still, because of his efforts and because Hawaii did eventually become part of the United States, modern historians credit Harrison and his administration for putting the United States on its path to becoming an empire.

Harrison's popularity wanes Harrison's popularity among the public took a severe blow on three national issues. The first was his support of the McKinley Tariff. Millions of citizens lost trust in a president who seemed to be siding more with big-business interests than with the average working man. The second issue involved the dissatisfaction of farmers—those hardest hit by the depression—in the South and West. Harrison had done virtually nothing to improve the farmers' situation, so he lost their support. Finally, a series of violent labor strikes linked

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Harrison to monopoly industrialists and bankers. Voters did not feel represented in the White House.

Furthermore, Harrison passed a great deal of Republican legislation in his first year in office. Because of the amount of money Congress spent, it soon became known as the "Billion Dollar" Congress.

Harrison could not undo the damage his image had suffered. He had never been known publicly as an overly friendly man, yet he put his family at the center of his life. (In fact, Harrison's campaign activities in 1892 were very minimal due to the illness of first lady Caroline Harrison. She died two weeks before the election.) Harrison's tendency to be a private man, coupled with the unpopular events throughout his term, led him directly out of the White House. Grover Cleveland was reelected in the 1892 election. Upon learning of his defeat, Harrison told his family he felt like he had been freed from prison. He died in 1901.

William Henry Harrison

William Henry Harrison attained national recognition at an early age for his military victory over Shawnee leader Tecumseh (1768–1813) at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. He enjoyed a long political career before winning the presidential election of 1840, but he died soon after taking office as the ninth president.

Harrison was born on February 9, 1773, in **Virginia** into one of the state's leading families. His father had been one of the signers of the **Declaration of Independence**. Young Harrison briefly studied medicine before joining the U.S. **Army** in 1791. In 1795, Harrison married Anna Symmes; together they would have ten children. A grandson, **Benjamin Harrison** (1833–1901; served 1889–93), would become president of the United States in 1889.

Harrison served in campaigns against the Indians in the Northwest Territory (the early U.S. region including lands that would become **Ohio**, **Indiana**, **Michigan**, **Illinois**, **Wisconsin**, and part of **Minnesota**) for seven years. In 1799, Harrison, an avid spokesman for **westward expansion**, became the Northwest Territory's first delegate to Congress.

Harrison was soon appointed governor of the newly created Indiana Territory. He had the nearly impossible mission of winning the trust of Native Americans while at the same time acquiring as much of their land as he could for the government. In 1809, he negotiated a treaty that

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transferred almost 2.9 million acres to the United States, bringing tensions between Native Americans and white settlers to a boiling point.

Around that time, Tecumseh developed the idea of a confederation of all Indian tribes to fight against U.S. invasion of their lands. His brother, Tenskwatawa (c. 1768–1834), founded a religious movement that preached a return to traditional Indian values and a rejection of the ways of the white man. Together, **Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa**, also known as the Shawnee Prophet, drew a large group of followers from various tribes. These followers settled in a village called Prophetstown, ready to fight for their land.

Battle of Tippecanoe

As Harrison continued to seek Indian lands for the government, Tecumseh's resistance became an obstacle. In 1811, Harrison marched about one thousand soldiers to a camp near Prophetstown; Tecumseh was away at the time. Early on the morning of November 7, Prophetstown warriors launched a surprise attack against Harrison's troops. Harrison's forces beat back the attackers. He was able to take possession of their settlement, but 188 of his men were killed or wounded in the process and a few months later the Indians returned to their village. Some viewed Harrison as a hero, but others questioned his victory as an incomplete job.

Commander in War of 1812

During the **War of 1812**, a conflict over trading between England and the United States, Harrison served in several military positions, including supreme commander of the Army of the Northwest. After many difficult battles, he led the victorious Battle of the Thames in 1813 near Chatham, Ontario, where Tecumseh was killed in battle. Once again, he received a hero's welcome by some, but others criticized his military performance. In May 1814, he resigned from the army and moved to a farm in Ohio. Between 1816 and 1829 Harrison served as a congressman, senator, and U.S. minister to Colombia.

"Tippecanoe and Tyler too"

During the 1830s, there was a growing reaction against the alleged abuse of power by President **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37)

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in the **Democratic Party**. In response, a mixed group of politicians and others formed the **Whig Party**. Harrison became the Whig candidate for the presidential nomination in 1840. He was nominated as a military hero and a spokesman for development of the West.

The Whigs did not offer a real political platform, only a pledge to correct the abuses of the current administration. Whig strategists created a winning campaign by portraying Harrison (widely known as "Old Tippecanoe") as a man of the people. They waged the first modern presidential campaign by selling souvenirs, distributing campaign materials, flooding the country with speakers, and using songs, slogans, and verses. The most famous cry was "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." (**John Tyler** [1790–1862] was Harrison's running mate.) Harrison won the election with ease.

Inauguration day was chilly and rainy, and the new president caught a cold that quickly developed into pneumonia. On April 4, 1841, after only one month in office, Harrison died in the White House.

Hawaii

Hawaii was the last state to join the Union when it was admitted on August 21, 1959. It is actually a group of 132 islands situated in the northern Pacific Ocean, about 2,400 miles (3,862 kilometers) west-southwest of San Francisco, **California**. The four largest islands of the state are Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai.

English explorer James Cook (1728–1779) first sighted Oahu in 1778. At that time, a chief ruled each Hawaiian island. Once Europeans began sailing to the islands, the native populations were exposed to smallpox, venereal disease, liquor, and firearms. Hawaii's first written constitution was adopted in 1840. In 1848, a land reform called the Great Mahele fostered the expansion of sugar plantations, and subsequent decades saw the arrival of Chinese laborers to work those plantations.

In 1893, Hawaii's queen was overthrown during an American-led revolution. Soon after, Hawaii's government adopted a new constitution and was proclaimed the Republic of Hawaii. The **Spanish-American War** in 1898 fed expansionist (desire to expand territorial holdings) sentiment in the United States. Hawaii was a prime military asset, and its profitable sugar plantations were attractive. In June 1900, Hawaii became a territory of the United States.

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In 2006, Hawaii, also known as the Aloha state, was home to nearly 1.3 million people, 24.9 percent of whom were white. Another 2 percent were African American, and 42 percent were Asian. Only 8.5 percent were Pacific Islanders or **Native Hawaiians**.

Hawaii's economy is based on tourism and defense, though in recent years, the state has become increasingly important as an economic, educational, and cultural bridge between the United States and Asia and the Pacific. The **Iraq Invasion** (2003–) and the subsequent recession had a serious impact on the state's tourism industry. One month after the war began in March 2003, Hawaii's tourism business decreased by one-third. During a wartime economy, it is not unusual for people to be more frugal with their money. This thriftiness hurts states that rely on tourism for their revenue.

Hawaii is one of the most expensive states in which to live, as it is the second among the fifty states in terms of personal taxes. As of 2006, it had nine individual income tax brackets, ranging from 1.4 percent to 8.25 percent. It is the only state to have a single, unified public school system, which was founded in 1840.

Unlike other states, the main modes of transportation in Hawaii are airplanes and helicopters. In 2005, Hawaii had thirty-one airports and seventeen heliports. It has two railroads, but only 12.5 miles (20 kilometers) of track.

Rutherford B. Hayes

U.S. president Rutherford B. Hayes was the victor in one of the most fiercely fought elections in American history.

Hayes was born on October 4, 1822. He was the youngest of five children born to Rutherford and Sophia Hayes in Delaware, **Ohio**. His father died before Hayes's birth, and his uncle became his guardian. Hayes graduated from Kenyon College in 1842. Three years later, he graduated with a law degree from Harvard. After college, he practiced law in Fremont, Ohio, before moving to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1849, where he eventually took a job as city solicitor (a position equal to a modern district attorney).

Hayes married Lucy Webb in 1852, and the couple had eight children.

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From soldier to politician

Hayes fought in the American **Civil War** (1861–65) and was wounded in battle. While still in the army, he was nominated by the **Republican Party** to serve in Congress. Hayes accepted the nomination but refused to campaign, citing his obligation to fight for his country as his number one priority. Even without a campaign, he won a seat in the Thirty-ninth Congress and another in the Fortieth. He resigned from his position in 1867 to run for governor of Ohio. He was victorious and served from 1868 to 1872 and again from 1876 to 1877.

Hayes's war record and reputation as a loyal Republican made him a popular presidential nominee for the 1876 election. He ran against **New York** governor Samuel Tilden (1814–1886). Toward the end of the campaign, Tilden was expected to win. Hayes himself believed his opponent would be the next president of the United States. More registered voters participated in the 1876 presidential election than ever before: 81.8 percent.



Military man and politician Rutherford B. Hayes won a heated election to become president against the favored Democratic candidate Samuel Tilden. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In a U.S. presidential election, there are two kinds of votes: popular (total number of votes by individuals) and electoral (assigned to states based on population; the higher the population count, the more electoral votes that state is worth). After all votes had been counted, Tilden clearly won the popular vote. But the electoral votes from **Florida**, **Louisiana**, **South Carolina**, and **Oregon** were in dispute. A congressional committee was formed to investigate the situation. That committee included five **Supreme Court** justices, five members from the House of Representatives, and five senators.

The plan was to have seven Democrats, seven Republicans, and one independent. The independent was Supreme Court associate justice David Davis (1815–1886). However, he happened to be elected a U.S. senator and thus could not serve on the committee. His replacement was a Republican, so every vote the committee took after reviewing the evidence resulted in an 8–7 split in favor of Hayes. That resulted in Hayes being awarded all the electoral votes and, therefore, the victory.

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In office

Tilden was disappointed but did not dispute the findings. He believed the United States needed to move on. Hayes's years in office were uneventful compared to the conflict under which he entered. He had hoped to overturn the patronage system that controlled the government, but he was unable to do so. The patronage system was an unethical means of controlling bureaucracy in which wealthy men were appointed certain government positions in return for their vote. This put a lot of unqualified, dishonest men in powerful positions and made government ineffective on many levels. Hayes recognized he could not change the way things were, but he refused to participate in the system. Instead, he chose his administration based on individual merit and ability. This served only to turn his fellow Republicans against him.

Hayes promised protection to the African Americans of the war-torn South. At the same time, he encouraged the states to return to a more honest, peaceful way of governing. Despite the victory of the North in the Civil War, the South's attitude toward **slavery** and African Americans had not changed much. They resented being told how to live their lives, and troops from the **Confederate States of America** (the group of states that were part of **secession** from the United States) had been sent to watch over the South as **Reconstruction** (efforts to rebuild the nation following the Civil War) began. Hayes removed the troops in 1877, essentially ending the period of Reconstruction.

That same year, Hayes was faced with the first nationwide labor strike. Railroad workers had been forced to take pay cuts beginning in 1873. By 1877, they went on strike in hopes of ending the unjust treatment. Hayes sent in federal troops to control the strikes that were erupting throughout the states. In doing so, he ushered in an era when state and federal forces sided with companies against aggravated laborers.

Does not seek reelection

Hayes promised not to seek reelection, and he kept that promise. He was succeeded by another Ohio Republican, former U.S. representative **James A. Garfield** (1831–1881; served 1881). Hayes lived out his life in retirement at his family estate, Spiegel Grove, in Fremont, and died in 1893.

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William Randolph Hearst

William Randolph Hearst is best remembered as the father of yellow journalism, a type of reporting that focused on sensationalism to sell newspapers and magazines. (See **News Media**.)

Hearst was born on April 29, 1863, to a U.S. senator and his schoolteacher wife. Young Hearst attended an elite New England prep school, St. Paul's, and went on extensive tours of Europe. He was accepted into Harvard University, where he studied for two years before being expelled for misconduct.

Hearst's father acquired the financially failing *San Francisco Examiner* in 1880. He gave his son ownership of the newspaper in 1887. The younger Hearst hired the best writers of the era and paid them top wages to write reports of events that never happened. He soon discovered that stories on crime, sex, scandal, and sports sell newspapers; reporting actual facts did not really seem to matter.

Broadens his horizons

Using a $7.5 million gift from his mother, Hearst moved his operations to New York City in 1895 and bought the failing *New York Morning Journal.* Using the same unethical reporting techniques that brought him success in the recent past, Hearst brought circulation of the newspaper up from seventy-seven thousand to more than one million within a year. Through yellow journalism, Hearst's personal fortune grew exponentially. In 1898, Hearst papers published many sensational articles about the **Spanish-American War.** Hearst and a group of writers and artists reported directly from the battle lines.

By the time Hearst married Millicent Willson in 1903, he had established two new newspapers: the *Chicago American* and the *Chicago Examiner.* His wife was just twenty-one years old when she married the forty-year-old publisher. They eventually had five sons. In 1917, Hearst began a romantic relationship with twenty-year-old actress Marion Davies (1897–1961). It was an affair that would last until his death.

In 1904, Hearst added the *Boston American* and the *Los Angeles Examiner* to his empire. By this time, he was buying newspapers not only to expand his wealth, but also to control the news in an attempt to further his political ambitions. Hearst dreamed of being president of the

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United States. Although in 1902 and 1904 he won a Democratic seat in Congress as a U.S. representative from **New York**, he was not an effective congressman. He rarely showed up for his congressional duties, and his absenteeism cost him his political career.

Life goes on

By 1935, Hearst owned twenty-six daily newspapers and eleven Sunday editions in nineteen cities across the country. He claimed nearly 14 percent of the total U.S. daily circulation. In addition, he owned the International News Service and the King Features syndication service. Newspapers were not his only interest. Hearst owned six magazines, including the popular *Good Housekeeping* and *Cosmopolitan.* His investments extended to radio and Hollywood, and he owned over $50 million in New York real estate. Aside from his castle in San Simeon, **California** (worth $37 million), Hearst owned homes throughout the nation and decorated them with his art collection, the largest ever assembled by one person.

By the time Hearst died in 1951, he owned just eight newspapers. The hardship of the **Great Depression** (1929–41; a period of depressed economy and high unemployment) forced him to give up much of his empire. Hearst's sons continued their father's newspaper business, but worked to rid the family name of the bad reputation it had earned. They set up the Hearst Foundation, which continues in the twenty-first century to give scholarships to journalism students.

Ernest Hemingway

Ernest Hemingway is praised as one of the greatest American writers of the twentieth century. With an understated prose style, his fiction features a narrow range of characters and a harsh focus on violence and machismo (an exaggerated sense of masculine toughness). Many critics and readers have come to appreciate the depth of the author's vision beneath his tough-guy restraint.

Early years

Born on July 21, 1899, Hemingway led a fairly happy, upper-middle-class childhood in Oak Park, **Illinois**. By his teens, he had become interested in literature, and he wrote a weekly column for his high school newspaper and contributed poems and stories to the school magazine.

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Upon graduation in 1917, Hemingway became a junior reporter for the *Kansas City Star,* covering the police and hospital beats and writing feature stories. He quickly demonstrated a talent for the kind of powerful, unbiased stories of violence and despair that later dominated his fiction.

Drives ambulance in World War I

Hemingway tried to join the U.S. **Army** during **World War I** (1914–18), but his poor eyesight prevented it. Instead, he volunteered as an ambulance driver in Italy for the **American Red Cross**. He was badly wounded in both legs by a shrapnel explosion on the Italian battlefront. While he was recovering, he fell in love with an American nurse, who abruptly left him. This experience later provided the basis of his novel ***A Farewell to Arms*** (1929).

Back home after the war, Hemingway drafted stories drawn from his boyhood years and wartime experiences that captured his awakening sense of life's misfortunes. He eventually returned to journalism to support himself, contributing features to the *Toronto (Ontario) Star.*

Expatriate in Paris

Following his first marriage (there were four in all) in 1921, Hemingway moved to Paris, the literary capital of Europe in the 1920s. He traveled frequently, covering the Greco-Turkish War of 1922 and writing special-interest pieces for the Toronto paper. During this period, Hemingway matured as a writer, greatly aided in his artistic development by his close contact in Paris with prominent writers of the time, many who were also expatriates, or people who live outside their own country. They included American fiction writer Gertrude Stein (1874–1946), Irish fiction writer James Joyce (1882–1941), and American fiction writer **F. Scott Fitzgerald** (1896–1940).

In 1924, Hemingway published a series of eighteen sketches stemming from his war experiences combined with a group of short stories, calling it *In Our Time.* The majority of the stories focus on Nick Adams, the perfect example of a Hemingway hero. The early stories introduce Nick as a vulnerable adolescent attempting to understand a violent and confusing world. On the surface, Nick appears tough and insensitive. Most critics believe that the toughness of the Hemingway hero masks a

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deep and sensitive knowledge of tragedy surrounding him. The short stories in the work are considered some of Hemingway's finest efforts.

Two novels

Hemingway returned to the United States in 1926, the year his novel *The Sun Also Rises* was published. The novel is about a group of American and English expatriates in Paris, all of whom have suffered physically and emotionally during World War I. The narrator is Jake Barnes, who was badly wounded in the war. In his postwar life, he establishes his own code of behavior, no longer believing in the dictates of society. He engages in a doomed love affair with the alcoholic Lady Brett Ashley. He is unable to have sexual relations because of his war wounds and stands by as Brett Ashley goes through a series of lovers.

Upon its release, critics objected to *The Sun Also Rises* as a story of meaningless drinking and sex. But a few critics immediately recognized the novel as a literary work and praised its quest for meaning and values that could endure even in a modern world in which traditional values have lost their force.

In 1927, Hemingway moved to Key West, **Florida**, where he could indulge his love of fishing and work on *A Farewell to Arms.* The story of a love affair between an American soldier and an English nurse, the novel expresses the Hemingway code of toughness and endurance in a violent age. Following the novel's immense success, Hemingway was recognized as a major force in literature.

The tough guy

In the early 1930s, Hemingway contributed a series of articles to a new magazine, *Esquire.* In these articles, intentionally or not, he projected an image of himself as a man's man—tough and foulmouthed, an outdoorsman and also a notorious playboy. True to that image, he took up fishing from his cabin cruiser *Pilar* in the wealthy playground of the Bahamas. One product of this time was the novel *To Have and Have Not* (1937), which dramatized his admiration for a Key West desperado named Harry Morgan.

When the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, Hemingway wanted to play a role in the fight against fascism (an authoritarian political system in which individual liberty is suppressed for the interests of

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the state). He sailed for Spain in 1937 under contract to the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA). His Spanish Civil War novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was published in 1940. The novel portrays modern war in all its horror. It was the most commercially successful of Hemingway's books through 1940.

The 1940s and 1950s

After the start of **World War II** (1939–45), Hemingway again became personally involved. He set up an organization to spy on German Nazi agents who were gathering in Cuba. He even supervised the adaptation of his beloved fishing boat, *Pilar,* to be used against German submarines in the Caribbean. He spent part of the war in England and France and took part in efforts to liberate France from German occupation.

In 1952, after a long unproductive period, Hemingway published *The Old Man and the Sea,* a novella based on a true story he had heard from a Cuban boatman. The tale of old Santiago and his battle with the giant marlin was a kind of universal fable: one man alone, locked in a struggle with a worthy adversary. Though the old man eventually lost his prize to sharks, he had carried on against great odds with courage and endurance, the qualities that Hemingway most revered. The novella earned Hemingway a Pulitzer Prize in 1953.

Hemingway won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1954, but he had been badly hurt in a plane accident and could not attend the ceremony. Other physical ailments began to limit his creative energy. In the fall and winter of 1957–58, Hemingway summoned energy to write a series of sketches on his life in Paris from 1921 to 1926. Eventually named *A Moveable Feast* (1964), it is considered the best work of his later life.

In 1960, Hemingway suffered a serious mental breakdown. His depressive behavior and other illnesses persisted, and he committed suicide the following year.

Lasting reputation

During his lifetime, Hemingway actively promoted his larger-than-life reputation as a tough American hero who sought to experience violence as well as write about it. He was an expert in the arenas of war, bullfighting, deep-sea fishing, boxing, big-game hunting, and reckless, extravagant living—experiences that he often recounted in his fiction. Yet

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Hemingway viewed writing as his sacred occupation. He tried to be painfully honest in his writing, seeking new truths while distancing himself from traditions that were no longer meaningful. His spare prose allows his readers to make their own judgments about the complex and jaded world he portrays.

Patrick Henry

Patrick Henry was a Virginian who advocated colonial rebellion against Great Britain. He had a successful law practice and served in public office as both a legislator and as governor of **Virginia**. Remembered for the phrase "Give me liberty or give me death," Henry had a talent for oratory that inspired the birth of a nation.

Early life

Henry was born in Studley, Virginia, in a western county of the colony on May 29, 1736. He was the second son of Colonel John Henry and Sarah Winston. John Henry was from Scotland and had an education from Aberdeen University that served him in educating his own children.

Henry learned to read and write in school. From his father, he learned some Latin and Greek as well as mathematics and history. Growing up in rural Virginia, inland from the coastal tidewater region, Henry spent much of his time hunting.

Henry's family could not afford to send him to college. Many middle-class children in Virginia were expected to learn a practical trade instead. When Henry was fifteen, he began a yearlong apprenticeship as a clerk in a country store. In 1752, John Henry bought goods so Patrick and his older brother William could open their own store, but the business failed.

Marriage and law

Patrick Henry married sixteen-year-old Sarah Shelton in 1754. Together they would have six children. Sarah's father gave the Henrys a 300-acre farm and six slaves. Henry tried tobacco farming for a couple years until a fire destroyed their house. After that Henry opened another shop and, when that failed, worked as a bartender in his father-in-law's tavern in Hanover County.

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In 1760, Henry decided to study law to improve his earning power. Within a year, he passed oral examinations in Williamsburg, the provincial capital, and received a license to practice law.

Henry handled a case in 1763 that helped make his career as a lawyer and politician. The Privy Council in Great Britain, which reviewed colonial laws, had struck down a Virginia law regarding the salaries of Anglican ministers. In a case involving the application of that law, Henry argued that by striking down a duly passed law of the colony, the crown in England had violated the rights of the colonists to govern themselves concerning local matters. Great Britain's refusal to approve local laws later became the first in the list of complaints against King George III (1738–1820) in the **Declaration of Independence**.

Politics

Henry became a legislator in the **House of Burgesses**, the colonial legislature in Virginia, in 1765. Great Britain had recently passed the **Stamp Act** for the colonies. The Stamp Act imposed business taxes that were normally regulated by local laws and was very unpopular among colonial merchants.

In late May, just weeks after entering the House of Burgesses, Henry introduced a series of resolutions against the Stamp Act. The resolutions condemned taxation without representation. Henry said that people have a natural right to govern themselves and a right to disobey laws imposed on them without their consent. Four of the seven resolves passed, and Henry became known throughout the colonies an a spokesman for American freedom.

As the American colonies began to organize against Great Britain, Henry served on the First and Second Continental Congresses in 1774 and 1775. (See **Continental Congress, First** and **Continental Congress, Second**.) Most of his public service, however, was at the state level in Virginia. When Virginia wrote a constitution in 1776, Henry became the first governor of the state, a position he held until 1779 and again from 1784 to 1786.

In 1787, the American states sent delegates to a federal convention in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**. Its task was to rewrite the **Articles of Confederation**, but instead it wrote a whole new document, the **Constitution** of the United States of America. Henry declined to serve at the convention because he disapproved of the plan to form a strong

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Patrick Henry's Stamp Act Resolves

Resolves of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, June 1765.

That the first Adventurers & Settlers of this his Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their Posterity, and all other his Majesty's Subjects since inhabiting in this his Majesty's Colony, all the Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, and Immunities, that at any Time have been held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the People of Great Britain.

That by Two Royal Charters, granted by King James the First, the Colonies aforesaid are Declared Entitled, to all Liberties, Privileges and Immunities, of Denizens and Natural Subjects (to all Intents and Purposes) as if they had been Abiding and Born within the Realm of England.

That the Taxation of the People by Themselves, or by Persons Chosen by Themselves to Represent them, who can only know what Taxes the People are able to bear, or the easiest Method of Raising them, and must themselves be affected by every Tax laid upon the People, is the only Security against a Burthensome Taxation; and the Distinguishing Characteristic of British freedom; and, without which, the ancient Constitution cannot exist.

That his Majesty's Liege People of this his most Ancient and Loyal Colony, have, without Interruption, the inestimable Right of being Governed by such Laws, respecting their internal Polity and Taxation, as are derived from their own Consent, with the Approbation of their Sovereign, or his Substitute; which Right hath never been Forfeited, or Yielded up; but hath been constantly recognized by the Kings and People of Great Britain.

Resolved therefore, That the General Assembly of this Colony, with the Consent of his Majesty, or his Substitute, Have the Sole Right and Authority to lay Taxes and Impositions upon It's [sic] Inhabitants: And, That every Attempt to vest such Authority in any other Person or Persons whatsoever, has a Manifest Tendency to Destroy American Freedom.

That his Majesty's Liege People, Inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield Obedience to any Law or Ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any Taxation upon them, other than the Laws or Ordinances of the General Assembly as aforesaid.

That any Person who shall, by Speaking, or Writing, assert or maintain, That any Person or Persons, other than the General Assembly of this Colony, with such Consent as aforesaid, have any Right or Authority to lay or impose any Tax whatever on the Inhabitants thereof, shall be Deemed, an Enemy to this his Majesty's Colony.

federal government. He did serve, however, in the Virginia convention that had to decide whether to approve the Constitution. Henry was a leading spokesman against approval because he thought the federal government would be too strong and that the Constitution did not contain

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enough protection for individual liberty. Henry worked to make **James Madison** (1751–1836), who became known as the Father of the Constitution, and others agree to add a **Bill of Rights** to the Constitution in exchange for approval.

Later years

Public service had been financially costly to Henry, so he resumed his law practice in 1788. By his death, he had amassed a small fortune in land holdings. He was elected to a sixth term as governor of Virginia in 1796, but he declined to serve. In 1799, former president **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) convinced Henry to serve again in the state legislature. This time Henry agreed, but he died on June 6, 1799, before his term began.

Highways

Automobiles became an integral part of U.S. culture in the 1920s. There were about 3 million miles of road in the nation at the start of the decade, but only 36,000 of those miles were paved. As more and more cars and trucks used the roads, it became clear that the dirt paths originally built for horses were not going to serve the needs of Americans with vehicles.

To help create and maintain interstate highways, the Federal Highway Act was passed in 1921. The law provided federal funding for the highway system. It was agreed that highways running east to west would be labeled with even numbers, and those running north to south with odd numbers.

More than 10,000 miles of road were being paved annually by 1929, making traveling easier than ever. Family vacations became popular and led to the establishment of "car camps"—early motels that offered bathrooms facilities and tents for weary travelers. Along with these camps came roadside diners and gas stations.

In 1943, the National Interregional Highway Committee recommended a 39,000-mile interregional highway system, with a focus on how such a transportation network would influence urban development.

The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 authorized a 40,000-mile interstate highway system connecting major metropolitan areas and industrial centers. Construction was slow, as funding was scarce at the end of

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World War II (1939–45) and states were in no hurry to divert funds from other projects. The 1952 Federal-Aid Highway Act was the first law to specifically designate federal funds for highway construction. Under the act, a total of $25 million would go to the states if they would match those funds equally. By 1953, states had constructed nearly 20 percent of the designated interstate highway system. Little of it was of suitable quality.

President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) liked the idea of an interstate highway system. In 1954, Congress passed another Federal-Aid Highway Act, this time authorizing $175 million for a program that would have the federal government funding 60 percent and the states funding 40 percent. When that still did not provide adequate funding for the roads, Congress passed the Highway Act in 1956.

The 1956 act called for a thirteen-year project that would result in a 40,300-mile national highway system. Ninety percent of the cost would come from the federal government, and individual states would be responsible for maintenance costs of their sections of the highways. To avoid amassing huge debts, Congress created a pay-as-you-go program. Taxes on gasoline and on truck use, including tire and equipment sales, established the basis for funding. These taxes went directly to the government and were reimbursed through consumers' purchases the next year. The tax revenue raised more than enough for the federal portion of construction expenses each year.

The Highway Act provided more than $1 billion to begin highway construction and was considered one of the greatest public works programs in American history. By the mid-1990s, more than 40,000 miles of the interstate system had been built at a cost of $137 billion. The system covers all fifty states as well as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Hip-hop and Rap Music

Hip-hop began in the 1970s in New York City's South Bronx neighborhood as a street-born cultural movement based on four pillars: DJ-ing, MC-ing (later known as rap), breakdancing, and graffiti art. By the 1980s, hip-hop was the primary cultural movement of the African American and Hispanic communities. Mainstream white consumers quickly accepted hip-hop through movies, music videos, radio play, and media coverage. Rap, in particular, found a wide multicultural audience and emerged as one of the most original forms of music in the late twentieth century.

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Early rap and hip-hop musicians such as LL Cool J (1968–) and the group Run-DMC spread the sound from **New York** to **California**. Run-DMC formed in 1982 and watched its first record become the first rap-music gold album in 1983. MC Hammer (1962–) and Vanilla Ice (1967–) gave rap music a home on the pop charts, and by the 1990s rap had left the inner city and branched into many different divisions. Popular cable television station MTV aided the phenomenon by airing music videos and gaving artists another means of spreading their music and image. Tone Loc (1966–), LL Cool J, Queen Latifah (1970–), and Salt-N-Pepa appeared on the Top 40 charts.

West Coast Gangsta rap emerged in the early 1990s. Gangsta rappers wanted to return the music to its roots: the streets. Dr. Dre (1965–), N.W.A., and Ice Cube (1969–) sang of the violence of living in the ghetto (impoverished inner-city areas). Unlike early hard-core rap, gangsta rap had crossover appeal. Snoop Doggy Dogg (1971–) was one example of a rapper who could establish a following without concern for cultural and racial differences. His debut album in 1993 entered the pop charts in the number-one slot. Gangsta rap became the main genre of the early 1990s, and the more it sang of guns and drugs, the more popular it was among white teen audiences in the suburbs. Parents and special interest groups lobbied for stronger restrictions as gangsta rap's explicit lyrics filled suburban homes across the nation.

The East Coast was home to a different hip-hop sound. Afrocentric groups like Jungle Brothers and De La Soul brought a jazzy, intellectual quality to rap music as they focused their lyrics on black history and thought. Unlike the West Coast sound, the East Coast sound remained largely underground and never had the commercial impact of its cousin.

The last half of the 1990s found musicians concerned with holding on to the roots of hip-hop culture. Recording stars like the Black Eyed Peas brought back the original sounds of hip-hop that had made it so popular in the 1970s. True hip-hop musicians criticized hard rap performers like Sean "Puffy" Combs (1969–) for selling out and preferring commercial success to cultural commitment. The feud between East and West Coast styles escalated to violence. Both Tupac Shakur (1971–1996) and The Notorious B.I.G. (also known as Biggie Smalls) (1972–1997)—two of the decade's most popular rap artists—were murdered.

Some earlier rappers like Run-DMC wanted to be role models for African American youth and decried gang involvement while actively

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Run-DMC formed in 1982, spread the hip-hop/rap sound across the country, and their record "Run-DMC" became the first rap-music gold album. AP IMAGES

participating in social causes. Queen Latifah and others spoke out against drugs. Others, like Shakur and Smalls, chose to sing about the ugly reality of poverty, drugs, violence, and life on the streets.

The first decade of the twenty-first century focused the spotlight on artists who successfully combined the earlier hip-hop sound with the more hard-core rap. Marshall Mathers (1972–), better known as Eminem and Slim Shady, was one of the highest-selling musicians of that decade. In fact, he was one of the highest-selling rap musicians in history. His albums sold over seventy million copies worldwide by 2007, and he won several Grammy Awards. Although critics have praised Eminem for his energy, as well as for sparking public interest in poetry,

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he has also been denounced for his lyrics, which some say promote violence and homophobia (fear of homosexuals) as well as misogyny (hatred of women). Eminem defies labels, as his music has been categorized as a combination of hip-hop, Gangsta rap, and even pop.

Hollywood Blacklisting

Americans spent the 1930s trying to survive the **Great Depression**. Many people lost faith in their country's economic system, and some turned to **communism**, an economic theory in which the production and distribution of products and services are owned and controlled by the government. It was a low point in American history.

After **World War II** (1939–45), America entered into a **"cold war"** with Russia. This was not an actual war but a time of intense tension and competition between the two countries. Russia was communist, and America feared communism and the possibility that it might spread. (See also **Red Scare**.)

In 1947, a congressional committee known as the **House Un-American Activities Committee** (HUAC) began investigating the motion picture industry for communist influence. The **movie** industry was made up of idealistic writers, actors, and producers; many had been against the war and dismayed with the leadership in place at the White House. Some had joined the American Communist Party, which boasted a membership of around fifty thousand during the war.

Going to movie theaters was a major pastime in America during the mid-twentieth century. Films provided a brief escape from the worries of the day, and even those families who did not have much money could enjoy an occasional movie. Films had great influence, and the government knew this. The investigation into the film industry began when it was alleged that communist values were being glorified in movies.

A witness list of about forty people was prepared. For one reason or another, only eleven of these individuals were called before the committee to testify. Most of these professionals were screenwriters. The question put before them was: "Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communisty Party?" Just one witness, playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956), answered. It immediately became clear that answering that one question was not enough to satisfy the HUAC; it

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wanted names of other members. Ultimately, it wanted to embarrass the witnesses by forcing them to publicly tell on their friends and colleagues.

Ten of the original witnesses refused to answer the question, not necessarily because they were members of the Communist Party but because they believed that political affiliation in the United States was a private issue. Refusing to answer, however, could be construed as an admission of "guilt." These ten screenwriters became known as the Hollywood Ten, and their names were added to a list that circulated throughout the industry. Anyone on that list could no longer work in the movie industry. The Ten each served a one-year jail sentence.

By the end of the investigation, about three hundred entertainers were blacklisted; only about thirty were able to rebuild their careers. Some continued to work infrequently, but only if they agreed to use false names or not receive credit for their work. The blacklisting went beyond the professional realm, however, and severed even the closest of friendships. Families were destroyed in some cases where both spouses worked in the industry and one gave the name of the other.

Blacklisting continued until 1957 despite the fact that evidence of the promotion of communist values in film was virtually nonexistent.

Holocaust

During **World War II** (1939–45), the leader of Germany, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), created a program of ethnic cleansing that came to be called the Holocaust. His intention was to purify the German Aryan race. He used the power of the government to organize the mass murder of people he considered to be impure for his race. During the twelve years that Hitler was in power, he particularly targeted Jews and Gypsies for extermination from Germany. Not only were they uprooted and placed in labor camps, but by the end of the war, five- to six million had been murdered.

Millions of other groups of people who did not fit into Hitler's plan for a supreme Aryan race were victims of the Holocaust. Political dissidents, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, the disabled, and prisoners of war were among those harassed and imprisoned in concentration camps alongside Jews and the Gypsies. These people, however, were not consistently and thoroughly targeted as groups.

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Hitler's prejudice was not rooted in political or religious concerns alone. He believed the Jewish people were an evil race working to take over the world. He was not interested in converting them or expelling them from Germany. In Hitler's mind, the only adequate solution to his "Jewish problem" was complete extermination of the Jewish people.

Hitler's Holocaust policies were first aimed at defining the Jewish race and inspiring anti-Jewish, or anti-Semitic, feelings among Germans. What began as boycotts of Jewish businesses evolved into restrictions on the rights of Jews. Eventually the Nazi Party confiscated and destroyed Jewish properties and moved people into Jewish ghettos or labor camps. Life was severely restricted, and conditions were harsh. Many died of disease and malnutrition.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

In 1993, a museum dedicated to the events of the Holocaust opened in **Washington, D.C.** Visitors can see photos of the individuals victimized by Nazi policies as well as evidence of personal suffering. The museum is dedicated to memorializing the tragic events of the past and educating the public in hopes of preventing the world from allowing another holocaust to happen. Since its opening, over twenty-five million people have visited the museum, and people from all over the world visit its Web site every day.

In 1941, the policy of the Nazi Party turned to the systematic murder of the Jewish people. As the German army advanced through Europe in the battles of World War II, it killed thousands of Jews in conquered territories. Labor camps evolved into concentration camps where people were sent to be worked to death or murdered.

The German army continued its extermination tactics until the Allied armies invaded Germany in 1945. The concentration camps that the liberating armies found in Germany shocked the world. The Holocaust took a terrible toll on the Jewish people, and the memory of it continues to haunt generations who study what happened in Germany during World War II.

Homeland Security Department

The creation of the Office of Homeland Security, a department in the **executive branch** of the federal government, occurred less than four weeks after the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**. Its charge was to protect the United States from terrorist attacks and to respond to natural disasters.

The Office of Homeland Security shares information and coordinates the activities and resources of more than twenty-two different gov-

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ernment agencies involved in security and counterterrorism that previously had reported to many different departments. They included such departments as the Customs Service, the Secret Service (both of which had previously been part of the Treasury Department), the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA; an independent agency), the U.S. **Coast Guard** (which had been part of the Transportation Department), and later the Immigration and Naturalization Service (originally part of the Justice Department).

The director of the Office of Homeland Security has the title of assistant to the president for Homeland Security, similar to the official title of the national security advisor (assistant to the president for National Security). The Homeland Security Council's members include the president, vice president, and several cabinet-level officials. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Office of Homeland Securities had a staff of about two hundred thousand employees. The reorganization of government agencies to create it was the biggest government restructuring in more than forty years.

In its first few years, some of the Office of Homeland Security's best known initiatives were the color-coded terrorist threat alerts, enhanced security systems in airports, and the rescue efforts after Hurricane Katrina hit the Gulf Coast and flooded large areas of **Mississippi** and **Louisiana**, including the city of New Orleans.

Homestead Act

The Homestead Act was passed in Congress on May 20, 1862. It encouraged people to move west to settle new territories by promising free land. With little money but great commitment, many families left the east to start new lives on the frontier.

The United States grew enormously in the decades before 1860. New territories expanded the country from one side of the continent to the other, and a constant stream of immigrants flowed into cities. To encourage settlement of the new lands by immigrants, Congress debated forms of the Homestead Act for years prior to its enactment.

Regional concerns prevented the Homestead Act from passing for some time. Industries of the north feared a shortage of cheap immigrant labor. Southern plantation owners resisted the competition of small farms. Those who owned small farms tended to resist the institution of

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This family stands with their wagon, in Loup Valley, Nebraska, on their way to their new homestead, as part of the Homestead Act of 1862. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

slavery, and plantation owners refused to support any measure that might threaten slavery, the cheap labor of which was important to their economy. Throughout the nation, landowners were concerned about what would happen to land values in the east after cheap land became available in the west. As a result, congressional efforts to pass a homesteading measure repeatedly ended in resistance and defeat.

By 1860, so much had changed as a result of population growth that opinions were beginning to sway. There were more than enough immigrants to provide cheap labor to northern industries. Businesses began to recognize the advantages that western expansion would bring, such as new markets for industry and new access to raw materials. With such a continuous stream of new residents, the fear of dropping land values eased. Slavery issues, however, continued to dominate national politics, and Southerners still resisted any homesteading act.

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The **Republican Party** platform during the election of 1860 included a push for a homesteading act. Although its candidate, **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), was elected, passage of such legislation was not guaranteed. The **secession** of Southern states from the Union from 1860 to 1861 and the resulting absence of their congressmen provided an opportunity to pass such a measure with little resistance.

The Homestead Act went into effect January 1, 1863. It offered 160 acres of land for the cost of a small filing fee. To qualify for the offer, a person had to be the head of a household or an individual at least twenty-one years old, a U.S. citizen or someone with plans to become a citizen, and committed to settling on the land for individual benefit. To earn the title to the land, meaning full ownership, settlers had to build a house and farm at least ten acres for five years. Alternatively, after just six months of residence, settlers could purchase the land from the government for $1.25 per acre.

From 1863 to 1880, nearly five hundred thousand applications were filed under the Homestead Act for approximately 56 million acres of land. Though the measure was meant to attract homeless immigrants throughout the east, many were too poor to be able to move west. Established American families were more often attracted to move west to earn the rights to more land.

The land often proved to be mountainous, desert, or otherwise challenging to farm. Many settlers were unable to cope with the new conditions and either sold their claims to land speculators or abandoned them. Over time, Congress passed additional measures to remedy these challenges and to continue to encourage settlement, but none of them quite lived up to expectations. By 1935, when President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) withdrew the remainder of the public domain from private entry, only about 285 million acres out of the original 600 million acres available had been homesteaded.

Homestead Strike

Near the end of the nineteenth century, Homestead, **Pennsylvania**, was a steel mill town with a population of more than ten thousand people. Of those inhabitants, just over thirty-four hundred were employed by Carnegie Steel Company. Of those employees, eight hundred were

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skilled and earned an average of $2.43 for a twelve-hour shift, or roughly twenty cents an hour. Unskilled laborers earned fourteen cents an hour.

In 1889, these wages were paid on a sliding scale that was dependent on the market price being paid for steel. This means that the higher the market price (the price paid to the steel companies by other businesses who bought their product) being paid, the higher the wages would be. If the market price dropped, so did wages. But twenty and fourteen cents an hour was the average.

This agreement between management and labor was due to expire on June 30, 1892. Of the eight hundred skilled workers, all but twenty were members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers union (formally organized association of workers that advances its members' views on wages, work hours, and labor conditions). Members were expecting better terms upon expiration of the old contract. Their expectations did not seem unrealistic. **Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919), owner of the mill, had publicly empathized with (claimed to understand) strikers in other industries. He even implied that he understood how their frustration led to violence.

In 1892, Carnegie was out of the country visiting his homeland of Scotland. Negotiations were in the hands of Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919), chairman of Carnegie Steel. Frick was known for his hardhearted antiunion attitude. He had no patience for workers who complained and would not tolerate rebellion in any form.

The union would not accept the new contract proposed by Carnegie Steel as it required workers to accept an 18 to 26 percent decrease in wages. Union leaders Hugh O'Donnell and John W. Gates (1855–1911) met with Frick throughout June in the hopes of reaching a compromise that both sides could accept. Frick refused to consider any negotiations. Instead, he ordered the construction of a solid-wood fence topped with barbed wire built around the mill. Workers soon called it "Fort Frick."

As meetings continued to be held without progress, frustrated workers made dummies that looked like Frick and superintendent J. A. Potter and hung them on mill property. Potter sent men to tear down the dummies, but Carnegie employees turned the water hoses on them. Frick used this event as an excuse to order a lockout (an event in which workers are forbidden to work and are refused pay). In addition to the 3 miles of fencing he had built, Frick contacted Pinkerton National Detective Agency. He paid $5 a day to each of three hundred detectives to act as

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guards at the mill. The detectives arrived on July 6. By this time, workers had already barricaded themselves inside the steel plant.

Frick never had the chance to carry out his plan to hire strikebreakers. Citizens of the town joined Carnegie Steel's displaced workers and confronted the Pinkerton detectives just outside the mill. With both sides armed, on July 6 they battled from 4 AM until 5 PM. It is not clear who fired the first shot, but when gunfire had ceased, seven strikers and three detectives were dead, with numerous others injured. The strikers surrendered, and on July 12 eight thousand state troopers marched into Homestead and took control.

Public opinion was initially against Carnegie Steel in this dispute—but not because of the bloodshed or the damage that resulted from the conflict. In truth, both sides were guilty of taking the law into their own hands. Instead, Americans were disturbed that a labor-management disagreement could escalate into open warfare between one of the nation's most powerful companies and one of the most highly respected labor unions. However, as details of the strike were reported to the public, sentiment turned against the labor union. Most citizens believed the workers behaved brutally and used unnecessary violence in the confrontation.

The tension between company and union worsened on July 23, when anarchist, or rebel, Alexander Berkman (1870–1936) shot and stabbed Frick in his office. Frick was not seriously injured, and Berkman was caught. But that incident put an end to the steel union. Even though Berkman was not a union member, the public was unaware of this fact and perceived his attack on Frick as merely another strategy waged by the union against management. It would be another forty years before the steel industry formed a new labor union.

Carnegie's Homestead plant reopened on July 27 with a thousand new workers under the protection of the military. The company pressed charges against O'Donnell and the strikers, but no jury would find them guilty. Both sides decided to drop the matter. The strike officially ended on November 20, 1892. Three hundred locked-out employees were rehired and joined the newly hired workers in the mill. Under their new contract, former employees worked longer hours at a lower hourly wage than they had before the strike. Most of the strikers who were not rehired were blacklisted and found themselves unable to get jobs in the steel industry. The strike did nothing but hurt the reputation of labor unions throughout the country.

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Although Carnegie privately wrote letters to Frick in support of Frick's handling of the affair, Carnegie publicly implied that Frick was responsible for the tragic events stemming from the strike and asked him to resign as chairman. In spite of his departure from the steel firm, Frick was rewarded handsomely when Carnegie bought Frick's stocks in the company for $15 million.

Herbert Hoover

Herbert Hoover was inaugurated as the thirty-first president of the United States in March 1929. Despite the economic prosperity that existed then, the country would be mired in the worst financial crisis of its history soon after Hoover took office. Though Hoover involved the federal government in fixing the country's economic problems more than preceding presidents had done, his efforts were deemed "too little, too late" by many Americans.



Herbert Hoover was inaugurated as the thirty-first president of the United States in March 1929. The country would be hindered by the worst financial crisis of its history soon after Hoover took office. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Early life

Herbert Clark Hoover was born August 10, 1874, in West Branch, **Iowa**, a small Quaker settlement near Iowa City. His father, Jesse Hoover, was a village blacksmith and merchant. Hulda Randall Minthorn Hoover, his mother, was an active lay minister in the Society of Friends, which the **Quakers** had come to be called. Both died when Hoover was quite young, his father in 1880, then his mother in 1884.

Hoover and his two siblings were separated and sent to live with other family members. Hoover was sent to live with his uncle, Henry John Minthorn, in Newberg, **Oregon**. Though he attended school at first, Hoover soon dropped out to oversee the daily operations of his uncle's real estate business.

Hoover attended night school to develop his business and office skills. Living with his oppressive uncle left Hoover with an independent spirit and a determination to earn his own finan-

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cial freedom. So Hoover left Oregon to attend Stanford University in **California** in 1891.

Herbert Hoover took advantage of the innovative curriculum at Stanford. He received an excellent education in geology and participated in college politics. It was at Stanford that Hoover met the woman he would later marry, Lou Henry, a fellow geology student.

After graduation in 1895, Hoover worked as a day laborer in the Reward Gold Mine in Grass City, California. In 1896, he got an office job at an important mining firm in San Francisco, California. His experience and promotions there eventually led in 1897 to a position with one of the world's leading mining consulting firms, Bewick, Moreing, and Company of London, England.

The company sent Hoover to Australia, where he proved his worth as a mining engineer by recommending several successful mine purchases for the company. He was quickly considered a success and an authority in his field, making a staggering salary of $10,000 per year. He soon proposed marriage to Lou Henry, and they were married in 1899.

In 1898, Hoover went to China on behalf of Bewick, Moreing, to exploit extensive and profitable coal deposits. While he was there, Chinese nationalists rebelling against foreign powers began the Boxer Rebellion. In exchange for helping the Chinese government defend against the rebellion, Hoover was given control of the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company. He used the company to buy a share of partnership in Bewick, Moreing. Hoover's later business deals in places such as Sri Lanka, Russia, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Burma, and Malaysia helped him to amass a great fortune.

In 1901, the Hoovers moved to London, where they had two children. Hoover was drawn to move beyond amassing great fortunes and started to consider philanthropic ways to apply his skills. When **World War I** (1914–18) broke out in 1914, he found his opportunity.

A new career

When war started in August 1914, the American ambassador to Britain asked for Hoover's assistance to aid Americans stranded abroad at the onset of war. Hoover did this with such efficiency that he was asked to oversee the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB) to help people in German-occupied Belgium. The CRB operated much like a state, with

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4,000 committees worldwide, 130,000 volunteers, and $200 million in gifts and subsidies. Hoover's extraordinary diplomatic skill, his knowledge of worldwide shipping, and his determination and perseverance kept a steady flow of food to Belgium.

In May 1917, U.S. president **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) appointed Hoover food administrator for the United States during its involvement in World War I. In that role, Hoover stimulated agricultural production, controlled surging farm prices, and was able to ship food surpluses to a famished Europe.

Hoover took part in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 to negotiate peace treaties after World War I. He held a variety of positions: chairman of the Inter-Allied Food Council, director general of the American Relief Administration, economic director of the Supreme Economic Council, chairman of the European Coal Council, and personal advisor to President Wilson.

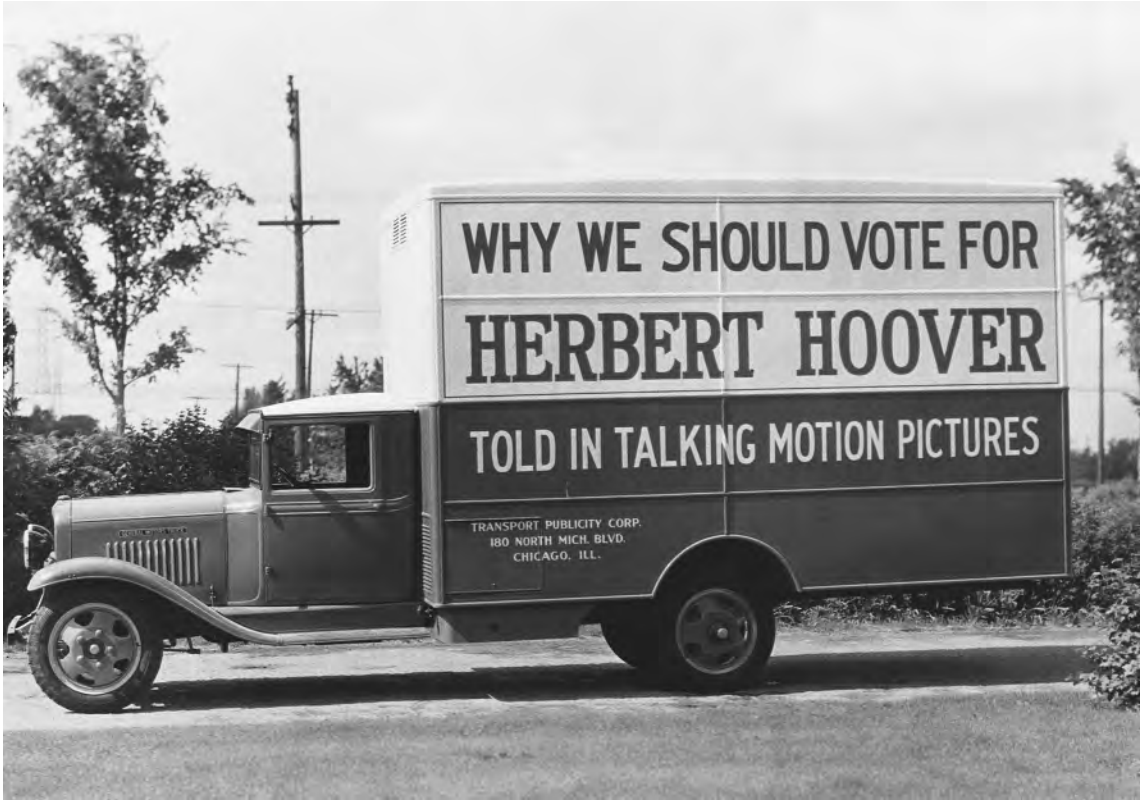
Secretary of commerce

By 1920, rumblings about nominating Hoover for the presidency were heard among both Republicans and Democrats. Though a Hoover nomination did not happen that year, his backing of Republican **Warren G. Harding** (1865–1923; served 1921–23), who became the next president, earned Hoover a new position as the secretary of commerce, the head of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Hoover was secretary of commerce from 1921 to 1929 under both President Harding and President **Calvin Coolidge** (1872–1933; served 1923–29). In this role, Hoover encouraged the formation of trade associations, pushed cooperative markets for farmers, and was particularly aggressive in seeking overseas markets for American businesses. His greatest aim was for commercial expansion to replace military investment for bringing peace and prosperity to the world.

In 1927, the Mississippi River flooded, which left 350,000 people destitute. Dominating the headlines, Hoover directed the feeding, clothing, and housing of the stricken families. Such publicity made him the most famous secretary of commerce in U.S. history, and in 1928 Hoover was nominated and elected president of the United States.

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An advertisement for a Herbert Hoover campaign film promoting his bid for presidency, circa 1928. © CORBIS

Presidency

When Herbert Hoover was inaugurated in March 1929, the United States was enjoying a period of prosperity. U.S. business was growing, manufactured goods and raw materials flowed from the United States to the rest of the world, and technology was developing at an impressive rate. The prosperity, however, was far from evenly distributed, and there were many who were doing poorly, too.

In time, manufacturers started to have too much inventory and began to allow installment payments, or credit, for purchases. Those who had a little to invest risked their earnings in the stock market, which is the market for buying and selling shares in large companies. Often people bought stocks on margin, which meant they only paid a fraction of the total cost for the stock and borrowed the rest. If stock prices went up,

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investors repaid the borrowed amount and pocketed the profit. However, if stocks went down, investors lost the entire investment if they could not repay the borrowed money to the broker.

On October 24, 1929, stock prices plummeted. Prices continued to dive as investors scrambled to sell their stocks, and thousands of people lost their savings. It marked the beginning of the **Great Depression** (1929–41; a time of economic downturn in the United States) and Hoover's greatest challenge.

Domestic recovery

In November 1929, Hoover gathered railroad, labor, and construction leaders along with mayors and governors. In December, he gathered groups of business, labor, and farm leaders, too. Warning of a serious recession, Hoover worked to place the responsibility for avoiding major catastrophe within their hands. He asked them to foster industrial expansion, avoid strikes, share work when possible, stabilize prices, and provide relief where needed. Most of all, he stressed that there must not be drastic wage cuts. He pushed both national and state public offices to employ people out of work, asking Congress and state governors to appropriate, or provide the funds needed, for such jobs.

Though it seemed that Hoover's policies were working by spring 1930, by fall economic conditions had again worsened. Employers were forced to cut production. Hoover responded by creating the President's Emergency Committee for Unemployment, which established three thousand local committees. By June 1931, $2 billion was being spent and a million men were being employed on federal projects. Despite occasional rallies in the economic indicators, by 1932 over 20 percent of the labor force was unemployed, and only one-quarter of the unemployed was receiving relief assistance.

The most important effort Hoover made to bring relief was the recovery program called the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). The RFC started in January 1932. That year it provided loans to over five thousand banks, railroads, life insurance companies, farm mortgage associations, and building and loan associations. It saved many businesses from failure, halting further financial collapse and restoring some public confidence.

Though Hoover took great steps to bring relief to the country, he had two personal limits that reduced his popularity with the public and

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contributed to his inability to win another term as president. He opposed offering direct federal aid to the unemployed. Believing such aid would lower wages to a bare minimum and reward laziness, he insisted that unemployment relief was a problem for local governments. Hoover also was against any policies that might shift the budget out of balance by spending more federal money than the government was collecting in taxes and other revenues. In Hoover's opinion, a balanced federal budget was the keystone of recovery.

The Bonus Army March

By spring 1932, there were signs of social unease and community disruptions. Hunger marches took place, and the unemployed rioted. The most memorable event was the gathering of World War I veterans in **Washington, D.C.** Known as the Bonus Army, the eleven thousand veterans marched in front of the White House and the Capitol demanding an early payment of a bonus not scheduled for distribution until 1945. They camped in abandoned buildings and in tents at Anacostia Flats, across the river from the Capitol, waiting for Congress to make a decision.

When payment was rejected by Congress, most men returned home. A minority, however, refused to leave the buildings, and Hoover instructed that the men be evicted. Both his secretary of war, Patrick Hurley (1883–1963), and U.S. Army general **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964) took disastrous steps to carry out the eviction. The veterans were pushed back far beyond their camps with the use of tanks, guns, and tear gas. Two veterans were killed. Hoover was personally horrified, but instead of blaming Hurley and MacArthur, he took personal responsibility and suffered the resulting negative opinions.

Foreign policies

The economic problems of the Great Depression affected the rest of the developed world, and President Hoover's challenges extended beyond the nation's borders, too. He met those challenges with the intention of maintaining peace. To ease the global depression, he allowed nations to delay payment of debts to the United States for a year.

In Asia, Japan was launching military attacks against China. The Hoover administration's Stimson Doctrine stated that the United States

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would not recognize any unilateral change in Asia imposed by force. The United States, however, refrained from supporting China with military intervention.

Hoover promoted international disarmament, or the voluntary reduction in arms worldwide. He also initiated the "good neighbor" policy, which implied the United States would refrain from intervening in other country's politics.

Post-presidential years

President Hoover only served one term as president, losing to **Franklin D. Roosevelt** in the 1932 election, but he continued to be vocal and active after his presidency. During **World War II** (1939–45) Hoover launched relief efforts in German-occupied Poland and Finland.

In 1946, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) appointed Hoover honorary chairman of the Famine Emergency Committee. In 1947, Truman named Hoover to head the Committee on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government, now known as the Hoover Commission. Hoover's job was to evaluate the structure and operation of the **executive branch** of government and to recommend improvements. He performed this service again for President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) in 1953.

Until the end of his life, Hoover wrote a number of books, including three memoirs and several volumes on his relief activities. He also wrote multiple defenses of his governmental policies. Herbert Hoover died in New York City on October 20, 1964.

J. Edgar Hoover

J. Edgar Hoover served in the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) for over fifty years, mostly at the head of the organization as its director. Hoover built the FBI from a small organization with a poor reputation into a powerful, secretive, and controversial law enforcement bureau.

Early life

Hoover was born on January 1, 1895, in **Washington, D.C.** Raised in a family of Scottish Presbyterians, Hoover spent his life believing that middle-class Protestant morality was the core of American society and val-

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ues. His mother, Anna Marie Scheitlin, was strict and religious. His father, Dickerson Hoover, was a civil servant who suffered from poor health.

Hoover excelled in school as a child, eventually attending Central High School, an all-white school from which he graduated at the top of his class in 1913. During his youth, he also worked to help his family, including delivering groceries for neighbors. Hoover received a full scholarship to attend the University of Virginia, but his family could not afford housing there. Hoover instead worked in the day and studied law at night at George Washington University in the District of Columbia. He received a bachelor's degree in 1916 and a master's degree in 1917.

Early career

During **World War I** (1914–18) Hoover got a job in the U.S. Department of Justice. He began in the mail room but soon was transferred to the Emergency War Division of the Alien Enemy section. There Hoover administered the federal regulations that applied to German and Austro-Hungarian aliens (those who held citizenship in the land of their birth but lived in the United States) being supervised by the federal government during the war.

In autumn 1918, the Bolshevik Revolution began in Russia. Strikes in Vancouver, British Columbia, and Seattle, **Washington**, raised fears of a similar communist revolt in either Canada or the United States. Early the next year, Hoover became a special assistant to U.S. attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer (1872–1936), whose home was bombed that spring. In the ensuing years, Palmer ordered and Hoover supervised a series of "red raids" for arresting and deporting aliens who were members of communist organizations. In this work, Hoover spied on lawyers representing alien suspects.

The Bureau of Investigation

When a new attorney general became head of the Justice Department in 1921, Hoover became the assistant director of the Bureau of Investigation (BI). At the time, the BI had very little law enforcement authority under federal law. It was filled with employees who got their jobs through political favoritism. It was in this environment that Hoover was elevated to director of the BI in 1924, the position he would keep until his death in 1972. Hoover accepted the job on the conditions that

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he have full control over hiring and that he report directly to the attorney general rather than to a lower-level official in the Department of Justice.

Hoover worked hard to convert the BI into a respected law enforcement bureau. He fired incapable employees and hired young agents with backgrounds in law and accountancy. He created a crime laboratory and organized a fingerprint division for collecting fingerprints from across the nation into a central location. He opened a national academy for training BI agents. He also created a highly organized filing system for handling the BI's public and secret files. In 1935, the bureau was renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Hoover never married. Prior to joining the bureau he had romanced a woman who chose an army officer over Hoover. Hoover lived with his mother until her death and then lived alone the rest of his life. Outside of work, he enjoyed attending baseball games and horse races and collecting Asian art.

From gangsters to activists

In the 1930s, the FBI earned a reputation for fighting gangsters such as Pretty Boy Floyd (1901–1934), Machine Gun Kelly (1895–1954), and John Dillinger (1903–1934). In the 1940s, Hoover began to report directly to President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45). At Roosevelt's direction, Hoover built the FBI's domestic surveillance system. The system was useful for investigating the domestic activities of communists, whom the federal government targeted during another "red scare" of the 1950s.

During the late 1950s, Hoover and the FBI developed a counterintelligence program called COINTELPRO. Under the program, the FBI spied on American citizens, often breaking laws against wiretapping and microphone surveillance. Hoover used COINTELRO to investigate communists, the **Ku Klux Klan**, black activist organizations such as the **Black Panther Party**, and civil rights activists, including **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968). Hoover viewed civil rights activists as part of the communist threat to America.

In the 1960s, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) required Hoover to report to Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** (1925–1968) rather than directly to the president. Hoover and the Kennedys did not get along well.

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End of life

Hoover died on May 2, 1972. During his life, he generally had a positive reputation with Americans, though political and civil rights activists were concerned with his goals and methods. After enactment of the **Freedom of Information Act**, Americans were able to view FBI records that revealed some of the extent to which Hoover violated federal law to investigate Americans. These revelations tarnished Hoover's reputation in the eyes of many. Other Americans, however, believe enforcement of federal criminal laws is more important than protecting the civil rights of citizens. This debate survives today under the question of the federal government's power to fight what it calls the war on terrorism.

Hoovervilles

In October 1929, the United States stock market crashed. It signaled the beginning of a major economic crisis that would last for years and extend beyond the nation to affect the rest of the world. Throughout this time, called the **Great Depression** (1929–41), many people lost their savings, their jobs, and their homes.

When President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33) took office the March before the crash, it seemed that the United States was enjoying a period of general prosperity. The economy was thriving. U.S. business was growing, manufactured goods and raw materials flowed from the United States to the rest of the world, and technology was developing at an impressive rate.

The economy, however, was not as strong as it appeared, and many things led to its collapse. Because most citizens were unaware of these factors, they blamed the new president for the onset of the Great Depression. Though Hoover worked to alleviate the nation's economic hardships, he was also against providing direct assistance to the unemployed. He believed such assistance would lower wages to a bare minimum and reward laziness. As a result, some Americans began to use his name to describe the miserable conditions in which they lived.

By 1931, thousands of people had become unemployed and homeless. Shantytowns began to appear throughout the country, mostly within the inner cities, where people built makeshift homes. They built their homes out of cardboard, tin, crates, scrap lumber, and other discarded materials. These communities were quickly dubbed "Hoovervilles."

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The residents of Hoovervilles often assembled simple governments of their own, electing a mayor, city council, and police chief. Tenement houses were bought and sold like other homes, though prices rarely exceeded $30. City health, fire, and law enforcement officials closely regulated many Hoovervilles. They often enacted requirements that tenements be above ground, have a certain number of windows, and be kept clear of debris and human waste.

People also used Hoover's name to label other aspects of the experiences of the poor. When a jobless man wrapped a newspaper around him for warmth, the paper was called a Hoover blanket. When a broken-down automobile was being towed away by mules, it was a Hoover wagon. A man would turn an empty pocket inside out and call it a Hoover flag. Jackrabbits were called Hoover hogs by people who could not afford pork products.

The nation did not begin to recover from the Great Depression until the mid-1930s under the **New Deal** programs of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45). Full recovery came after the United States entered **World War II** in 1941. The war improved jobs and wages by creating a high demand for manufactured products. Most Hoovervilles disappeared by the onset of war in 1941, though a number lingered through the early 1950s.

House of Burgesses

Virginia's House of Burgesses was the first representative assembly in North America. It was created by Governor George Yeardley (c. 1587–1627) under instructions from the Virginia Company of London, which owned the colony of Virginia. In hope of attracting more immigrants to its colony, the company replaced a form of martial law used by the colony's previous governor with English common law.

The new system provided for local governments as well as a general assembly for the whole colony. Virginia was organized at first into cities, or boroughs. Monthly courts were created in 1622. Further legislation created shires in 1634 and counties in 1642. The general assembly was called the House of Burgesses. It contained representatives from each of the local boroughs.

The House of Burgesses borrowed its name from the House of Commons in England, whose representatives were called burgesses. It

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Virginia's House of Burgesses was the first representative assembly in North America. The new system provided for local governments as well as a general assembly for the whole colony. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

functioned as a simple parliament that passed legislation for the entire colony of Virginia. The Virginia Company appointed a governor and a council as part of the legislature. The other members were elected, two by each of Virginia's ten settlements.

The first elected assembly gathered in the House of Burgesses on July 30, 1619, in Jamestown. It met for five days. There were twenty-two members present. The House of Burgesses continued to meet annually, even after the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624 brought the colony under direct royal control.

House of Representatives

See **Checks and Balances; Legislative Branch**

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House Un-American Activities Committee

In 1938, the U.S. House of Representatives established the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). With communist and fascist regimes posing threats to the security of European countries, Congress decided to investigate the potential of danger in the United States. HUAC had the responsibility of investigating un-American propaganda and activities that might threaten national security. It focused mostly on communist and fascist organizations. Its guidelines, however, were vague enough that many people who simply disagreed with government policy found themselves under scrutiny by the committee.

Defining a purpose

Because HUAC was led by U.S. representative Martin Dies Jr. (1900–1972) of **Texas**, it was also called the Dies Committee. It was not the first committee of its kind to be established by Congress. Earlier committees did similar work in 1919, 1930, and 1934. HUAC's broadly aimed and aggressive activities, however, made it controversial and memorable.

Sponsors of the motion to establish HUAC expected it to reduce the potential threat of foreign agents and subversive activities by communist and fascist interests. Under the leadership of Dies, however, the term "un-American" gained a broader definition, and many without communist or fascist ties were investigated. HUAC investigations became a means to suppress any dissent, often with the effect of undermining the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly. Liberals, intellectuals, artists, labor leaders, immigrants, Jews, and African Americans found themselves targets of HUAC investigations.

After **World War II** (1939–45) HUAC became a permanent committee. The global environment of the **Cold War** (1945–91) after World War II allowed the committee to be particularly aggressive and manipulative in its tactics. Fear of communists, foreigners, and independent thinkers made the American public tolerant of HUAC's actions. As a result, many people were harassed, and some found their lives irrevocably changed as a result.

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The Hollywood Ten

The HUAC investigations of members of Hollywood were viewed by many as a witch hunt. More than one hundred witnesses from the industry were called before HUAC during its existence. Eight screenwriters and two directors famously refused to answer the questions asked of them. Known as the Hollywood Ten, they depended on their **Fifth Amendment** right to be free from self-incrimination and their **First Amendment** right to freedom of speech and assembly.

In reaction, HUAC charged the Hollywood Ten with contempt of Congress. An investigative grand jury upheld the accusations and found the witnesses guilty as charged. The Hollywood Ten lost an appeal to an appellate court, and a conservative **Supreme Court** refused to hear the case. As a result, the Ten were forced to serve up to a year in a federal prison. These events initiated the studios' practice of firing and blacklisting artists with suspected communist connections.

Hollywood and beyond

One of the most famous aspects of the HUAC investigations involved Hollywood. In 1947, the committee devoted nine days to questioning members of the **movie** industry. Producers, actors, directors, and writers were questioned. In all, forty-one witnesses were called. They included leading figures and famous actors like Walt Disney (1901–1966), Gary Cooper (1901–1961), and future U.S. president **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89).

Nineteen Hollywood witnesses were classified as unfriendly prior to appearing before the committee. Each witness faced the question of whether they or others they knew were ever involved with the Communist Party. Although HUAC was challenging their industry, Hollywood studios chose to support it publicly. As a result of the investigations, they fired artists with suspected or proven communist connections. These names were accumulated on an unofficial but highly damaging blacklist. Those who were blacklisted could not find work anywhere in the industry. More than three hundred people were blacklisted, and only a small number ever managed to recover their careers. (See **Hollywood Blacklisting**.)

Among those called from Hollywood, ten witnesses refused to testify. They were charged with contempt of Congress and sent to prison. With the support of the court system behind them, the committee was encouraged to act even more aggressively. By the 1950s, HUAC was investigating subversives in government, labor **unions**, the press, and religious organizations as well as Hollywood. Fearing the committee's unchecked power, many witnesses falsely accused others. With little chance to establish their innocence, many people had their lives forever altered by a HUAC summons. With public suspicions aroused, people lost their jobs and their friends.

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Decline

HUAC began to decline in popularity throughout the 1950s. Similar investigations in the Senate under a committee led by U.S. senator **Joseph McCarthy** (1908–1957) of **Wisconsin** began to divert attention from HUAC activities. Growing liberalism in the late 1950s and 1960s encouraged public intolerance for such investigations. By the 1960s, HUAC was losing influence and was less active. HUAC was officially abolished in January 1975.

Sam Houston

Sam Houston was the first president of the Independent Republic of **Texas**, and he later served as governor of the state of Texas.

Houston was born on March 2, 1793, and had little, if any, formal schooling. His family moved from **Virginia** to **Tennessee** in 1806, and there Houston grew to adulthood. He served in the **War of 1812** (1812–15) as a lieutenant in the U.S. **Army**, commanded by General **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845). After the war, Houston returned to Tennessee, studied law, and became an attorney.

Joins the Cherokees

Houston was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1823. Four years later, he became governor of Tennessee. In 1829, he married Eliza H. Allen, but the marriage soon came to a sudden end. Divorce was highly uncommon at the time, and the public was scandalized. Houston never told anyone what had gone wrong, but considering himself a ruined man, he resigned the governorship. He moved to **Indian Territory** west of the Mississippi River to start a new life among a band of Cherokees that he had known since childhood.

In Indian Territory, Houston took a Native American name, wore Indian dress, became a tribal citizen, and married a Cherokee woman. He lived among the Cherokees until 1832, when he left his Indian wife and migrated to Texas. At that time, Texas was a Mexican province in political turmoil because of the increasing number of Anglo-Americans moving into the area.

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Texas revolutionary

Houston took an active role with those in Texas who wanted more self-rule and less interference from Mexico City. He signed the Texas Declaration of Independence and was selected commanding general of the Texan army on March 4, 1836.

Soon, bands of Texans, disobeying Houston's orders, captured Mexican forts at the **Alamo** and Goliad. By the end of March 1836, both forts had been recaptured by Mexican troops and their Texan defenders wiped out. Nearly two hundred Americans were killed at the Alamo.

After the defeat at the Alamo, Houston turned his small army eastward and rapidly fled toward the **Louisiana** border in a retreat popularly known as the "Runaway Scrape." The Mexican army, led by General Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876), pursued Houston's army. On April 21, 1836, Houston surprised the Mexican general by suddenly turning his troops and attacking the Mexican army. In the ensuing battle, known as the Battle of San Jacinto, nearly half the Mexicans died and the rest, including General Santa Anna, were taken prisoner. The Texans lost only six men.

President of Texas

Houston's spectacular victory in the Battle of San Jacinto ended the war and assured Texan independence. It also led to Houston's election as president of the Independent Republic of Texas in the summer of 1836. As president, Houston's main goal was to arrange for the United States to annex, or add, Texas to the Union as quickly as possible. American politics in the years leading to the American **Civil War** (1861–65) were divided, and delayed Texas's entry into the Union.

Texas finally became a state in 1845, and Houston was elected to represent the state in the U.S. Senate. Although Texas was firmly a part of the South, Houston rejected many of the Southern political causes of the 1850s. He believed in preserving the Union over Southern sectionalism (favoring one's region over one's country). In 1859, he became governor of Texas, and in early 1861 he refused to cooperate with the state's **secession** convention, the formal meeting at which Texas decided to withdraw from the Union. He also declined to take an oath of allegiance to the newly formed **Confederate States of America**.

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Soon Houston was forced to retire from the governorship because of his Unionist views. His ejection from the governor's office embittered him and soured his few remaining years.

HUAC

See **House Un-American Activities Committee**

Edwin Hubble

Edwin Hubble made two major contributions to American science. At a time when it was believed that the universe ended with the Milky Way, Hubble proved the existence of other galaxies, and he showed that the universe was expanding. He developed a mathematical concept to quantify this expansion, known as Hubble's law.

Edwin Powell Hubble was born on November 20, 1889, the third of seven children. The family lived in **Missouri** until 1898, when they relocated to Chicago, **Illinois**. Hubble excelled in both academics and sports, graduating from high school in 1906 at the age of sixteen. An academic scholarship sent him to the University of Chicago, where he graduated with a bachelor's degree in mathematics and astronomy in 1910.

In 1910, Hubble traveled to England to study at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar. In addition to his law studies there, he continued to pursue his athletic interests. Hubble returned to the United States in 1913 and began practicing law. Boredom set in within the first year, and he returned to the University of Chicago to work toward a Ph.D. in astronomy.

Mount Wilson

Hubble began working under the supervision of the school's Yerkes Observatory director. During this time, he met astronomer George E. Hale (1868–1938), the founder of the Yerkes Observatory and director of the Mount Wilson Observatory in **California**. The director invited Hubble to join the Mount Wilson staff once he received his degree, and Hubble accepted the offer. After serving in the army in **World War I** (1914–18) and being discharged in 1917, Hubble began his work at Mount Wilson. He stayed at the institution throughout his career.

In 1923, Hubble observed galaxies outside the Milky Way. His discovery of the existence of other galaxies—he would eventually discover

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nine—was announced publicly in 1924. That same year, he married Grace Burke Leib. The following year, Hubble introduced a system for classifying these galaxies, which became the basis for the modern classification system used by astronomers.

Determining distance using Hubble's law

Hubble continued to study galaxies throughout the 1920s. During this time, he measured the distances of more than twenty galaxies. But 1929 would prove to be the year of Hubble's most important discovery.

For over a decade, scientists predicted that the light coming from distant galaxies might indicate that they were moving apart from each other and away from Earth. If they were speeding fast enough away from Earth, that motion would stretch the light waves emitting from them. This stretching was called the redshift because longer wavelengths make light take on a reddish hue.

Hubble's most famous achievement was to determine the redshifts for a large number of galaxies by measuring the wavelengths of light emitting from them. His measurements told him that distant galaxies did move away from Earth. He also learned that the farther away these galaxies were from Earth, the faster they moved. The relationship between a galaxy's distance and its speed eventually became known as Hubble's law.

Big bang theory

Hubble's observations gave scientists a place to start when trying to determine the age of the universe and how it began. Some experts, such as British astronomer Fred Hoyle (1915–2001), theorized that the universe existed in a steady state, without beginning or end. Others raised the possibility that the origin of the universe was a single point from which everything else—space, time, and matter—had expanded. Astronomers proposed that this expansion had begun with a huge explosion, called the Big Bang, a phrase coined by Hoyle.

Hubble refused to get involved in the argument. Instead, he viewed his role as one of observing and reporting. Instead of saying galaxies were moving, he claimed they *appeared* to be moving.

Mount Palomar

Hubble had become America's leading astronomer by the 1930s. He was in charge of the Mount Wilson Observatory and mentored an entire

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generation of younger astronomers who studied there. His work extended beyond Mount Wilson, however, and he was intimately involved in the planning and construction of a new 200-inch telescope at Mount Palomar observatory in southern California. The telescope was named the Hale, after Hubble's own mentor.

Hubble headed an army research department during **World War II** (1939–45). He had the honor of being the first to use the Hale telescope when it was completed in 1948. The esteemed astronomer continued to work at Mount Wilson and Mount Palomar until his death on September 28, 1953, of a stroke.

Henry Hudson

Henry Hudson was an English navigator and explorer. North America has a bay, a strait, and a river named for him. In his short life, he sailed at least three times for English companies and at least once for a Dutch company. His goal, which eluded him, was to find a navigable passage from Europe to Asia through the Arctic region. Instead, he made discoveries that eventually opened European trading with the natives in North America.

Very little is known about Hudson's birth and early life. The earliest record from his life concerns a voyage he took in 1607. The Muscovy Company of England hired him to search for a navigable passage around the north coast of Siberia to China. He was unable to find the so-called Northeast Passage, either on that voyage or on another he took in 1608.

Dutch East India Company

In 1609, the **Dutch East India Company** hired Hudson to search for the Northeast Passage aboard the ship called *Half Moon.* The Dutch East India Company was a company from Netherlands and one of the first modern corporations. It financed voyages to the East Indies (present day Indonesia) to make money trading European goods for Asian spices and other goods.

The *Half Moon* hit heavy ice off the northern coast of Norway. Hudson's crew refused to go further, but Hudson did not want to return to the Netherlands. A fellow explorer, **John Smith** (c. 1580–1631), who colonized **Virginia**, had corresponded with Hudson, passing along maps

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concerning the New World. Hudson turned the ship around and headed west to look for a Northwest Passage to Asia.

Sailed through New York's harbor

The voyagers reached the coast of Nova Scotia in July 1609, then sailed down to the Chesapeake Bay and up to Delaware Bay. In September, they reached the entrance to what would be called New York Harbor. Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazano (c. 1485–c. 1528) had been there in 1524, but Hudson was the first European to sail through the harbor up the river that would eventually bear his name. By coincidence, French explorer **Samuel de Champlain** (c. 1567–1635) was in the region of Lake Champlain around this time.

The *Half Moon* made it as far as present-day Albany, **New York**. Hudson's crew had occasional problems with Native Americans and also learned that the area was rich with natural resources, including animals with valuable furs. Heading back down the river, Hudson and company stayed in New York Harbor for a few days at a place that Hudson wrote was called "Manna-hata" by the natives. It would eventually be called Manhattan in New York City.

Caught between British and Dutch interests

Hudson's discovery of valuable resources in the New World encouraged investors in the Netherlands to form the **Dutch West India Company**. English authorities, however, told Hudson not to sail anymore for Dutch companies. Hudson found English investors to finance another search for the Northwest Passage.

Hudson left for North America in April 1610 aboard the ship *Discovery.* He planned to sail north of where his last voyage had gone. By June, he sighted Resolution Island, which separates Davis Strait from Hudson Strait in northeastern Canada. The *Discovery* took six weeks to navigate the Hudson Strait before reaching the large Canadian bay that would be called Hudson Bay. Hudson thought he had reached the Pacific Ocean.

The *Discovery* turned south, eventually entering James Bay, where Hudson and his crew learned that they were landlocked. They had not found the Northwest Passage. Unprepared for this October setback and

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with the bay freezing in November, they had to spend the winter in the region with few supplies.

Left to die

In June 1611, the ice had melted enough for the *Discovery* to sail for home. When the ship reached Charlton Island in the southern part of James Bay, the crew mutinied. A leader of the mutiny, Robert Juet, had sailed with Hudson on his previous voyage. The mutineers stranded Hudson, his nineteen-year-old son John, and some weaker crewmembers in a small vessel on the bay. Historians presume that Hudson and his stranded companions died in the region that year. History has no record of Hudson afterward.

Dolores Huerta

[Dolores Huerta is cofounder and first vice president of the **United Farm Workers** union. She has dedicated much of her life to the struggle for justice and dignity for migrant farm workers.

Dolores Fernández Huerta was born in a small mining town in northern **New Mexico** in 1930. When Huerta was a toddler, her parents divorced, and she moved to **California** with her mother and two brothers. By this point, the severe economic slowdown known as the **Great Depression** (1929–41) was fully underway, making it hard for many Americans to earn a living. Her mother worked at a cannery at night and as a waitress during the day, while Huerta's grandfather helped watch the children. By the 1940s, the family's financial situation improved. Huerta's mother, who had remarried, owned a restaurant and hotel, and Huerta and her brothers helped run both businesses.



Labor leader and civil rights activist Dolores Huerta was cofounder and first vice president of the United Farm Workers union. AP IMAGES

Inspired by father's accomplishments

Huerta was separated from her father, but the two remained in contact. His work activities in-

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spired her. He had become active in labor **unions** and eventually returned to school to earn a college degree. In 1938, he won election to the New Mexico state legislature where he worked to enact better labor laws.

After high school, Huerta went to college and earned a teaching certificate, but she soon realized she wanted to do more than teach children. She wanted to help those who came to school barefoot and hungry.

Turns to social activism

In the mid-1950s, Huerta began to work for the Community Service Organization (CSO), a Mexican American self-help association founded in Los Angeles. She registered people to vote, organized citizenship classes for immigrants, and pressed local governments for improvements in barrios (Spanish-speaking neighborhoods). As a result of her skills, the CSO sent her to Sacramento, California, to work as a lobbyist (a person who persuades legislators to vote for certain laws).

During the late 1950s, Huerta became concerned about the living and working conditions of farm workers. Life for migrant farm workers was incredibly harsh. They worked in the hot sun for hours, picking crops. They often slept in run-down shacks or in their cars. Farm owners paid the workers poor wages and often tricked them out of the meager wages they had earned.

Chávez and the UFW

Huerta joined the Agricultural Workers Association, a community interest group in northern California. Through the AWA, she met **César Chávez** (1927–1993), the director of the CSO in California and **Arizona**. Chávez shared her deep interest in farm workers. Unhappy with the CSO's unwillingness to form a union for farm workers, Chávez and Huerta left to found the National Farm Workers Association in Delano, California, in 1962. After 1972, the union would be known simply as the United Farm Workers (UFW).

As second-in-command to Chávez, Huerta helped shape and guide the union. In 1965, when Delano grape workers went on strike, she devised the strategy for the strike and led the workers on the picket lines. Afterward, she became the union's first contract negotiator. In the late 1960s, she directed the grape boycott on the East Coast. Her work there helped bring about a successful grape boycott across the nation.

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Huerta's style was forceful and uncompromising. However, she succeeded in bringing together feminists, community workers, religious groups, Hispanic associations, student protesters, and peace groups to fight for the rights of migrant farm workers. Victory finally came in 1975 when California governor Jerry Brown (1938–) signed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the first bill of rights for farm workers ever enacted in America. It allowed them to form a union that would negotiate with farm owners for better wages and working conditions.

UFW activities

Over the years, Huerta has committed her energies to the UFW as a leader, speaker, fund-raiser, negotiator, picket captain, and adviser to government leaders. In the 1980s, she helped found the union's radio station in California. She testified before state and federal committees on a range of issues, including the use of pesticides on crops and other health matters facing migrant workers.

Many of Huerta's activities on behalf of the UFW have placed her in personal danger. She was arrested more than twenty times. In 1988, during a peaceful protest demonstration in San Francisco, Huerta was severely injured by baton-swinging police officers. She suffered two broken ribs and a ruptured spleen, forcing her to undergo emergency surgery. The incident outraged the public and caused the San Francisco police department to change its rules regarding crowd control and discipline.

Legacy of the UFW

After recovering from her life-threatening injuries, Huerta resumed her work on behalf of farm workers and in other political areas. In 2006, Princeton University gave her an honorary degree. Huerta is the mother of eleven children.

Human Genome Project

In 1990, the U.S. Department of Energy and the National Institutes of Health initiated a project to map the human genome. They hoped that, through enormous effort, scientists could locate and identify the tens of thousands of genes that make up the human body and find out what each one of them actually does. The multibillion dollar Human Genome Project (HGP) was expected to take fifteen years to complete.

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The actual work of mapping the human genome was done at hundreds of laboratories and university research units throughout the nation and was funded by the government. The United States coordinated its work with related programs in several other countries, and thus the Human Genome Project became an international undertaking involving at least eighteen countries. It was by far the largest coordinated effort ever undertaken in the biological sciences.

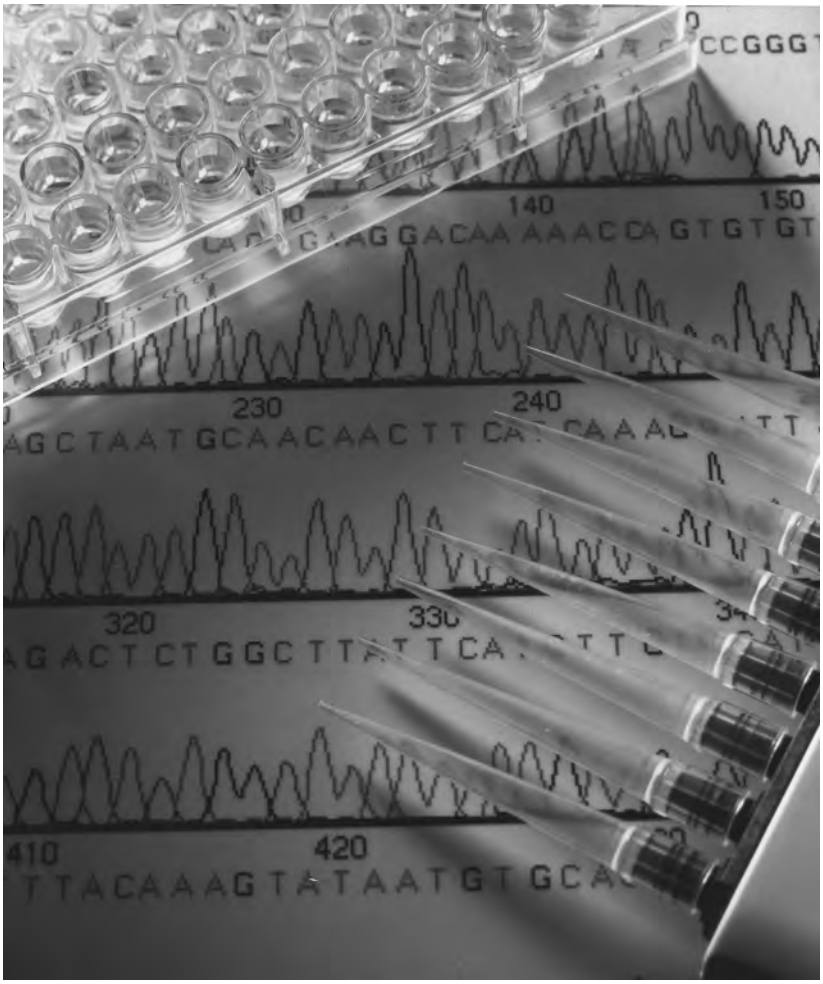
Basic terminology

The "human genome" is the term used to describe the complete collection of genes found in a single set of human chromosomes. It is contained inside the nucleus of each one of the human body's several trillion cells and provides all the information necessary for the body to live and grow. It is, in essence, a master blueprint for building a man or woman.

DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) is the genetic material that contains the code for all living things. A DNA molecule consists of two long chains or strands joined together by chemicals called bases or nucleotides, all of which are coiled together into a twisted-ladder shape called a double helix. The bases are considered to be the "rungs" of the twisted ladder. These rungs are made up of only four different types of nucleotides—adenine (A), thymine (T), guanine (G), and cytosine (C). The four bases always form a "rung" in pairs, and they always pair up in the same way: A always pairs with T, and G always pairs with C. What is most important about these pairs of bases is the particular order of the As, Ts, Gs, and Cs. Their order dictates whether an organism is a human being, a bumblebee, or an apple.

Each DNA base is like a letter of the alphabet, and a sequence or chain of bases can be thought of as forming a certain message. This strand of letters, or message, is called a gene. The gene is the most basic unit of inheritance. Genes are coded to carry information that allows an organism to make the protein it requires. These proteins give the organism its character traits: how it looks, what it does, and how it behaves. Genes are strung together and tightly packed into coiled structures in the nucleus of each cell, called chromosomes. Every human cell has forty-six chromosomes, or two pairs of twenty-three chromosomes. One set comes from a person's mother, the other from the person's father. These chromosomes determine sex, physical traits, and other inherited characteristics of the individual.

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A printout of the basic sequence of DNA, which consists of four different types of nucleotides: adenin (A), thymine (T), guanine (G), and cytosine (C). PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

Project goals

The Human Genome Project outlined several goals at the outset. One was to identify and sequence (find the precise order of the nucleotides) the genes. Because it is estimated that there are roughly 3.9 billion nucleotide bases that make up the human genome, identifying ways to store this information on publicly accessible databases was an important challenge. Another goal was to improve analytical tools so that sequences of the human genome could be compared to sequences from other organisms on special databases. Another important objective was to address the inevitable ethical, legal, and social implications (called ELSI in the project) of being able to map out an individual's genetic information.

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The size of the human genome

To get some idea about how much information is packed into a tiny human genome, a single large gene may consist of tens of thousands of nucleotides or bases, and a single chromosome may contain as many as one million nucleotide base pairs and four thousand genes. The Human Genome Project Information Web site (http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/home.shtml) provides another way of looking at the size of the human genome present in each of a human's cells: "If the DNA sequence of the human genome was compiled in books, 200 volumes the size of the Manhattan telephone book (which is 1,000 pages) would be needed to hold it all. It would take 9.5 years to read it aloud without stopping." Even simply storing this information on a computer presented a huge challenge. In 1998, a private company, Celera Genomics, announced plans to sequence the human genome on its own, using the largest civilian supercomputer ever made to produce the needed sequences. The company agreed to cooperate with the governmental project.

Early success

The Human Genome Project made unexpected progress in its early years. In December 1999, an international team announced that it had achieved a scientific milestone by compiling the entire code of a complete human chromosome for the first time. Researchers chose chromosome 22 (one of the twenty-three pairs of chromosomes found in humans) because of its relatively small size and its link to many major diseases. The sequence they compiled is more than twenty-three million letters in length. What was described as the "text" of one chapter of the twenty-three-volume human genetic instruction book was therefore completed.

In 2000, the Human Genome Project gave the public its first news of the completion of the "draft sequence"—a rough draft of the human genome, with about 90 percent of the sequence. In February 2001, scientists working on the project published the first interpretations of the human genome sequence. Previously, many in the scientific community had believed that the number of human genes totaled about 100,000. But the new findings surprised everyone: Both research groups said they could find only about 30,000 human genes. This meant that humans have remarkably few genes—a little more than twice as many as a fruit

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fly, which has 13,601. This discovery led scientists to conclude that human complexity does not come from a sheer quantity of genes but from their structure and the way they connect.

By its own definition, the Human Genome Project was almost complete in April 2003, and the sequence of the last chromosome was published in May 2006. Some highly repetitive DNA sequences had not been sequenced, and knowledge about the functions and regulation of genes remained incomplete, but the genome sequence was, for all intents and purposes, complete.

Purposes of the project

With the genome mapped and fully sequenced, biologists were able for the first time to stand back and look at each chromosome as well as the overall human blueprint. They could begin to understand how a chromosome is organized, where the genes are located, how they express themselves, how they are duplicated and inherited, and how disease-causing mutations occur.

The genetic mapping led to the development of new therapies for diseases thought to be incurable. Detailed genome maps allow researchers to seek and find the genes that are associated with diseases such as inherited colon and breast cancer and Alzheimer's disease. Not only will doctors be able to diagnose these conditions at a much earlier point, but they also will have new types of drugs as well as new techniques and therapies that allow them to cure or even prevent a disease.

There are other uses for genome maps. In forensic science (the use of scientific methods to investigate a crime and to prepare evidence), for example, genome mapping makes it possible to create a DNA profile of a person with the assurance that there is an extremely small chance that another individual has the exact same "DNA fingerprint." This allows police to identify suspects whose DNA may match evidence left at a crime scene, and it can prove innocent those who have been wrongly accused or convicted. DNA fingerprinting can also determine whether a man is the father of a child and better match organ donors with recipients.

A deeper genetic understanding of plants and animals, as well as humans, allows farmers to develop crops that can better resist disease, insects, and drought. "Bioengineered" food is controversial because it adds human engineered genes into the environment with unknown results.

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But it also enables farmers to use little or no pesticides on fruit and vegetable crops and reduces waste.

Other questions about the appropriate uses of the genome await answers. For example, what if health-insurance companies could test potential customers for future genetic diseases? What if potential employers could? How would an individual be affected by knowing his or her genetic differences?

Once completed, the Human Genome Project began to have a major impact on the life sciences and the quality of human life and health almost immediately. A highly successful effort by any scientific standards, it marks only the beginning of a better understanding of the genetic secrets of life.

Anne Hutchinson

Anne Hutchinson was a member of the **Massachusetts Bay Colony** from 1634 to 1637. She was an active community leader whose religious views differed from those of the leaders of the colony. After two trials, she was banished, or forced to leave, from the settlement. She and some of her followers founded a colony in the present area of Portsmouth, **Rhode Island**, where they could have religious freedom.

Early life

Anne Marbury Hutchinson was born in Alford, Lincolnshire, England. The date of her birth remains unknown, but she was baptized on July 20, 1591. Her father, Francis Marbury (1556–c. 1610), was a clergyman who was influenced by Puritan ideas. **Puritans** believed that the Anglican Church, the official church of England, should be simplified and cleansed of unnecessary rituals. Marbury got into trouble with the Anglican Church more than once for his beliefs. Hutchinson's mother, Bridget Dryden (1570–1644), was Marbury's second wife. In 1605, the family moved to London.

Anne Hutchinson received a better education from her father than most girls of the time. She was especially well educated in the scriptures of the Bible. In 1612, she married William Hutchinson (1586–1642), the son of a successful merchant. They resided in Alford, and over the course of their marriage, they had more than a dozen children.

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The Hutchinsons participated in the religious meetings of the Puritan movement in Alford. They followed the teachings of Reverend John Cotton (1585–1652), who was forced out of his ministry in 1633 for his Puritan beliefs. He therefore left England to accept a position with the Boston Church in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Anne and William Hutchinson decided to follow him there with their family in 1634.

Leadership and dissent

Anne Hutchinson quickly became a well-respected member of the community established in New England. Her intellect and kindness were well noted. As a woman, however, her activities were limited. She began hosting a weekly meeting for women at her home. The previous Sunday's sermon would be discussed. Her audience grew, and men began to attend meetings as well.

Eventually, Hutchinson moved beyond scriptural discussions and included discussions of religious philosophy. She embraced a religious view that was different than that of the church leaders. The Puritans generally believed in a covenant of works, which meant that a person had to obey church and scriptural guidance to gain access to heaven. Anne Hutchinson instead taught a covenant of grace. She believed that God's grace and love were revealed through personal intuition to those predestined to heaven. Her beliefs challenged the role of ministers and the church. According to her critics, Hutchinson's philosophies meant that no one had to act morally, so they felt that her teachings threatened the purity of the colony.

At first, Hutchinson enjoyed a large and supportive following. When one of her greatest critics, John Winthrop (1588–1649), was elected governor in 1637, much of that support was lost. The General Court, or government of the colony, banished one of her supporting ministers and sought to bring Hutchinson to trial. The charge related to misleading ministers and their ministry.

Anne defended herself against her accusers with strong arguments. Her confession, however, that she received direct revelations from God for one of her statements was heretical (against accepted beliefs). Puritans believed that God only spoke to humans through the Bible, so Anne Hutchinson was banished from the community. Refusing to take

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back her statements, she was formally excommunicated, or dismissed, from the church.

Later years

After the trials in 1638, Anne Hutchinson moved with her family to a new settlement in Rhode Island. William Hutchinson died in 1642, and Anne moved again. This time she settled with some of her family in the area of Pelham Bay, **New York**. In the late summer of 1643, Indians attacked. Hutchinson and all of her household, except one child, were killed. Many of her critics viewed the incident as proof of God's judgment against her teachings.

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Idaho

Idaho joined the Union as the forty-third state on July 3, 1890. Situated in the northwestern United States, Idaho is the smallest of the eight Rocky Mountain states and thirteenth in size among the fifty states. It is bordered by Canada, **Montana**, **Wyoming**, **Utah**, **Nevada**, **Oregon**, and **Washington**.

Several Native American tribes lived in the region of Idaho when fur trappers and missionaries arrived in the early 1800s. The **Oregon Trail** opened in 1842, and pioneers used it for twenty years to pass through Idaho on their way to other points west. In 1860, gold was discovered in northern Idaho, and a gold rush ensued, lasting several years. (See **California Gold Rush**.) This led directly to the organizing of the Idaho Territory on July 10, 1863.

Between 1870 and 1880, Idaho's population nearly doubled. This white settlement threatened the Native American way of life and set off a series of wars in the late 1870s. The Nez Perce War is the most famous of the battles.

Idaho enjoyed an economic boom beginning in 1906 due to the completion of the country's biggest sawmill in Potlatch. With construction of this sawmill came the birth of the modern timber industry. By **World War I** (1914–18), agriculture was the state's leading enterprise.

As the twenty-first century progressed, Idaho experienced population expansion and the push for economic development. Both factors were in direct conflict with a new interest in the environment, and Idaho's leaders found themselves at odds regarding land use, mineral development, and water supply.

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In 2006. Idaho was home to nearly 1.5 million people, 91.8 percent of them white. Boise, the capital, was the most heavily populated by far. The Nez Perce live in the northern region of the state on reservation land. The primary religion of Idaho is Mormon, and the Mormon population is second only to that in Utah. (See **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**.)

Idaho is not a wealthy state. In 2004, the average personal income was just under $27,000, far below the national average of $33,050. Many of the state's workers are employed in agriculture. Idaho's most famous crop is the russet potato, but it also grows sugar beets, barley, and hops.

Illinois

Illinois, also known as the Land of Lincoln, was the twenty-first state to join the Union, when it was admitted on December 3, 1818. It lies in the eastern north-central United States and is surrounded by **Wisconsin**, **Iowa**, **Missouri**, **Kentucky**, **Indiana**, and Lake Michigan. Springfield is the state's capital, but Chicago is Illinois's most heavily populated city, with nearly three million residents.

European explorers arrived in Illinois in the 1600s and found a number of Native American tribes living there. Tribal populations were decimated by European-induced disease, alcohol, and warfare. After the Black Hawk War in 1832, all remaining tribal members were forced to leave Illinois and relocate across the Mississippi River.

Half of all men living in Illinois served in the American **Civil War** (1861–65). The state had a deep-seated loyalty to President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), a longtime resident.

After the **Union** victory in the war, Illinois experienced economic and population growth. Chicago became the major city of the Midwest. The completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 presented business opportunities never before realized, and small towns and cities built banks, grain elevators, factories, and retail shops.

The second half of the nineteenth century was the setting for the **labor movement**, a time when workers formally organized into unions, such as the **Knights of Labor**, in order to advocate for better pay and working conditions. Illinois was the center of this activity because it was a highly industrialized state. The Haymarket Riot of 1886 and the vio-

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lent **Pullman Strike** in 1894 left scores of people injured or dead. In 1871, the Great Chicago Fire destroyed the city's downtown area. Its wealthy citizens took it upon themselves to rebuild their city, and their visionary attitude made Chicago one of the greatest metropolitan areas of the world.

The majority of Illinois enjoyed thirty years of prosperity in the first half of the twentieth century. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants moved to Chicago, most of them without money or jobs, many unable to speak English. In the 1920s, the city earned a reputation for violence and corruption as **organized crime** took hold. The **Great Depression** (1929–41) hit agricultural areas first. Industries began closing their doors and did not fully recover until **World War II** (1939–45) was over.

Illinois was hit hard by a severe recession in the 1980s; industrial workers were laid off indefinitely, and many of the jobs were permanently lost to automation. In 1990, Illinois suffered an unemployment rate of 7.2 percent, a full two points higher than the national average of 5.2 percent.

In 2003, Illinois had a $5 billion budget deficit, the worst in twenty years. By 2006, the state was developing programs aimed at creating jobs, providing healthcare, and increasing education funding.

Illinois's population in 2006 was just under twelve million, making it the fifth-largest among the fifty states. Of these residents, 72.2 percent were white and 14.5 percent were of African American heritage. The state remained ethnically diverse and claimed the sixth-highest Asian population in the nation.

Illinois's economy depends heavily upon human services industries such as law, education, finance, government, and business. Prior to 1972, meat-packing was the state's most famous industry, but that changed after the closing of the Chicago stockyards. Manufacturing, though concentrated in Chicago, is prevalent throughout the state.

Illinois boasts one of the better-than-average literacy rates in the nation, and Chicago is one of the leading arts centers in the Midwest. The state's library system is unusually strong; at the end of fiscal year 2001, there were 629 public libraries. Illinois boasts 277 museums and historic sites, including the Museum of Science and Industry, which attracts two million visitors each year.

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Immigration

Immigration, the leaving of one's homeland to build a life in another country, was not a new concept by the late 1800s. Foreigners had been leaving their homelands for the United States for decades before. Immigration historians generally divide immigration into three waves. The first wave crossed the Atlantic Ocean from 1815 to 1860; the second between 1860 and 1890. Immigrants of the first two waves were mostly British, Irish, German, Scandinavian, and Dutch. The third wave crossed between 1890 and 1914. Immigrants of the third wave came primarily from Greece, Turkey, Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Romania. (See also **Asian Immigration**; **French and Dutch Immigration**; **German Immigration**; **Irish Immigration**; **Italian and Greek Immigration**; **Mexican Immigration**; and **Scots and Scotch-Irish Immigration**.)

Immigration to the United States was a process, not an event. It did not have an actual "start" date, nor will it have an "end" date. Still, immigration reached its peak from 1900 to 1915 when nearly fifteen million people entered the United States. That is as many as in the previous forty years combined. This influx (flowing in) of foreigners to the shores of the United States changed the nation's face forever.

Immigration records

Although immigration records dating back to the nineteenth century do exist, the numbers are not accurate either in terms of how many immigrants arrived in the United States or their ethnicity. This is so for a number of reasons.

Ellis Island in **New York** harbor was the major port (point of entry) for immigrants crossing the Atlantic Ocean to the United States. However, it was not the only port. Smaller ports dotted the shoreline, but those ports did not keep consistent or reliable records. The same can be said of overland immigrants from Canada and Mexico; some immigrants were counted, others were not. Chinese immigrants landed at a port called Angel Island in **California**.

Even after the immigration procedures were in place, immigrants were recorded according to their presumed nationality, not their ethnicity. This gives a distorted picture of who was coming to the United States. For example, sizable portions of the millions of people emigrating

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Hundreds of immigrants wait at Ellis Island through the long immigration process. People were forced to give every detail of their lives and pass a rigorous health inspection. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

from Britain were Irish. But because they came from Britain, they were recorded as British, not Irish. The only Irish in the records were those from Ireland. Likewise, "Jewish" was not a recognized ethnicity until after 1948. (See **Jewish Immigration**.) Before that, the word referred only to a person's religious belief. So the number of Jewish immigrants was highly underreported.

The immigration process

First- and second-class immigrants—those who paid more for their tickets and so had access to better accommodations—passed through Ellis Island easily. Only the lowest classes (working class and most immigrants) were forced to endure a rigorous inspection. Even if these foreigners had nothing to hide, the process was stressful.

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Immigrants were asked to give their names, ages, country of origin, and legal status in that country. Because many immigrants had last names that were difficult for inspectors to pronounce and spell, a great number of them were given new, more Americanized, names for their new lives. For people to whom family tradition held great value, this enforced name change was devastating.

After giving their occupation and work history, immigrants were asked questions about their religious and political beliefs. A health inspection followed this inquiry, and this was probably the most worrisome aspect of the process because immigrants had just spent months on board ships full of filth and disease. Many of the passengers left the ships ill. Immigrants were marked according to their condition: "P" indicated a pregnant woman; "X" was given to the mentally disabled. Anyone incurably ill was deported (sent home) immediately.

Immigrants who successfully cleared the inspection process then took an oath of loyalty to the United States and were allowed to enter. Where they went from Ellis Island depended on the plans they had made before the trip. A great many of them simply stayed in New York, at least temporarily, until they found work and saved money to move on.

At the peak of immigration in the early years of the twentieth century, immigrants accounted for almost one-third of the United States's population growth.

Coming to America

Contrary to popular myth, most immigrants of this era were not the poorest people in their society. They paid their own way or had their journey funded by a relative, a friend, or even a prospective employer. Most of these immigrants were young adult males, single or married with wives back home, who planned to work in the United States for a few years, save money, and return home. Immigrants who did not plan to stay in the United States permanently were called sojourners. Other immigrants, usually single women or men with families in the United States, stayed permanently. Plans often depended on the immigrant's experience in the United States.

Again, recordkeeping was not consistent, and statistics of those who returned to their country of origin were not kept until 1909. It is impossible to know, therefore, how many immigrants were sojourners who returned to the United States time and again.

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Although each immigrant had his or her own individual reasons for emigrating, the primary reasons for leaving home, regardless of region, were economic, political, or religious.

The long voyage

European immigrants had to cross the Atlantic Ocean to reach the United States. Prior to the mid-1850s, the only method of transportation was a sailing ship. The trip took anywhere from one to three months, and it was a voyage of great discomfort.

Sailing ships were designed to carry cargo, not passengers. Captains, intent on making a profit by crowding as many passengers on board as possible, did little to adapt their ships. Flour, potatoes, tea, oatmeal, and maybe fish were provided. Water was provided too, but often it was stored in containers previously used to store oil and other liquids not intended for human consumption. Drinking that water put one's health at great risk.

Passengers often had only a few square feet of space per person. Narrow beds similar to bunk beds were poorly constructed, with a focus on quick dismantling rather than on comfort. There were no toilets or windows, which made sanitation a major problem. Passengers relieved themselves on deck, a habit that made conditions even worse. When a storm would hit, the ship would violently pitch, tossing around food, passengers, human waste, and anything else that was not secured to the deck.

Epidemics (widespread outbreaks of disease) were common and were the primary cause of death on immigrant ships. Typhus, a disease spread by head lice, was fatal if left untreated. Cholera was another deadly disease. Caused by infected drinking water, cholera victims became dehydrated to the point of death. Bodies were either thrown overboard or left on deck until the ship reached shore.

With the invention of the steamship came a shorter, more comfortable trip for immigrants. By 1867, the journey took just fourteen days; within forty years, that time was shortened to five-and-one-half days. The new ships were built specifically to carry passengers. Permanent beds were provided, and improved boilers allowed for reliable heating during the colder months. Health risks were greatly reduced as well, and by the early twentieth century the average number of deaths at sea was less than

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1 percent of all immigrants. Ships could hold around three hundred passengers in first class and another thousand in steerage (the bottom level of the ship, always the least expensive fare).

During the 1880s, the immigrant trade became fiercely competitive. By 1882, there were forty-eight steamship companies fighting each other for business. All these companies were German- or British-owned; the United States never managed to break into this particular industry. The competition, however, worked in the favor of the immigrants for a short time. In 1875, rates on one of the most popular steamship lines were as low as $20 (steerage) and as high as $300 (first class). By the early 1880s, fares were reduced in order to attract passengers and could be bought for $10 to $20. This is the equivalent of about $200 to $400 in modern currency. Company owners soon conducted business the same way the railroads did, by forming "pools" and fixing prices so that no one company could undersell another.

Steamship companies brought immigrants to the United States, but the railroads were responsible for providing the motivation to make the journey. They owned thousands of acres of land—in northwestern states and territories in particular—they no longer wanted and could provide immigrants something other promotional agencies could not: transportation to get to the land, and the opportunity to buy the land once they arrived. The railroads published booklets advertising the United States and making offers too good to be true. They tempted immigrants with reduced transportation fees by land and sea, low-interest loans, classes in farming, and even the promise to build churches and schools. Some railroad lines assured immigrants that they would be hired for railroad construction at $30 a month plus board.

The South was interested in cheap labor to replace the slaves it had recently lost following the North's victory in the American **Civil War** (1861–65). (**Slavery** had been outlawed.) Immigrants, however, were not attracted to the southern United States because it had virtually no unsold land and very little large-scale industry. Without these attractions, immigrants would have difficulty finding shelter as well as work.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the railroads ended their recruitment campaigns. They had run out of land to sell at prices immigrants could afford.

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New York City became an especially booming immigrant area, with little shops and food stands. AP IMAGES

What impact did they have?

Immigration was difficult for American and foreign workers alike. With millions of more people available, industries and businesses could hire employees to work for less money. Owners and managers knew people were desperate for work, and they took advantage of that fact by paying them low wages and forcing them to work in dirty, dangerous conditions.

But the greatest impact of immigration could be seen and felt in U.S. towns and cities. Rural America was disappearing as skyscrapers filled the horizon, and the **urbanization** of America was four times greater than the increase in the rural population in the late nineteenth century.

Cities could not be developed quick enough to keep up with the number of people who required housing. As a result, urban centers throughout the United States were overcrowded. This overcrowding led to unsafe living conditions and serious health issues. The immigrants fared the worst, as they poured into slums called **tenement housing**.

Immigration restrictions

Congress passed the first immigration restriction law in 1870. The Naturalization Act restricted citizenship to "white persons and persons of

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African descent." Asian immigrants, then, were denied the right to become American citizens. The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, further restricting Asian immigration. The Scott Act of 1888 forbid the return to the United States of any Chinese who had returned to their homeland when the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted.

In 1891, a law was passed excluding convicts, the mentally retarded, the insane, the destitute (poorest of the poor), people with diseases, and polygamists (people with more than one spouse) from immigrating.

The Immigration Restriction League (IRL) formed in 1894 and encouraged Congress to pass a law requiring potential immigrants to take a reading and comprehension test. Although several presidents vetoed the bill, it finally passed in 1917. The law is still in effect in the twenty-first century.

Imperialism

Imperialism is the extension by a government of power or authority over areas outside the controlling nation. It results in the imposition of one nation's ways on another, creating an unequal relationship.

The imperialist extension of power is usually achieved through expansionism—acquiring or seizing territory. In the nineteenth century, the United States was intent on expanding its territory and economic influence. The doctrine of **Manifest Destiny** held that America was destined to expand from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. The United States's expansionist goals were achieved through acquisitions such as the **Louisiana Purchase** of 1803; the **Texas** annexation of 1845; the Mexican cession that resulted from the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) and gave the United States **California**, **Nevada**, **Utah**, and parts of Texas, **Colorado**, **Arizona**, **New Mexico**, and **Wyoming**; and the annexation of **Hawaii** in 1898.

Throughout history, expansionist and imperialist aims have often overlapped. Both involve a sense of mission and national identity. A nation's confidence that it is superior to others can contribute to imperialist goals. For example, as white American settlers moved across the continent during the era of **westward expansion**, they believed they had the right to take land away from Native Americans and to force their ways on the native populations.

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Imperialism differs from expansionism in that it denies the rights of citizenship to the people of the lands that have been imposed upon. In many instances, an imperialist country exploits native populations for cheap labor, thereby increasing its own wealth and power. A country trying to expand its land holdings is not necessarily interested in domination or exploitation.

Anti-imperialism

As America continued to expand in the belief that the greatness of a nation depended on its size and power, many Americans grew uncomfortable with the idea. They believed expansionism was too costly, and they objected to bringing nonwhite populations into the country. In 1899, a group of anti-imperialists formed the Anti-Imperialist League in direct response to the **Philippine-American War** (1899–1902), which occurred following the **Spanish-American War** (1898). As a result of that war, the United States had won control of the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, and Guam. Also known as the Philippine Insurrection, the conflict was one of the bloodiest wars of the era. Filipinos were not willing to accept the United States as their landlord or their boss, and anti-Imperialists agreed with them.

The league was established in Boston, **Massachusetts**, but it soon had a national membership of more than thirty thousand. Its members tended to hold liberal, progressive political views. Among them were writer **Samuel Clemens** (1835–1910), also known as Mark Twain, and millionaire industrialist **Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919).

The U.S. government threatened to imprison antiwar activists, including league members, in 1900. By the time the insurrection ended in 1902, more than four thousand U.S. troops had lost their lives and more than two hundred thousand Filipino civilians (some historians estimate the figure as a half-million or more) had died as a result of violence or disease. The league was unsuccessful at preventing U.S. colonial rule over the Philippines, which continued for the next thirty years. The league disbanded in 1921, but the efforts of this early peace movement raised awareness of the uglier side of imperialism.

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Caribbean and Latin America

After 1900, America turned its focus to the Caribbean and Central America. The **Panama Canal**, a manmade waterway designed as a passageway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans through Central America, opened for business on August 15, 1914. The United States had total control of the ten-mile waterway, which became a major military asset and helped America become the dominant power in Central America. By **World War I** (1914–18), Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua were protectorates (nations in formal or informal agreement with the United States to accept military and political protection from them in exchange for specific obligations). Puerto Rico was a colony (a territory under immediate and total control of a more powerful nation).

The United States's participation in World War I led to a reluctance regarding overseas commitments. The U.S. government withdrew its troops from Caribbean and Central America nations, relaxing its control in the region. Yet in economic terms, the U.S. government continued to push American exports and foreign loans, which some historians labeled "open door imperialism."

World War II and the Cold War

The **Great Depression** (1929–41) refocused American attention on domestic concerns. Then, with the advent of **World War II** (1939–45), global matters again took center stage. The United States, together with its **allies**, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, China, and others, defeated Germany, Italy, and Japan. The cost was immense, and only the Soviet Union and the United States emerged with enhanced power.

These two superpowers entered into an era known as the **Cold War** (1945–91), during which they engaged in an intense political and economic rivalry. The United States began to wield its influence to a degree greater than ever before. It supported anticommunist regimes in Guatemala (1954) and Cuba (1961), and as a prevention tactic, intervened in the Dominican Republic in 1965. Throughout the **Vietnam War** (1954–75), which was an effort to prevent the Soviet Union from achieving communist control in the region, Southeast Asia relied heavily on the United States for military aid. The United States became involved in other initiatives in the Middle East and Africa. In politics and in the

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media, debates intensified as to whether the United States had become a global imperialist.

The global reach of the United States

In the second half of the twentieth century, the cultures of many nations around the world began to emulate American lifestyles, fashions, foods, and trends. American **movies** and television programs were enormously popular overseas, and foreign students flocked to American colleges and universities. By the twenty-first century, "Americanness" saturated the world. Some historians called this phenomenon cultural imperialism.

When the Soviet Union dissolved, bringing the Cold War to an end in 1991, America remained the lone superpower. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the United States on several occasions deployed its forces overseas. It sent troops to Panama (1989) to protect the neutrality of the Panama Canal and depose the military leader, who had ties to drug trafficking. It sent troops to Somalia (1992), Haiti (1994), Bosnia (1995), and Kosovo (1999), primarily for humanitarian reasons. The Gulf War of 1991, following Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's (1937–2006) invasion of Kuwait, involved sending more than five hundred thousand troops to Iraq in an effort to protect the world's oil supply. And in 2003, the United States led coalition forces into war in Iraq; the U.S. government's primary stated reasons for the **Iraq invasion** were to bring democracy to the ailing nation and to end the threat of **weapons of mass destruction** believed to have been developed and stored there, but which were not found. The war was a subject of intense political debate and controversy. For instance, a 2007 poll conducted in Iraq for several American and European media companies indicated that 50 percent of Iraqis felt things in their homeland before the U.S. invasion had been better, while 12 percent felt they had not changed. As of 2008, U.S. troops remain in Iraq.

Impressment

In the modern world, developed countries build militaries using voluntary recruiting practices or laws requiring service. Before the acceptance of such practices, many countries relied on the forced tactic of impressment. Through impressment, militaries forced people to serve for them.

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Impressed men often came from prisons, taverns, and boardinghouses. Brutal discipline maintained their presence and services as needed.

In the early nineteenth century, impressment became a challenging diplomatic issue between the United States and Great Britain. The English believed that one could not change citizenship or allegiance to a country. This was contrary to the revolutionary American belief that an individual had a right to choose allegiance. As a result, British naval vessels began the practice of boarding American ships to impress sailors who they deemed to be British deserters.

The British rarely spent time checking whether the nationality of those impressed was in fact British. Nine times out of ten, the sailors taken were not British. It fell to the U.S. government, however, to prove each case individually. As many as ten thousand men were impressed by the British between 1787 and 1807.

The British practice of impressing American sailors soured relations between the two countries. Though the United States attempted several times to negotiate an agreement to end the practice, Great Britain refused to stop. Impressment was a leading issue that caused the **War of 1812** (1812–15) between the two countries. Both the War of 1812 and the need to acquire dependable service members led to the decline of impressment after 1815.

Indentured Servitude

Colonizing the New World required hard labor. Governments and investors who wanted to profit from the New World's resources needed people to build and run communities, farms, and trades. Indentured servitude, and then **slavery**, were the primary means of obtaining that labor.

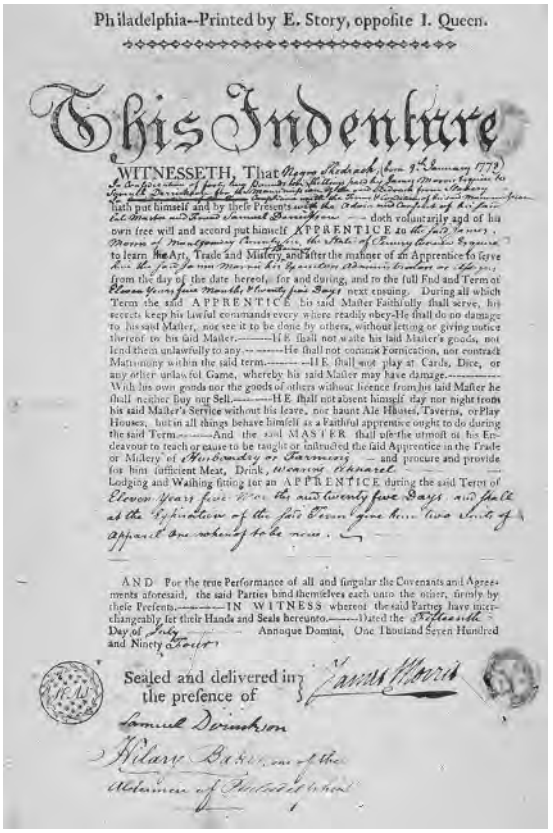
In 1606, the Virginia Company first tried to attract settlers to the New World by offering company stock, or a share of the company's profits. The method failed when the company had no profits to share with the settlers after seven years.

In 1618, the Virginia Company tried attracting settlers using a new method called the headright system. For Englishmen who could pay for themselves and their families to travel to the New World, the company gave 50 acres (20 hectares) of land to the head of the family and additional land for every family member and servant he brought along. In ex-

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change, the settler had to pay the company a share of profits he earned from the land. Headright systems were soon used by other companies throughout the New World, but it was difficult for the companies to collect all of their profits and difficult for the settlers to find enough labor to work the land.

Indentured servitude was a way to obtain labor for farming, production, and trade in the New World. Under the system, a landowner or producer paid to transport a person from Europe and to house, feed, and clothe him, usually for seven to fourteen years. In exchange, the person agreed to work for the landowner or producer for those years. At the end of the agreed on number of years, the person became a freeman and received from his former master a small amount of land, some money, tools of his trade, or just a set of clothes.



Philadelphia--Printed by E. Story, oppofite I. Queen.

This Indenture

WITNESSETH, That Negro Richard born 9th January 1778 ... doth voluntarily and of his own free will and accord put himself APPRENTICE to the said James ... to learn the Art, Trade and Mistery, and after the manner of an Apprentice to serve ... from the day of the date hereof, for and during, and to the full End and Term of Eleven Years four Months, Twenty four Days next ensuing. During all which Term the said APPRENTICE his said Master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep his lawful commands every where readily obey--He shall do no damage to his said Master, nor see it to be done by others, without letting or giving notice thereof to his said Master.----He shall not waste his said Master's goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any.----He shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said term.----He shall not play at Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game, whereby his said Master may have damage.----With his own goods nor the goods of others without licence from his said Master he shall neither buy nor Sell.----He shall not absent himself day nor night from his said Master's Service without his leave, nor haunt Ale Houses, Taverns, or Play Houses, but in all things behave himself as a faithful apprentice ought to do during the said Term.----And the said MASTER shall use the utmost of his Endeavour to teach or cause to be taught or instructed the said Apprentice in the Trade or Mistery of Husbandry or Farmers and procure and provide for him sufficient Meat, Drink, Wearing Apparel ... Lodging and Washing fitting for an APPRENTICE during the said Term of Eleven Years four Months and twenty four Days and shall at the Expiration of the said Term give him two Suits of Apparel one wholly for new ...

AND For the true Performance of all and singular the Covenants and Agreements aforesaid, the said Parties bind themselves each unto the other, firmly by these Presents.----IN WITNESS whereof the said Parties have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals hereunto.----Dated the 27th day Day of July Annoque Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety four

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Samuel Dennison

Hilary Baker

This Certificate of Indenture describes the conditions under which a former slave will be apprenticed to a farmer in 1794. Indentured servitude was a common way to obtain labor for farming, production, and trade in the New World. KEAN COLLECTION/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Many indentured servants could afford to travel to the New World but needed help establishing themselves once there. Most indentured servants came involuntarily as an alternative to punishment for crime or to escape debt or poverty. Many Germans came to the New World through a system called redemption. Under redemption, ship owners paid to transport German laborers to the New World and then sold them into servitude to redeem the cost of their passage.

The life of an indentured servant was hard. Servants had to do whatever work their masters required of them. Indentured servants, however, had more rights under the law than slaves. While some indentured servants had to extend their periods of service when they could not afford their freedom, others earned freedom after their period of service, an option unavailable to slaves who were held against their will for their entire lives.

Indentured servitude slowly came to an end in the nineteenth century. During the eighteenth century, slavery replaced servitude for operating plantations in the South, and during the nineteenth century, economies in the North, fueled by crafts, trades, and industry, attracted free labor from Europe as the cost of passage to the New World fell.

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Indian Affairs, Bureau of

See **Bureau of Indian Affairs**

Indian Appropriations Act

As people in the United States began migrating west in great numbers in the nineteenth century, the government found itself with a problem on its hands. In order to entice white citizens and immigrants to risk everything they owned to settle in the western territories, the government needed something to offer, so it offered land for a very low price, or completely free. But those lands were already occupied by Native Americans who had lived there for many generations.

Like other groups throughout history, Native Americans were viewed through prejudiced eyes. They were considered inferior to whites and were treated unfairly. The federal government saw them not only as individual people, but also as tribal nations. In general, the rights of Native Americans were determined by tribal membership rather than on an individual basis. Tribal membership was the cornerstone on which the Native American culture was built.

Although the government often dealt in treaties (formal agreements), it did not always abide by the treaty terms. By the second half of the nineteenth century, broken treaties had resulted in the capture of most Native American tribes. Their land was taken from them and they were forced to live on **Indian reservations**. The government continued to view them mostly as tribes rather than as individuals, although this position gave Native Americans partial control over laws that affected them.

The federal government realized that Native Americans drew strength from their tribal ties and memberships. On March 3, 1871, the Indian Appropriations Act was passed. This law ended treaty making between tribes and the federal government. Native Americans were stripped of their power and their strength because from that point on they were considered only as individuals. This increased the power and authority of the government and was one more step toward dismantling the tribal way of life for Native Americans.

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Indian Reorganization Act

The Indian Reorganization Act was passed on June 18, 1934, as part of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**'s (1882–1945; served 1933–45) **New Deal** legislation. It marked a great shift in federal policy toward American Indians. Previous legislation had worked to bring Indians into the mainstream culture and disempower tribal unity. The Indian Reorganization Act was the federal government's first attempt to preserve rather than destroy tribal cultures. It did so in part by restoring to the Indians some rights and lands the United States had taken.

In 1933, President Roosevelt appointed John Collier (1884–1968) commissioner of Indian Affairs. Under Collier's leadership, the **Bureau of Indian Affairs** reformed Indian policy. Native schools were improved, employment rose, and cultural identity was revived. The act further empowered tribes by increasing their powers of self-government. It stopped the process of allotting tribal lands to individuals and restored or replaced some Indian lands taken in the past. Tribal self-determination was encouraged through the opportunity to establish democratic local rule. Indians were encouraged to restore unique aspects of their spirituality, language, and culture.

Each federally recognized tribe was given the chance to accept or reject the provisions of the act. Over two-thirds of the tribes eventually accepted it. The full potential of the act, however, was never realized. A shortage of government funds during both the **Great Depression** (1929–41) and **World War II** (1939–45) hindered implementation of the act. At the end of the war, pressure to end services to American Indians prevented further government support. It was not until the late 1950s that the federal government again embraced the policies behind the Indian Reorganization Act.

Indian Reservations

Indian reservations are federally owned lands that have been protected in trusts for use by Native American tribes. Their roots go back to Puritan New England during the 1600s. Missionaries there created reservations to convert the Indians to Christianity and European lifestyles. Current reservations were created in the nineteenth century to force tribes to embrace American ways and to open the way for white expansion into the

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West. Resisting extinction, tribes have used reservations as places for preserving their unique cultures and traditions.

Establishing the reservation system

With the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803, the U.S. government started to create reservations in the West. The government hoped reservations would reduce conflict with the Indians as American society expanded. These reservations had vague boundaries, where tribes were allowed to live until they wanted to integrate into mainstream American life.

Policies became stricter in the rush of **westward expansion** from the 1840s to the 1880s. The federal government created more definite reservations, and all tribes were forced to move onto them. Reservations were designed to serve two main policies. Forcing Indians to relocate allowed white Americans to expand into new territory without fear of conflict with the natives. Concentrating tribes on undesirable land forced some Indians to abandon their traditions and cultures by entering American society for jobs. To encourage this result, policymakers instructed Indians in farming and other aspects of Euro-American-Christian civilization.

The reservation system was not easy to establish. Corruption within the federal Office of Indian Affairs (later renamed the **Bureau of Indian Affairs**) was a problem. Some tribes could not live successfully on the poor lands allotted to them and had to be relocated again. Native American tribes sometimes resisted relocation orders, so the government increasingly resorted to military action to establish reservations throughout the 1860s. By 1877, nearly every tribe lived in confinement on a reservation, but conflicts continued into the 1880s.

Assimilation (conformity) programs continued through the early decades of the 1900s. The **Dawes Severalty Act** of 1887 allowed reservation lands to be sold in individual plots to non-Indians. Native American languages, religious practices, ceremonies, arts and crafts, and governments dwindled. Few reservations were self-sufficient, and poverty reigned. Refusing to assimilate, some tribes struggled to maintain their way of life despite the challenges.

The new reservations

In 1933, John Collier (1884–1968) became the commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs. Collier supported a reform movement to pre-

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serve traditional Indian culture and society. Reform included passage of the **Indian Reorganization Act** of 1934. The act changed government policy concerning reservations, giving tribes new authority to govern themselves. The power of self-government allowed tribes to take steps to preserve their cultures and traditions.

Today, reservations continue to remain under federal control, but most have their own democratic governments. Tribal governments provide health, educational, and social services, just as state and municipal governments do. Many Native Americans make a living from the natural resources of their lands and from tourism that spotlights their unique cultures. Most Native Americans, however, make a living at regular jobs the same way non–Native Americans do.

Problems, however, persist on Indian reservations. Unemployment rates are high, as are alcoholism and suicide rates. Native American health is often poor. These problems are the legacy of centuries of U.S. government policy toward American Indians. Although tribes struggle with these issues, many Indians take great pride in their heritage and are determined to revive and preserve their language, culture, and traditions on their reservation lands.

Indian Territory

The land that now forms most of the state of **Oklahoma** appears as "Indian Territory" on maps drawn in the 1800s. Created for resettlement of Indian (Native American) peoples removed from the East, Indian Territory eventually was home to members of tribes from across the nation. Indian Territory was dissolved with the creation of the present state of Oklahoma in 1907. Today, Oklahoma has the largest number of Native Americans and the greatest number of tribal nations of any state in the United States. More than sixty-seven nations exist in Oklahoma; twenty-nine of these are federally recognized Native American Nations.

The original idea

In 1825, Congress set aside for Indian use the country west of **Missouri** and **Arkansas** and east of Mexican territory. Closed to white settlement, it was first called Indian Country and then, by 1830, Indian Territory. Indian Territory arose from the tensions created by the **westward expansion** of white settlers into Native American lands. The federal govern-

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ment wished to remove Native Americans from their eastern homelands, opening those lands to white settlement and it also wanted to protect the relocated Indians from land-hungry whites. In giving Native Americans Indian Territory, the government assumed that Indian Territory would remain the far western edge of the United States.

Relocation begins

Some Native American peoples voluntarily moved to Indian Territory from the east. Cherokees known as the Old Settlers moved there in 1828. Then, in 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which authorized negotiations and funds for the relocation of all southeastern tribes to Indian Territory, whether they were willing to go or not.

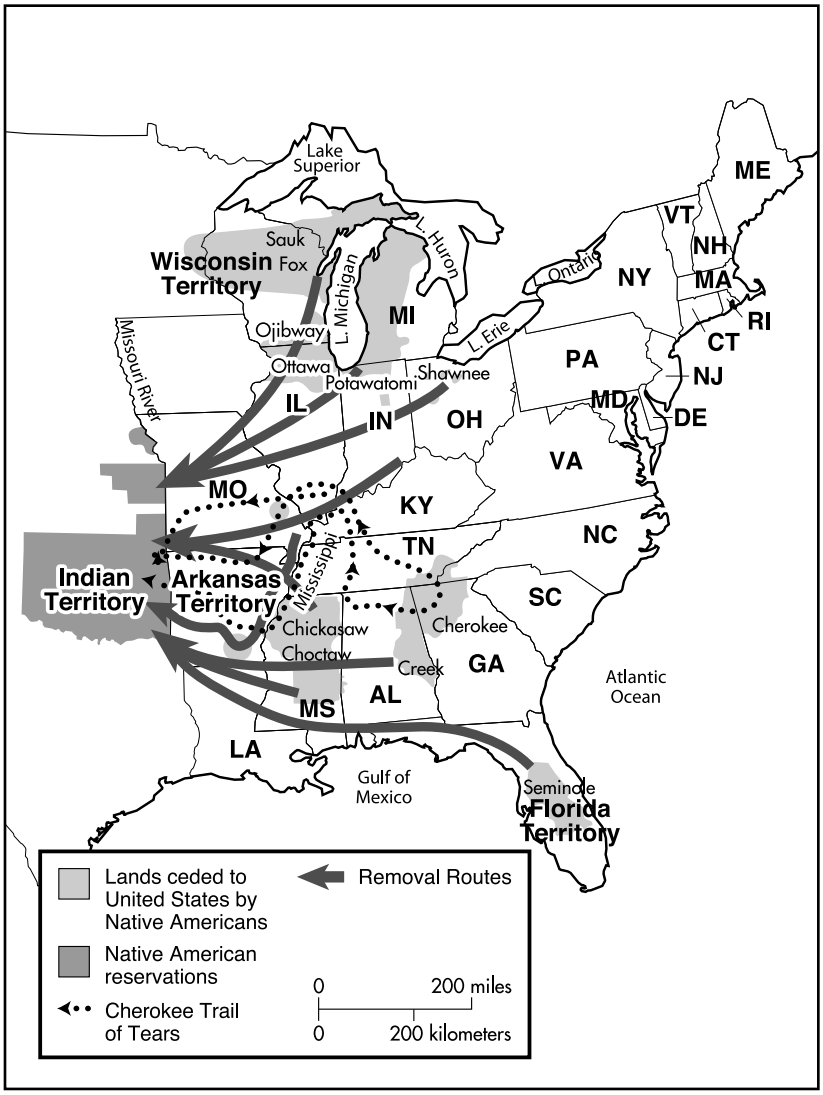
During the 1830s, tens of thousands of Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles were removed from their homelands in **Mississippi**, **Alabama**, **Tennessee**, and **Georgia**. These groups, often called the Five Civilized Tribes, were marched forcibly from their homes. Thousands died in the harsh removal. The Choctaw and Chicasaw moved first. A large group of Cherokees, led by principal chief John Ross (1790–1866) resisted the removal. After trying to stop the forced relocation in the courts and failing, all but a small portion were rounded up by federal troops in 1838 and confined to holding camps. Ross then agreed to oversee the journey of his followers to join those already settled in the northeastern part of Indian Territory. Fiercest resistance came from the Seminoles (see **Seminole Wars**). After a protracted war in the swamps of **Florida**, all but a few had been forced westward by 1842.

Life in Indian Territory

In Indian Territory, the southeastern Native Americans established tribal governments, planted crops, and founded new schools. Customs of daily life, religions, and cultural traditions were transplanted from the eastern homes and adapted to the new setting.

Meanwhile, other eastern tribes were being pressed to move into Indian Territory. From New York came Senecas and others from the Iroquois Confederation. Out of the Great Lakes region and Ohio valley came Potawatomis, Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Kickapoos, Miamis, and others. Quapaws were displaced from Arkansas. These groups were assigned lands immediately west of the Missouri border.

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A map showing the lands given up by the Indians as well as their removal routes on their way to the new Indian Territory, which eventually became home to tribes across the nation. THE GALE GROUP

These relocations were mostly peaceful, except for a group of Sac and Fox people. Led by leader Black Hawk (1767–1838), this group resisted removal from Illinois, but after several bloody encounters with state militiamen, they were forced to resettle in **Iowa**, then part of Indian Territory.

In the 1840s, the U.S. government settled the tribes within the hunting areas of other tribes, often placing them near their traditional enemies without regard to the conflicts that would arise. The war-like

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Osages, Kiowas, and Comanches, for example, were especially vigorous in attacking the newcomers from the east. Creeks and Seminoles disagreed on treatment of African American slaves brought with them, and old hostilities were rekindled between Choctaws and Chickasaws. Boundary disputes arose between the Creek and Cherokees. Divisions among the Cherokees were especially bitter. Relations between the followers of John Ross, who had resisted being moved, and the minority Old Settlers, who had supported the removal treaty, erupted into violence.

A "permanent Indian frontier"

The government meanwhile established military posts throughout the territory to maintain peace among the tribes. They continued to promise that Indian Territory would be permanent keeping whites and Indians apart and allowing the native peoples to gradually learn the ways of the white culture.

Events of the mid-1840s changed the frontier idea. **Texas** was annexed in 1845; **Oregon** Territory was acquired from Great Britain in 1846; and Mexico ceded a vast area of the southwest to the United States in 1848. With the United States now stretching to the Pacific Ocean, Indian Territory suddenly was in the middle of the nation, not on its far edge. As white settlers pressed westward, around and through the territory, the tribes there soon faced a new set of demands.

Losing more land

During the 1850s, Indian holdings in the territory were reduced dramatically. The organization of the **Kansas** and **Nebraska** territories in 1854 lowered the Indian Territory's northern boundary, removing more than half of its former area. Tribes in Kansas and Nebraska were urged to surrender land to white settlers now swarming across the Missouri River. Within a year, nine tribes agreed to withdraw to a small portion of their holdings and to sell the rest.

After the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the federal government forced a new series of land cessions (surrenderings). In what has been called the "Second Trail of Tears," many smaller tribes were removed from what had been the territory's northern portion. The Osages, Kaws,

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Poncas, Otoes, and Missouris were resettled on land surrendered by Cherokees. Iowas, Sac and Fox, Kickapoos, and Potawatomies were removed to land taken from Creeks and Seminoles.

Bleak years

As the **Native North Americans of the Great Plains** lost the Indian wars of the late 1860s, they were sent into the increasingly crowded Indian Territory—Cheyennes and Arapahoes in the west-central portion, and south of them the Comanches, Kiowas, and Eastern Apaches. These years were among the bleakest of Indian Territory's troubled history. Western tribes struggled with the hopeless demand that they take up farming on the semiarid high plains. Angry rivalries and bitter memories continued to foul relations among the Five Tribes. The eastern part of Indian Territory became a haven for outlaws.

Texas cattlemen began driving herds across Indian Territory to Kansas railheads, and by the 1870s ranchers were pasturing their animals on Indian lands. The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad was built southward across the territory by 1872, followed by the Atlantic and Pacific and a branch of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe. As these developments introduced thousands of whites to the area, pressure grew to open Indian lands to outside settlement. By 1894, an estimated 250,000 whites lived in the Indian Territory.

The **Dawes Severalty Act** (also known as the General Allotment Act) of 1887 provided for breaking up land collectively held by Indian tribes into individual holdings, or allotments, with the remainder opened to white settlement. When special commissioners tried to set this process in motion in Indian Territory, they were vigorously opposed by native leaders. Congress finally compelled the Five Tribes to comply, and their lands were distributed among those on the tribal rolls or set aside for town sites and schools. Meanwhile, federal courts had taken full jurisdiction in the territory, effectively ending tribal governments.

The land runs

In 1889, much of the land of the western portion of Indian Territory was distributed to non-Indians through a series of dramatic "land rushes" or "runs." In one run that year, at least fifty thousand persons—known as boomers—arrived at the scheduled land rush. When the cannon

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boomed, they dashed onto the lands designated as "unassigned" to take up claims. The largest of these land runs was in 1893, when a portion of former Cherokee land was overrun by more than one hundred thousand boomers.

The western half of the territory and a strip immediately north of the Texas panhandle were taken over by non-Indians and organized into Oklahoma Territory. The tribes in what remained of Indian Territory petitioned Congress to allow them to form the independent Indian state of Sequoyah. Congress refused. In 1907, with all tribal lands distributed, Indian Territory formally disappeared when Congress merged it with Oklahoma Territory to create the state of Oklahoma.

Indiana

Indiana, also known as the Hoosier State, was admitted into the Union on December 11, 1816, the nineteenth state to join. A small state, it ranks thirty-eighth in size among the fifty states and measures 36,185 square miles (93,719 square kilometers). Indiana is in the eastern north-central region of the United States and is bordered by **Ohio**, **Kentucky**, **Illinois**, **Michigan**, and Lake Michigan.

French explorers first visited Indiana in the 1670s. There they found Native Americans, probably the Miami and Potawatomi tribes. By 1765, Indiana was controlled by the English. The first town plotted was Clarksville, in 1784.

In 1816, Thomas Lincoln moved from Kentucky to Indiana, and his son, future U.S. president **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1965; served 1861–65), spent his life there from the age of seven until he was twenty-one. Although Indiana was not the site of any battles during the American **Civil War** (1861–65), it did send some two hundred thousand soldiers off to fight. After the war, industry exploded in Indiana with the discovery of natural gas in 1886.

As America became enamored of the automobile, a racetrack for testing cars was built outside Indianapolis in 1908, and the now-famous 500-mile (805-kilometer) race on Memorial Day weekend, the Indianapolis 500, began three years later. U.S. Steel built a plant and a city to house its workers. This city is called Gary, and it grew rapidly with the onset of **World War I** (1914–18).

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Indiana's population is primarily white (86.1 percent), with another 8.6 percent African American and 1.2 percent Asian. The capital city of Indianapolis is the largest, with a population of nearly eight hundred thousand.

The state's economy is divided between industry and agriculture, and it is a leader in both. In addition to providing natural resources such as coal, gas, and stone, Indiana is the site of heavy industrialization, especially steel. Eighty percent of the state's farmers live on their farms, while more than 55 percent have another occupation outside of farming.

The Indianapolis 500 is the state's biggest yearly sporting event, and it attracts crowds of over three hundred thousand spectators. No other sporting event in the world is attended by as many people. Other than auto racing, Indiana is known for its amateur basketball—both high school and college. The Fighting Irish football team from the University of Notre Dame competes as an independent team and has won twelve bowl games.

Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution began in England in the early eighteenth century, and developed later in the United States, around the time of the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Over a period of about one hundred years, machines in the United States gradually replaced unaided human hands in accomplishing the nation's work. With the use of labor-saving machines, the nation was able to produce goods on a large scale, build factories and plants, transport large quantities of raw and manufactured goods, farm on a much grander scale, and establish corporations and management systems to accommodate large-scale production. Industry transformed the United States from a rural farming society into the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world.

Industrial Revolution in England

During the seventeenth century, England had a dramatic increase in population. Its farming economy could not support the large numbers of people, and the poor were forced to move to the cities to seek work. The cities desperately needed larger food supplies to feed their growing

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A map of the Northwest Territory, composed of the modern-day states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, produced a large portion of the nation's crops. During the Industrial Revolution, new ways to transport these goods were developed and became vital to the industry. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, LTD.

populations. The answer to the problem appeared in the form of new designs for farm machinery that could do large amounts of work with fewer laborers.

Machinery was also providing jobs in the cities and towns of England, where many former farm laborers found work in the textile (cloth-making) industry. In earlier times, cloth had been spun and woven in people's homes, but in 1730 new machines were invented that sped up the pace of spinning thread and weaving material. Around 1771, English inventor Richard Arkwright (1732–1792) built a waterwheel-operated mill to power his spinning frame, and this was considered the world's first factory. (A factory is a building or group of buildings in which many people work to manufacture goods, generally with labor-saving machines powered by a central source.)

The steam engine was the vital new power source of the Industrial Revolution. A steam engine burns wood or other fuel to heat water into steam, which in turn becomes the power that turns the parts of the en-

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gine. Early steam engines were designed to pump water from the English mines in the seventeenth century. In 1765, Scottish engineer James Watt (1736–1819) improved the designs. Watt's new steam engine could be used to power mills, so factories no longer needed to be near a source of moving water to power a waterwheel. By the last decade of the eighteenth century, steam engine–powered factories were being built throughout England. Using steam engines, iron and steel production became a thriving new industry.

Early U.S. textile industry

In 1789, British textile mill supervisor Samuel Slater (1768–1835) secretly memorized the details of the Arkwright spinning factory and emigrated to the United States. Once there, he designed and built the machinery for a cotton mill in **Rhode Island**. The mill went into operation in 1793. By 1828, Slater owned three factory compounds in **Massachusetts**.

In 1810, Boston businessman Francis Cabot Lowell (1775–1817) visited England's textile mills. After returning home, he enlisted the aid of a skilled mechanic and created a water-powered textile mill. At **Lowell Mills**, for the first time in the United States, raw bales of **cotton** could be turned into bolts of cloth under one roof. Lowell's company went on to build a complete factory town in Lowell, Massachusetts. The new, mechanized textile industry prospered and grew, employing thousands of workers, mainly in the Northeast.



British textile worker Samuel Slater designed and built the machinery for a cotton mill in Rhode Island based on designs he saw in England. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Transportation

In the first years of the new nation, the majority of Americans lived within one hundred miles of the East Coast, but as the nineteenth century began, people began to migrate west. Farmers in the West needed manufactured goods from the East, and easterners needed the crops from the West and South. There were few roads, and it was expensive and time-consuming to transport goods. Building transportation systems in such a

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huge territory was a daunting project, but over the next fifty years, roads, canals, steamboats, and railroads spread throughout the nation.

In 1817, Congress authorized the construction of the National Road, also called the Cumberland Road, from western **Maryland** to the Ohio River at Wheeling, **Virginia**. It was the first road to run across the Appalachian Mountains and into the territory known as the Old Northwest, which was composed of the modern-day states of **Ohio**, **Indiana**, **Illinois**, **Michigan**, and **Wisconsin**. The Old Northwest Territory produced a large portion of the country's crops. The National Road was the largest single road-building project to occur before the twentieth century.

Most of the country relied not on roads, but on the nation's rivers to transport goods. In the first half of the nineteenth century, most of the produce grown in the Old Northwest Territory was carried to market by man-powered boats on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. In the 1830s, steamboats (boats powered by steam engines) crowded the inland waterways of the United States. They expanded trade to towns and cities located along the major waterways. Steamboat construction became a thriving industry.

Still, many of the best farming districts in the Old Northwest had no river access. Canals, man-made waterways built for inland transportation, seemed to provide a solution. In 1817, the state of **New York** approved the funding of the **Erie Canal**, a 363-mile canal linking Albany on the Hudson River with Buffalo, New York, on Lake Erie. Upon its completion in 1825, the Erie Canal was already carrying monumental traffic. It proved an inexpensive route for shipping goods from the West, such as lumber and grain, to the New York ports, and for bringing manufactured goods from the Northeast to the West. New towns and industries were quickly established along the canal and on the Great Lakes. Many states rushed to build their own canals, but railroads soon emerged to compete in the long-distance transportation business.

Steam locomotives had already developed in England when a group of businessmen in Baltimore, Maryland, decided to launch the first U.S. railway, the Baltimore and Ohio (B & O) in 1826. By the early 1850s, several railroads had established lines that allowed them to transport freight between the Great Lakes region and the East Coast, and new railroad construction projects developed across the eastern United States. The explosive growth of the **railroad industry** in the eastern states, cou-

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pled with the potential wealth in the country's western territories, convinced growing numbers of people that a railroad stretching from coast to coast should be built. The effort was hampered by the American **Civil War** (1861–65), but on May 10, 1869, the rail lines of the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific were finally joined in **Utah**, completing the transcontinental railroad.

Farming

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of Americans were farmers. For the nation to become industrialized, it was essential that most farmers run commercial farms—farms that produced large crops to be sold—rather than subsistence farms, which provided food only for the use of the farmer and his family. The nation's crops, particularly wheat and **cotton**, were needed to feed the working people in the cities and to provide the factories with materials for manufactured goods. There was enough farmland to meet the demand for these crops in the United States, but there were not enough laborers until mechanized farming was introduced.

Eli Whitney (1765–1825) brought mechanized farming to the United States with his **cotton gin**. The simple machine cleaned cotton-seeds from cotton fibers fifty times faster than a worker could do it by hand. Soon, southern plantations and farms were supplying huge amounts of cotton to the new textile mills in the Northeast and to Europe. Other mechanized farm tools followed, such as the McCormick reaper and the steel plow.

The efficient new tools actually damaged the financial situations of many farming families in the 1880s and 1890s. Record crop yields resulted in lower prices while production costs increased, a combination that threw many farmers into debt. Farmers' alliances arose, calling for reform.

Robber barons

The United States's tremendous industrial and financial growth in the last decades of the nineteenth century was due in large part to the entrepreneurial boldness and business instincts of a number of industrial and financial tycoons who came to be known as **robber barons**. **J. P. Morgan** (1837–1913), **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937), Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794–1877), **Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919), James J. Hill

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(1838–1916), **Jay Gould** (1836–1892), and others guided their business interests to levels of profitability that had never been seen before.

The **monopolies** (exclusive controls over the production of a particular good or service) of the robber barons enabled them to eliminate less powerful competitors, raise prices, and subsequently realize huge profits that were pumped back into their businesses. In 1890, the **Sherman Antitrust Act** was enacted in an effort to curb the power of the robber barons. But these men and their huge companies continued to dominate the U.S. economy.

Life in the city

The rural farm culture of the United States gave way to urban industrial culture as manufacturing plants multiplied and cities mushroomed in size. The nation's urban population rose 400 percent between 1870 and 1910, creating an **urbanization of America**. Large numbers of farmers moved to the city after the agricultural depression of the 1870s and 1880s. Joining them were an increasing number of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. All were seeking work.

Cities of the late nineteenth century generally grew without planning. Living conditions were often deplorable, with thousands of families forced to reside in slums that were breeding grounds for infectious diseases. Crime was rampant: In 1881, the homicide rate in the United States was 25 per million; in 1898, the rate had risen to 107 per million. **Child labor** was common as well; in 1900, as many as three million U.S. children were forced to work full-time to help support their families. Poverty was hard to escape for urban laborers. Layoffs were common; as much as 30 percent of the urban work force was out of work for some period of each year.

By the 1880s and 1890s, the gulf between social classes had dramatically widened. In cities such as New York and Chicago, the fabulously wealthy built huge, elaborate mansions that overlooked desperately poor slums. The term "**Gilded Age**," coined by writer **Samuel Clemens** (1835–1910), came into common usage to describe the corruption and the false glitter of the era's wealthy. Reform efforts at the end of the century began a slow process to relieve the worst aspects of the division between the laboring classes and the social elite.

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Internet Revolution

Between 1993 and 1995, the World Wide Web (www, or the Web), a user-friendly information-sharing network system, quietly came into being and began to spread. In its first fifteen years, the Web reshaped U.S. communications, businesses, and politics, fueled worldwide economic growth, and became a central feature in the daily lives of more than a billion people.

The Internet age began in the 1960s, when computer specialists in Europe began to exchange information from a main computer to a remote terminal by breaking down data into small packets of information that could be reassembled at the receiving end. The system was called packet-switching. In 1968, the U.S. Department of Defense engaged scientists to create a national communications system. Experimenting with packet-switching, the government scientists eventually linked several computers over telephone lines to operate as a single system. The system was called the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET).



Cyber cafes are popular forums in which people socialize and have public Internet access. OLEG NIKISHIN/GETTY IMAGES

By 1983, research scientists extended the use of ARPANET to form the early Internet, a large network connecting the internal systems of some universities and laboratories. Users were able to exchange electronic mail (now known as e-mail) and data, access computers at other locations, and communicate through newsgroups (one-topic discussion groups) and bulletin boards (message-posting sites). These exchanges demanded advanced computer skills, and the Internet remained a mystery to those without training.

Berners-Lee invents the Web

In 1989, English scientist Tim Berners-Lee (1955–) began work on a system he would eventually call the World Wide Web. His goal was to make the Internet accessible to everyone. Berners-Lee designed a standard set of protocols,

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English scientist Tim Berners-Lee created the World Wide Web to make the Internet accessible to everyone. AP IMAGES

rules that create an exact format, or pattern of arrangement, for communication between systems. Hypertext Transfer Protocol (HTTP) became the standard communications language on the Web. (Hypertext is any text that can link to documents in other locations. Photos and other images, sounds, and video with links are called hypermedia.)

The next crucial step in the creation of the Web was to establish a server—the computer program that stores information and delivers it in the form of Web pages from one computer to another. The first Web server in the United States, developed at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center in Palo Alto, **California**, went live at the end of 1991. Finally, to read the Web, users needed browser software, a program used to view and interact with various types of Internet resources. Berners-Lee developed a text-based Web browser in 1992. With the protocols, server, and Web browser in place, the World Wide Web was available to the public.

The Web improves and spreads

Improvements to the Web made it increasingly simple to use. In 1993, Mosaic, a browser that adapted the graphics, familiar icons (picture symbols), and point-and-click methods, became available. Mosaic caught on immediately—two million users downloaded it within a year. A year

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later, one of Mosaic's creators devised Netscape Navigator, a highly successful Web browser that gave users more comfortable Web access. In 1995, Microsoft entered the competition with its Internet Explorer.

Simplicity of use immediately brought users to the Web. Internet service providers such as CompuServe, America Online (AOL), Netcom, and Prodigy arose rapidly to meet the enormous demand for servers to link people to the Internet.

Most people working on **personal computers** (PCs) at home used dial-up connections, which were slow and tied up their phone lines. The first broadband options (meaning "broad bandwidth," a high-capacity, two-way link between an end user and access network suppliers that provided greater speed than telephone connections) appeared in 1997, but it was not until the early 2000s that millions of homes and offices connected through broadband to the Web on a twenty-four-hour-a-day basis.

The economic boom

During the late 1990s, the United States began to experience an economic boom (upswing) largely due to the success of Web-related companies, which came to be known as dot-coms. Because of the excitement of investors in the new industry, stock prices of the dot-coms soared. (Stock is the value of a company divided into individual shares. When a company goes public, the public can purchase shares.) This caused even more investors to jump in.

In 1995, Netscape offered its stock in a public stock offering. The stock price soared to fantastically high levels, making the company's young founders instant millionaires. Other Web-related industry stocks skyrocketed as well. AOL bought CompuServe in 1998 and Netscape the following year, generating tremendous proceeds each time. In 1997, Yahoo! Inc. was nothing more than a Web search index. By 1999, so many advertisers and investors had jumped on the Yahoo! bandwagon, it had become a major media company worth tens of billions of dollars. The stock of online auction house eBay, one of a growing number of e-commerce companies, increased 2,000 percent in value in less than a year when it went public in 1998. Amazon.com, a seller of books and other merchandise online, was valued in the multibillions long before it made its first annual profit in 2004.

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The dot-com bubble bursts

Many dot-com companies were founded by young, innovative people who became suddenly rich when their companies' stock prices rose. Their employees were typically recent college graduates, lured by high salaries, fun work environments, and the promise of owning shares in ever-soaring company stocks. Dot-coms did not stick to traditional business practices. They frequently offered their services to potential customers for free, hoping to grab a corner of the future market. Profit was not a priority in the short term; in fact, many dot-coms never made a dime.

In 2000, the enthusiasm of investors decreased and dot-com stock prices stopped rising. Dot-coms started laying off their staffs; some merged with competitors. By mid-2001, many were out of business, their stocks worthless. The strongest companies reviewed their practices, cut their budgets, and prepared to compete in a new economy.

Web 2.0 and its social environments

After the dot-com bubble burst, a second wave of Web industries arose, which came to be known as Web 2.0. The leader among them was a successful search engine called Google. (Search engines are software programs that help users locate Web sites. They use programs, called "spiders" or "robots, " that go out and collect information, which is then stored and indexed in the search engine's Web site databases.) Developed by two graduate students in 1998, Google started on a shoestring. Its first offices were in a garage and it was financed by money borrowed from family and friends. The simplicity of this streamlined search engine made it an immediate success. Like most Web companies of the new century, Google added advertising to its pages in 2000, making it a highly profitable business. By 2004, it was handling the vast majority of Web searches and was valued in the billions of dollars. It became common for users to say they were "googling" something, rather than simply "searching for" something.

Many of the second-generation Web sites featured shared platforms called "communities." Within the community, members could publicly express themselves and participate in exchanges. For example, by the turn of the century, blogs had emerged. A blog (derived from "Web log") is an online commentary written by a nonprofessional writer in journal style that allows readers to respond. By 2006, there were an estimated sixty million blogs worldwide; by some calculations, a blog was being

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published every second. Among many other popular Web 2.0 environments are MySpace, a social networking Web site with an estimated 154 million members; and YouTube, a Web site on which users can display videos. Wikipedia, the free online encyclopedia written and edited by its readers, grew into a several-million-article project. These and many other Web communities are credited with changing the nature of popular culture in the United States by challenging the domain of the entertainment industry and professional journalists with the voices of ordinary people.

Web 2.0 companies generally do not follow standard business patterns. Most do not immediately make a profit. Commonly, after a new Web company emerges with something to offer, one of the larger Web companies buys it—sometimes for a lot of money. In 2005–2006, Google purchased YouTube for $1.65 billion; eBay bought Skype, which provides free phone calls via the Internet, for $2.6 billion; and News Corp. bought MySpace for $580 million. During that time period alone, the Web grew more than it had during the entire dot-com boom.

Fifteen-year view of the Web

The World Wide Web celebrated its fifteenth birthday in 2006. An estimated 210 million people in the United States and well over 1 billion people worldwide were regular surfers of the 92-million-site network, and these numbers grow daily. Most businesses conduct at least some part of their operations online. Most people use the Web for everyday aspects of life, such as checking bank balances, accessing work documents from home, donating to political campaigns or charities, and listening to music. The Web also has fueled growth in the global economy, creating new industries that profit by controlling and distributing information rather than manufacturing goods. Much like railroads and electricity in the late nineteenth century, the Web has created a new economic era.

Interstate Commerce Act

In the 1870s, businesses and especially farmers relied on the railroads to transport goods across the country. Railroad companies understood this economic dependence, and they exploited their customers by charging them unnecessarily high shipping rates. Everyone knew the railroads were guilty of unfair business practices, but the government was reluc-

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tant to get involved in economic matters. The United States operated at the time under a general belief that businesses needed to control themselves and each other.

As nationwide frustration over the situation grew, Congress decided the time had come to interfere in business since it was obvious it could not regulate itself. On February 4, 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, 50–20. As a direct result of the law, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) was formed. The ICC was the first federal regulatory agency. Its purpose was to address the issue of corruption in the **railroad industry**.

The ICC demanded that railroad shipping rates be reasonable and just. Rates had to be published so that customers could know ahead of time what to expect. Rebates were outlawed. Rebates were refunds given to shippers who gave the railroads a lot of business. A railroad company would give a business a certain percentage refund on its total shipping charge if that business used only that railroad. This policy worked well for big businesses that did a lot of shipping. It put the smaller businesses at a disadvantage, however, simply because they did not do enough business to receive the rebate.

Finally, the ICC made the railroads lessen the price differences between long and short hauls. Previously, railroads charged more to go shorter distances, even though it did not cost them any more to make those runs.

Although the idea behind the Interstate Commerce Act and the ICC was commendable, the agency was virtually powerless to set rates or punish those companies that violated the law. When all aspects of the policy were in place, nobody was happy. The railroad companies believed the government was too involved in their business, and farmers felt it was not involved enough. So while the law existed on paper, it did little to improve the reality of doing business with the railroads.

Invisible Man

The novel *Invisible Man*, by Ralph Ellison (1914–1994), was published in 1952. It spent sixteen weeks on the best-seller list and was awarded the National Book Award in 1953. Some critics deemed the book the most important novel to be published after **World War II** (1939–45).

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Plot

The novel is set in the late 1920s and early 1930s in the South. The narrator, who is African American, says other people refuse to see him, and so he has gone underground to write the story of his "invisible" life. In an echo of his invisibility, he remains nameless throughout the book. When he gives a speech to a group of prominent white men, he is rewarded with a scholarship to a reputable African American college. However, to get that scholarship, he is forced to fight, blindfolded, in a boxing match against other African American youths. They are then made to run over an electrified rug.

Three years later, the narrator, now a college student, is asked to drive a wealthy white trustee of the college around campus. The narrator takes him to a bar that serves only African American men. A fight breaks out among a group of mentally imbalanced war veterans at the bar, and the white man faints. He is taken care of by one of the veterans, who claims to be a doctor. The veteran accuses both the narrator and the trustee of ignorance regarding race relations.

Back at college, the founder hears of the narrator's misadventures and expels him from the school. He writes seven letters of recommendation and sends him to New York City to find a job. There, the narrator is repeatedly turned away until he reaches the office of Mr. Emerson, another college trustee. Emerson tells the narrator that he has been duped; the letters actually describe the expelled student as dishonorable and unreliable. Emerson helps the narrator get a low-paying job at a paint factory whose main product is the color "optic white." The narrator gets into a fight and wakes up in the paint factory's hospital.

The white doctors use this newly arrived African American patient to conduct electric shock experiments. When the narrator is discharged, he collapses on the street. A woman named Mary takes him into her Harlem home and helps him nurture his sense of black heritage.

The narrator eventually takes a job with the Brotherhood, a political organization that supposedly helps the socially oppressed. To take the job, he is forced to change his name, leave Mary, and make a complete break from his past. He complies.

He is successful at his job, but one day he receives an anonymous warning to remember his place as a lowly African American in the Brotherhood. Shortly after that, he is accused of trying to use the organization to advance his own desire for recognition. He is moved to an-

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other post but eventually returns to Harlem. There he realizes that many African American members have left the Brotherhood because the Harlem community feels the group has betrayed their interests. He finds one of the youth leaders on a street corner, selling dolls. But this man does not have a permit to sell, and he is shot dead in front of the narrator. After giving a speech in which he calls the slain leader a hero, the narrator is sent back to a white leader to learn the new strategies for outreach in Harlem.

The narrator learns that the Brotherhood is not what it appears. The group believes individuals are just tools to be used in meeting the goals of the Brotherhood. The narrator decides to leave the group, but he becomes involved in an act of arson. While running to escape capture, he falls into a manhole. He remains underground, and begins to understand that one must remain true to one's self and beliefs and yet find a way to be responsible to the community at large.

Themes

The novel's main theme is that racism prohibits people from forging individual identities. As an African American man living in a racist society, the narrator finds that each community (or community within a community) has different ideas as to how he should behave and think. These imposed ideas prevent him from discovering who he is, and allow others to see him as they want to see him. Without his realizing it, he comes to live within the limitations set by others, forged out of prejudice. After his time living underground, he comes to understand that he will be proud of his racial heritage and make important contributions to society, which will force others to acknowledge him for the man he truly is. At the end of the novel, he says, "And my problem was that I always tried to go in everyone's way but my own. I have also been called one thing and then another while no one really wished to hear what I called myself. So after years of trying to adopt the opinions of others I finally rebelled. I am an invisible man."

Another theme is the danger of using stereotypes to fight other stereotypes. All African Americans in the book feel the imposed limitations of racism. The narrator tries to escape these impositions as an individual, but he meets others who believe that all African Americans should fight prejudice in the same way. Disagreement with the majority is taken as a betrayal of the entire race.

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This theme is illustrated in a passage in which the narrator finds a coin bank at Mary's home, just before he decides to join the Brotherhood. The bank is a symbol for the hurtful racial stereotypes the narrator has spent his life trying to escape. "The cast-iron figure of a very black, red-lipped and wide-mouthed Negro … stared up at me from the floor, his face an enormous grin, his single large black hand held palm up before his chest." The bank symbolizes the African American man as an object whose sole purpose is to entertain and amuse.

Ellison's novel addressed the social realities of racism but also exposed the way racism corrodes a person's sense of self and outlook on existence.

Iowa

The Hawkeye State joined the Union as the twenty-ninth state on December 28, 1846. It is located in the western northcentral region of the United States and is surrounded by **Minnesota**, **Wisconsin**, **Illinois**, **Missouri**, **Nebraska**, and **South Dakota**.

The Woodland Indians were the first permanent settlers of the land. White men did not show up until June 1673, when explorer Louis Jolliet (1645–1700) and priest Jacques Marquette (1637–1675) arrived. The French controlled the region until 1762, at which time Spain took over. French emperor Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) reclaimed the area in 1800, then sold it to America in 1803. Iowa became an independent territory in 1838.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Iowa was home to just under three million people, 93.5 percent of them white. Another 2.2 percent was African American and 1.5 percent was Asian. The most popular church of Iowans is the Evangelical Free Church, followed closely by the United Methodist Church and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

Iowa's economy is based on agriculture, though it boasts a large farm-centered manufacturing industry as well. Iowa is known for its livestock and meat products. Corn is grown nearly everywhere throughout the state; nearly nine-tenths of Iowa's land is dedicated to farming. Despite the fact that it is an agricultural state, the **labor movement** has not been strong there. In 2005, just 11.4 percent of employed wage and salary workers were members of labor unions.

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Iowa is one of the most important states in the political arena because it always holds the first presidential caucus (gathering of voters to select delegates to the state convention). The caucus is held in January of the election year, and because the media gives Iowa's voters such intense coverage and attention, those voters have a great deal of influence over the rest of the nation's voters.

After the end of the American **Civil War** (1861–65), Iowa voters supported Republicans over Democrats until the 1930s, when they supported **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) in two presidential elections. The years 1940 through 1984 saw them voting Republican once again, but Democrats carried the state in 1988, 1992, 1996, and 2000. The year 2004 saw them vote Republican again.

Iran-Contra Scandal

The year 1986 marked the beginning of a six-year period of revelations, prosecutions, publicized hearings, and special investigations that became known as the Iran-Contra scandal. Involved in the scandal were officials from the administrations of both **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) and **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93).

The events leading to the scandal were put in place on October 5, 1986, when **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) cargo specialist Eugene Hasenfus (1941–) was shot down over Nicaragua and captured by Nicaraguan government forces. His aircraft was full of weapons intended for Nicaraguan rebels, known as Contras. The Contras were in a rebellion against the Nicaraguan government. Congress had passed laws in 1982 and 1984 expressly forbidding U.S. attempts to aid or arm the Contras. Hasenfus's capture was evidence that the Reagan administration had broken those laws.

Reagan initially denied having any connection to Hasenfus's flight, but his claims were later proven false. Within five weeks, a Lebanese newspaper revealed that Robert McFarlane (1937–), Reagan's special assistant for national security, had engaged in secret arms-for-hostages deals with the Iranian government. These hostages had been captured by Iran in 1983, and the official U.S. policy was never to make trades with terrorist governments. It would be revealed during the scandal that such trades had actually been ongoing for years. It also came to light that

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money obtained in secret arms movements to Iran was directly supporting the Contras, another violation of the law.

Conflicting stories

Reagan denied the validity of the arms sales reports in November but one week later admitted he lied. He still contended that the sales were not in exchange for hostages. Within one more week, the president said those sales were legal. According to the National Security Act, the president has the right to override a law legally if he issues a finding in which national security issues are claimed. Reagan claimed to have such a finding, but it was proven that the finding was signed to override the Arms Export Control Act only after the fact. In addition, Reagan never informed Congress of the finding until after the scandal was publicized.

Lietenant Colonel Oliver North (1943–) was a key figure in the covert operations involving the Contras. As the scandal was revealed, Reagan fired North, who was then summoned to testify in July 1987. During his testimony, North admitted he altered official National Security Act papers to cover for the president. He also admitted to shredding thousands of documents that would have incriminated himself and many others, including President Reagan. North testified that he believed Reagan was aware of and approved his actions. North's supervisor, Admiral John Poindexter (1936–), denied this. Several other Reagan administration officials testified and denied having any knowledge of hostage deals or transfers of arms and cash.

Investigations

The scandal prompted a number of investigations. The first was the Tower Commission, named after its chair, former U.S. senator John Tower (1925–1991) of **Texas**. Reagan appointed the commission to perform a comprehensive review of the National Security Council's role in the affair. The commission's report in 1987 blamed the council's staff and concluded the scandal was a result of the president's poor management skills. The public did not accept this excuse and demanded further investigation. Each house of Congress established its own investigative committee and held televised hearings throughout the summer of 1987. Their final conclusion lay the blame at the president's feet, not at North's or Poindexter's. The committees chose not to investigate numerous areas of concern that emerged from testimony, including allegations that

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North was directly involved in narcotics operations with connections in the Central American governments.

Special Prosecutor Lawrence E. Walsh (1912–) carried out his own investigation and found that the Iran-Contra policies that led to the illegal activity were developed at the highest levels of the Reagan administration with the knowledge of every senior cabinet member involved in foreign policy. Walsh concluded that these officials deliberately misled Congress and the public.

Fourteen individuals were tried for criminal violations. North and Poindexter were found guilty, but their testimony granted them immunity against criminal prosecution. McFarlane received a short sentence, and many others escaped prosecution because the evidence was found too late to legally prosecute under the statutory limitations. President George H. W. Bush pardoned (formally forgave) two others in 1992.

Impact

After six years of scrutiny and investigation, very little was done to hold accountable those responsible for the scandal. This, on top of the fact that taxpayers spent tens of millions of dollars on the scandal, left much of the American public cynical about the government and its officials. In an ironic twist, North, whose involvement in the Iran-Contra scandal was proven and admitted at least to a certain degree, became something of a hero among conservatives. He wrote several best-selling books and is largely considered by that population to be a scapegoat (someone who takes the blame for others' actions) for the Reagan administration. North was permanently banned from Costa Rica for his alleged participation in drug trafficking to help fund the Contras.

Iran Hostage Crisis

Beginning in 1953, when the United States helped to overthrow the popular Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mosaddeq (1882–1967), Iran condemned the United States as an oppressive power that interfered in foreign governments. The United States supported the new, unpopular government in Iran, which only worsened the country's feelings toward the superpower.

Relations between the two countries were particularly strained in 1977. The Iranian economy, which had boomed between 1973 and

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Iran radicals move one of the hostages during the 444-day Iran hostage crisis. The standoff ended on January 20, 1981, the day of Ronald Reagan's inauguration. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

1975, began to deteriorate rapidly. There was a huge gap in the distribution of income between those who lived in the country, who were wretchedly poor, and those in the cities. A shortage of skilled labor brought in workers from Korea, the United States, and the Philippines.

The bazaar (open marketplace where goods are sold in booths or stands) was the heart of Iran's economy, but in 1977, government-controlled inspectors prowled the streets looking for price gougers who sold items at hugely inflated prices. Those found were arrested and exiled. The government's corrupt schemes and policies kept the poor desperate.

In that same year, Islam became a powerful political force, and Iranians embraced the religion as a means of dealing with the tyranny of the government.

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Conditions worsen

U.S. president **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) was dedicated to human rights, not only for citizens of his homeland but also for people everywhere. In order to continue receiving military and financial support from the United States, Iran's shah (head of government, like a king), Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919–1980), implemented a reform program focused on land reform and literacy. Most Iranians felt the shah's efforts improved conditions only minimally, and they feared things would regress once he had won Carter's approval.

The shah and his henchmen responded to his critics with arrests and torture. Protests and demonstrations became common occurrences as the Iranian people refused to be oppressed any longer. Between January 1978 and February 1979, an estimated ten to twelve thousand people were killed, and another fifty thousand were injured by the shah's forces.

Because the United States supported the shah's violent regime, the Iranian citizens' anti-American sentiment increased. Conditions reached the lowest point when the corrupt shah left Iran and was granted refuge (safety) in New York City in October 1979 to receive some medical treatment. He had lost his country to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (c. 1900–1989).

Hostages are taken

On November 4, 1979, a group of almost five hundred radical Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in Teheran and took hostage about ninety people. Most of them worked in the embassy, and sixty-six of them were U.S. citizens. The students held fifty-two of them hostage for 444 days. The hostages were poorly fed, placed in small cells, and ordered not to communicate. Those who broke the rules were locked in solitary confinement for as long as three days. Near the end of their captivity, the hostages were forced to stand before mock firing squads.

Most nations joined the United States in condemning the Iranian revolutionaries' actions. Carter underestimated the power of the Islamic revival, and his inability to get the hostages freed caused irreparable harm to his presidency. He never wavered in his support of the exiled shah, and when an attempt to rescue the hostages had to be aborted in April 1980, the president's popularity was permanently damaged.

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Historians generally agree that the Iran hostage crisis was one of the primary reasons why **Republican Party** candidate **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) won the 1980 presidential election by a landslide. On January 20, 1981, the day of Reagan's inauguration, the hostages were freed.

Before the hostage crisis, Iran had been a country shrouded in mystery. The wide media coverage of the crisis forced the United States and other countries to try to understand Iran and its people. Unfortunately, the crisis left a legacy of misunderstanding that would cripple Iranian-American relations for years.

From the point of view of the Iran revolutionaries, the hostage crisis enabled them to prove what they had been claiming all along: Once the embassy was seized, the militants found evidence that the United States had joined forces with the Soviet Union to back the Iranian government and oppose the revolution. In taking the hostages, they won the support of the masses and effectively ended any attempt the United States might have made to reverse the revolution.

Iraq Disarmament Crisis (1991–2003)

At the end of the **Persian Gulf War** in 1991, the United Nations (UN) Security Council (the UN department in charge of maintaining peace among nations) determined that Iraq presented a threat to other nations and must be disarmed. Over the next twelve years, the UN and other national groups sponsored a series of sanctions (measures that punish a country for not complying with international laws or policies) and weapons inspections designed to disarm Iraq. Iraq president Saddam Hussein (1937–2006) was generally hostile to these efforts, and conflicts arose.

An uneasy peace

Hussein had remained in power after the Gulf War, but other nations were troubled by his rule. Many Iraqis faced persecution and even death under his regime. Hussein also had obvious ambitions to control the Arab world. Most troubling to the United States was that the Iraqi government had invested heavily in its defense industry, particularly in the development of missiles (rockets that can carry nuclear or nonnuclear

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United Nations workers seal leaks in Iraqi rockets that were reportedly filled with chemical nerve agents. AP IMAGES

bombs) and chemical weapons (toxic substances, such as nerve gas or mustard gas, that are specifically designed to cause death or other harm and usually require only small amounts to kill large numbers of people).

Prior to the Gulf War, the United Nations had placed an economic embargo (prohibition of trade with a country) on Iraq involving almost all foreign trade with the country. These sanctions remained in effect after the Gulf War until the UN could be sure that Iraq was complying with its disarmament requirements, particularly that it was no longer building **weapons of mass destruction** (WMD). These massive weapons can kill or incapacitate large numbers of people. In April 1991, the UN created a special commission, the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), and announced that it would begin immediately to inspect Iraq for weapons of mass destruction. Under the UN sanctions, Iraq was given fifteen days to provide information on the location of all its WMD facilities. UNSCOM would then have four months to devise a plan for making certain that Iraq was in compliance with the resolution.

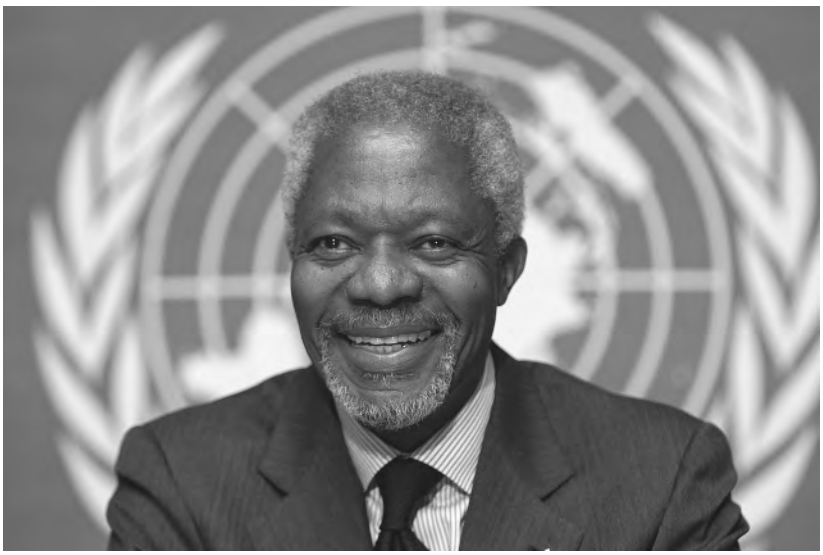
The UNSCOM inspectors officially worked for the UN, but most of them came from the United States, Great Britain, and other advanced industrialized countries. The fact that the inspectors were from the

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West—Iraq's former military foe—made reaching an agreement between the inspectors and Iraq difficult. The project dragged on. Time and again, the Iraqi government refused to turn over information or allow the UNSCOM inspectors into certain facilities.

Effects of the sanctions

The sanctions placed on Iraq in 1990 and 1991 took a severe toll on Iraqi civilians. Before the Gulf War, Iraq had one of the most advanced economies in the Middle East. It got the money it needed to import food and other consumer goods primarily by selling its oil. Sanctions all but completely cut off the oil trade. One estimate suggests that Iraq lost about $130 billion in oil revenues during the 1990s, bringing intense poverty to many Iraqi civilians. By some estimates, approximately five hundred thousand people died directly or indirectly as a result of the economic sanctions. Some estimates put the total deaths at a million people. The sanctions hit Iraq's health care system particularly hard. Water purification supplies were not readily available, increasing exposure to cholera and other diseases. A 1997 UN report found that more than 10 percent of Iraqi children were acutely malnourished (suffered ill health due to an inadequate diet). The death rates for infants and children under five were more than twice what they had been before the Gulf War.



At the end of the Persian Gulf War in 1991, the UN and other national groups sponsored a series of sanctions and weapons inspections designed to disarm Iraq. In 1998, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan tried to work with Iraq to make the disarmament process run smoothly. FABRICE COFFRINI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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Tensions increase

A series of incidents convinced the United States that Hussein was not going to comply with the disarmament. In January 1993, the United States accused Hussein of moving missiles into southern Iraq. Allied planes and ships destroyed the missile sites, as well as a nuclear facility outside Baghdad, Iraq. In June 1993, the United States learned of a plot to assassinate former U.S. president **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93). In response, U.S. ships attacked Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad. In 1994, Hussein moved Iraqi troops to the Kuwaiti border. The United States responded by deploying a carrier group, warplanes, and some fifty-four thousand troops. Then, in August 1996, Hussein invaded the Kurdish territory, an area of northern Iraq that was home to the Kurds, a group Hussein had suppressed. U.S. ships and planes attacked military targets in Iraq.

Tensions between Iraq and the U.S.-led allies escalated considerably in October 1997, when Iraq accused U.S. members of UNSCOM of being spies and forced most of them to leave the country. In November, Iraq expelled the six remaining U.S. inspectors, and the UN removed its last inspectors in protest. As the United States and Britain began a military buildup in the Persian Gulf, Iraq readmitted the inspectors, but later in November Iraqi officials announced that they would not allow inspection of sites designated as "palaces and official residences." Not surprisingly, these happened to be areas long suspected by the UN as being possible storage sites for weapons of mass destruction.

In February 1998, UN secretary general Kofi Annan (1938–) forged an agreement with Iraq to resume weapons inspections in return for a UN promise to consider ending sanctions. Inspections went on relatively uneventfully until August, at which point the Iraqi government, complaining that it had seen no UN effort to end sanctions, refused to cooperate further with weapons inspectors. U.S. and British governments warned of possible military action to force Iraqi compliance, and the countries built up forces in the Persian Gulf. Just as allied bombers were preparing to strike Iraq, Hussein agreed to readmit UNSCOM weapons inspectors. Still, the UNSCOM chief inspector reported on December 8, 1998, that Iraq was not cooperating, and the UN again withdrew its team.

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Operation Desert Fox

Due to opposition from France, Russia, and China, as well as several Arab countries, the UN was not prepared to take military action against Iraq. So the United States and Britain did, launching Operation Desert Fox on the night of December 16, 1998. Air raids against military targets in Iraq continued for the next three nights. On December 21, the U.S. Department of Defense reported that the bombing had severely damaged forty-three targets, moderately damaged thirty others, and lightly damaged twelve more, while missing thirteen targets. The Iraqi government claimed that the bombing had killed about one hundred soldiers and many more civilians.

Though Operation Desert Fox was militarily successful, the United States was not enthusiastic. On December 18, midway through the bombing campaign, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to impeach U.S. president **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) for committing perjury before a grand jury. Critics said he bombed Iraq to take the attention off his own political problems. Other critics maintained that the bombing did little to stop Iraqi militarization, leaving the problem smoldering, quite possibly to flare up at some other time.

After the Desert Fox bombings, the Iraqi government refused to cooperate with weapons inspectors and it was a year before the UN could put together a new inspections team, the United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC). Hussein did not cooperate with UNMOVIC for two more years. According to most reports today, by that time, Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction and did not pose a real threat to other nations. Despite the difficulties, during its time in Iraq UNSCOM discovered most of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and destroyed them. Hussein, however, was unwilling to fully cooperate with the inspections to prove this. In the spring of 2003, the United States invaded Iraq (see **Iraq Invasion (2003)**).

Iraq Invasion (2003)

On March 20, 2003, the United States launched an attack on the nation of Iraq. U.S. president **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) and members of his administration claimed that Iraqi president Saddam Hussein (1937–2006) had been stockpiling **weapons of mass destruction**—massive nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons that can kill or

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After the fall of Saddam Hussein, it has been extremely difficult to put together an Iraq government that represents the Shi'a, the Sunnis, and the Kurds. MIRRORPIX/GETTY IMAGES

incapacitate large numbers of people—in violation of the terms of the international agreements formed after the **Persian Gulf War** of 1991. The administration also claimed a link between Iraq and **al-Qaeda,** the organization responsible for the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**.

Shock and awe

The United States was unable to win approval for an invasion of Iraq from the United Nations. Nonetheless, the Bush administration claimed that an invasion was justified by United Nations Resolution 1441, adopted in 2002, which requires complete disclosure of a country's programs to develop weapons of mass destruction.

Without the support of the United Nations, the United States put together a coalition of forces dominated by U.S. and British troops, with

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limited support from Australia, Denmark, Poland, and other nations, and drew up plans to invade. Some of the United States's traditional allies, including Canada, France, and Germany, refused to participate, arguing that the United Nations had determined that there was no evidence that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Worldwide opposition to the invasion was demonstrated in many popular protests between January and April 2003, the largest of which took place on February 15, 2003, when protests in more than eight hundred cities around the world drew between six and ten million people. In spite of these demonstrations of disapproval, the U.S. military assembled 125,000 troops in Kuwait; Britain assembled another 45,000.

On March 17, 2003, the coalition gave Hussein and his sons Uday and Qusay forty-eight hours to leave Iraq. On March 20, 2003, coalition forces proceeded to attack, bombing hundreds of targets in Iraq's capital, Baghdad, in Mosul, the second-largest city, and in the southern city of Kirkuk. Their plan was for a "shock and awe" attack—an intense bombing raid accompanied by a ground invasion, intended to overwhelm the Iraqi resistance and bring about the collapse of Hussein's government with a minimum number of casualties. Within three weeks, Iraq's military had collapsed and Hussein and his Ba'ath Party leaders had fled, and U.S. troops took over Baghdad.



On March 20, 2003, coalition forces led an intense bombing raid and ground invasion targeting areas in Iraq's capital, Baghdad. AP IMAGES

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Once ground troops entered Iraq, repeated efforts failed to uncover any signs of weapons of mass destruction. Intelligence reports demonstrated there was never a link between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda.

Occupation

After overthrowing Hussein, the U.S.-led coalition began an occupation of Iraq (control of the country by military forces) in an attempt to stabilize the country while it put together a democratic government. Two months after the invasion, President Bush gave a dramatic "mission accomplished" speech to cheering troops on an aircraft carrier that had just returned from duty in Iraq. The speech declared a U.S. victory in the war, but fighting in Iraq had escalated after the overthrow of Hussein, and there were not enough coalition troops in the nation to stop the violence.

Insurgency

Muslims in Iraq, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, are divided into two major branches, Sunnis and Shi'a, which differ in their beliefs about the legitimacy of particular religious leaders. Over the years, they also have developed some different religious practices; hostilities between the two branches have at times been intense. Only 10 to 15 percent of the Muslim world is Shi'a, but Iraq has a majority (60 percent) Shi'a population. Hussein and his Ba'ath Party officials were members of the Sunni minority, and they led a secular (nonreligious) government in which the Sunni minority ruled over the Shi'a majority.

When Hussein was overthrown, conflict between the Sunnis and Shi'a broke out, and some members of both groups wanted a religious government rather than the secular democracy the United States had envisioned for them. Iraq is further divided by a third group, the Kurds, an ethnic group with origins in Kurdistan, the mountainous area around the borders of Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Syria. They inhabit a large territory in northern Iraq and make up about one-fifth of Iraq's population. Most Kurds are Sunni, but some are Shi'a, and there are also Christian and Jewish Kurds. Kurds in Iraq have remained isolated from other Iraqis and were brutally repressed by successive Iraqi governments; they hope to form their own independent nation.

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Although there was little indication of an al-Qaeda presence in Iraq before the invasion, by 2004 terrorist groups from outside Iraq had moved into the country. A Sunni militant group led by Jordanian Abu Musa al-Zarqawi (1966–2006) pledged its allegiance to al-Qaeda in October 2004. This group, which came to be known as Al-Qaeda in Iraq, claimed responsibility for bombings, suicide attacks, kidnappings, and televised beheadings of Iraqis and foreigners. One of their missions was to encourage the fighting between the Sunnis and Shi'a. They believed the chaos resulting from the civil war would prevent the formation of a western-style secular democracy and allow Sunni Muslims to take power.

The Abu Ghraib Scandal

In April 2004, photographs depicting U.S. soldiers' humiliation and abuse of Iraqi prisoners at Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison were published in the international media. Prisoners alleged that they had been tortured and assaulted by their guards and by members of the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA). In the scandal that followed, the U.S. commander of the prison was demoted, and seventeen soldiers were removed from duty; two of them were convicted and imprisoned for their roles in the assaults. Abu Ghraib prison was handed over to the Iraqi government in September 2006.

Building a government

Iraq's economy had been severely damaged by international sanctions imposed on Iraq after 1991's Persian Gulf War. Once the Hussein government was gone, the little economic production that still existed ceased. The conflicts between Shi'a and Sunnis and between religious fundamentalists and secularists grew worse as the economy of Iraq collapsed. With no jobs and few basic services such as electricity, some Iraqis turned to the insurgent (rebel) groups that fought against the temporary Iraqi government and the U.S. troops in Iraq. The insurgents carried out frequent bombings and suicide attacks, many of which targeted the U.S. military or Iraqis who were working with the Americans.

Putting together an Iraqi government that represented the Shi'a, the Sunnis, and the Kurds was extremely difficult. The interests of the three groups were at odds; resentments lingered from Hussein's reign. During a two-year period of squabbling among political leaders, the suicide

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bombings escalated. Finally, in 2005 the Iraqis held a democratic election, approved a constitution, and elected a government. The United Iraqi Alliance, a Shi'a-dominated coalition of groups backed by a highly influential religious and political leader, the Iranian Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani (1930–), won about half of the votes.

The new government was stationed in the Green Zone of Iraq, the heavily gated and guarded headquarters of the coalition troops in Baghdad. Movement outside the Green Zone became increasingly dangerous. Many Iraqi and American observers noted that the new Iraqi government had little influence in Iraq outside the boundaries of the Green Zone.

In February 2006, the Askariya shrine in Samarra, considered to be the holiest Shi'a temple in Iraq, was bombed. The Shi'a assumed that Sunnis had done the bombing and angrily took to the streets seeking revenge. Within weeks, the U.S. media began to call the war in Iraq a civil war, but the Bush administration resisted that terminology.

A controversial war

Opponents of the Iraq war argued that the Bush administration had long wanted to invade Iraq, and thus had forced intelligence agencies to support their war with false reports of weapons of mass destruction and terrorist connections. Because the United States had begun the war without a clear mandate from the United Nations, some opponents claimed from the start that the war was illegitimate and perhaps illegal under international law.

After it was clear that there was little or no threat from weapons of mass destruction or al-Qaeda links in pre-invasion Iraq, supporters of the war argued that Saddam Hussein's regime had to be overthrown in order to protect the people of Iraq from their own leader. In addition, the Bush administration argued that the war was a central part of the war on terrorism, and that it was better to fight the terrorists in Iraq than in the United States. Despite some strong antiwar sentiments, support for the war among U.S. citizens remained relatively high for the first two years of fighting—long enough to see Bush win reelection in 2004. However, by 2006, the majority of Americans felt the administration had made a mistake in going to war and had handled the war badly. This public opinion led to the election of Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress.

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By mid-October 2007, according to a Cable News Network (CNN) report, coalition deaths in the Iraqi war were as follows: 3,834 Americans, two Australians, 171 Britons, 13 Bulgarians, 1 Czech, 7 Danes, 2 Dutch, 2 Estonians, 1 Fijian, 1 Hungarian, 33 Italians, 1 Kazakh, 1 Korean, 3 Latvians, 21 Poles, 2 Romanians, 5 Salvadorans, 4 Slovaks, 11 Spaniards, 2 Thais, and 18 Ukrainians. About 28,276 U.S. soldiers have been wounded; many of them have lost limbs or received serious brain injuries. Cases of post-traumatic stress, a severe emotional disorder that results from having been in terrifying situations, are very high among the troops.

Figures on Iraqi deaths are less certain. According to the Iraq Body Count project team, there had been between 66,807 and 73,120 Iraqi civilian deaths by the end of June 2007. However, the *Lancet* medical journal estimated that by October 2006, 654,965 Iraqi civilians had been killed in the war, a figure disputed by the Iraq and U.S. governments and by the United Nations.

The surge

With most Americans hoping for a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq, in January 2007 President Bush announced a new military strategy—a troop surge sending another twenty thousand U.S. troops to Iraq to fight the sectarian violence and promote security, particularly in Baghdad, starting in February 2007. With more troops in some areas, there were some small areas of peace in the war-torn country. Although protest against the war remained high, at the end of 2007 there were no plans for a U.S. withdrawal.

Irish Immigration

Nearly two million Irish people came to the United States from Ireland in the 1840s. Most of them crossed the ocean to escape the potato famine. Potatoes were the main crop grown by farmers in Ireland, and a fungus infestation devastated crops nationwide in 1845. Families sold everything they owned for money, and it still was not enough. Many starved.

As the Irish immigrants found steady work that allowed them to save money, they sent for friends and relatives. This kept a continuous flow of Irish coming into America. In total, about 3.5 million Irish from

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Ireland immigrated to the United States between 1820 and 1880. In the years between 1820 and 1860, the Irish accounted for one-third of all immigrants to America. Many more Irish emigrated from Britain, but because Britain was the point of departure, they were counted as British, not Irish, in immigration records.

Though not the poorest in Irish society, those who came to the United States were incredibly poor by American standards. Many of them did not have money beyond the ship fare, so they settled near the port at which they arrived. The main port of entry was **Ellis Island**, near New York City. New York City eventually was home to more Irishmen than Dublin, Ireland.

An 1870 census (a periodic count of the population) revealed that the Irish comprised 14.5 percent of the populations of large American cities. They dominated the population in New England and accounted for 22 percent of **New York**'s population that year. They and the Germans made up the largest immigrant group in 1870.

Labor

Irish immigrants were laborers who took dangerous jobs that no one else wanted. The men worked the coal mines and built railroads and canals while the women worked as domestic (household) help. American businesses wasted no time in taking advantage of the cheap labor supplied by the Irish. Companies threatened to replace uncooperative employees with cheap Irish workers; this led to more tension between the Irish and the rest of the population.

Because of the tension between the Irish and everyone else, finding jobs became increasingly difficult for Irish immigrants. It was not uncommon for storefront windows to boldly feature handwritten signs that read "NINA" (No Irish Need Apply).

Second- and third-generation Irish immigrants (children and grandchildren of those who had sailed to America) often took jobs as police officers, firefighters, and schoolteachers. These generations achieved higher levels of education, which allowed them to earn more money.

Religion

The Irish were disliked by nearly every other ethnic group, and also by native-born Americans, because of their poor living conditions, their

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willingness to work for low wages, and their religion. Protestants (Christians who are not Catholics) and Catholics had a long history of conflict based on varying beliefs and an unwillingness to tolerate one another. The Irish were Catholic. In America, most Catholics were members of upper-class society. They were not accustomed to having to include or accept members of the lower class. The tension created by these class differences was an obstacle not easily overcome.

Protestant Americans watched as millions of Catholics flooded their shores. Catholic churches were appearing on every street corner in some neighborhoods. It seemed to some as though Protestant neighborhoods were being overrun with Catholics. These Irish Catholics brought with them foreign customs and rituals that Americans and other ethnic groups did not understand. Conflict was virtually unavoidable. The Irish became the target of violence in big cities throughout the Northeast. Catholic churches were burned, and riots broke out.

Getting by

Persecution was not new to the Irish. Ireland was under British rule, so most Irish immigrants had never known freedom as Americans understood it. In their homeland, the Irish were controlled politically, economically, and religiously. They often formed secret organizations, usually with the help of their village priest, to meet their educational and economic needs. These societies allowed the Irish to form a strong identity. They stuck together for the sake of survival. This experience helped them as immigrants in America as well.

The Irish were excellent organizers. They recognized the value of teamwork, and their ability allowed them to break into the American political system. Since most of them lived in big cities, they were able to take control of politics like no other ethnic group had ever done. The Irish put the power into the hands of the working class and established loyalty among that large voting group. They formed political machines (organized political groups that ensure the loyalty of voters by repaying them for their votes with favors such as money, jobs, or gifts) that took over major American cities from the mid-eighteenth into the twentieth century. Although political machines were considered unethical, they allowed the Irish to survive in a hostile environment.

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Iroquois Confederacy

The Iroquois Confederacy was a political and social alliance of five Indian tribes (later six) who lived in the northeastern part of North America. The Iroquois are also known as Haudenosaunee, meaning "people of the longhouse." The nations that were members of the confederacy were the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca, and later the Tuscarora. Long before Europeans arrived on the continent, the Iroquois had formed a complex, democratic society. In fact, some historians consider the Iroquois Confederacy one of the world's oldest democracies.

The dark times

The story of the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy is known today through oral, or spoken, history, handed down from generation to generation of the Iroquois people. The story probably blends people and events from the Iroquois past and it does not provide dates, but most historians accept it as a very useful outline of Iroquois history.

Some time before European contact, the Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca, Cayuga, and Oneida nations engaged in near-constant warfare. The darkest times were during the reign of a warlike Onondaga chief named Todadaho, who was feared far and wide. Many accounts describe him as a cannibal, and in fact, in some native northeastern cultures people believed that eating their victims in battle gave warriors better fighting skills.

Into this violent era entered the prophet Deganawida, a member of either the Huron or the Mohawk tribe. Deganawida grieved to see so much war and conflict in the world around him, and he traveled far from home seeking solutions. In his travels, he met Hiawatha, who was a Mohawk or Onondaga and told him of his hopes for peace and good government. Deganawida believed that the creator of all things had given humans the power to reason, and that by using clear thinking they could find the path to a balanced, peaceful society. Hiawatha was captivated by Deganawida's words and offered to serve as his orator (someone who makes public speeches). Together they traveled to a Mohawk village to begin teaching people the rules for a peaceful society.

Deganawida eventually won the Mohawks over and went on to convince the Oneida, Seneca, and Cayuga nations to join the Mohawks in a

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Members of the six-nation Iroquois Confederacy in front of the General Assembly Building at the United Nations headquarters. The Iroquois Confederacy was a political and social alliance of five (later six) northeastern Indian tribes. AP IMAGES

union of tribes. Using nonviolent and respectful persuasion, Deganawida was finally able to convince even Todadaho to give up his constant fighting and join the union. Deganawida then planted the Tree of Peace as a symbol of the confederacy at the Onondaga Nation near present-day Syracuse, **New York**. The confederacy called itself the Haudenosaunee, or people of the longhouse, because they pledged to live peacefully under one government, in the same way several families might live together as distinct units under the protection of one roof. Some historians date the union around 1100 BCE, though others believe it happened later in history, sometime between 1350 and 1550 CE.

The rules of the confederacy

The Iroquois nations created an oral constitution called the Great Law. Under its rules of government, the Grand Council of Chiefs, made up of forty-nine chiefs from the five tribes, led the confederacy. The Grand Council gathered at Onondaga to establish laws and customs and to guide the interaction of the members of the confederacy. Each tribe had an equal voice in the council, and the system was mostly democratic. Iroquois women played a major role in decision making. Deganawida,

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who came to be known as the Great Peacemaker, is credited with creating the advanced political system. As the council developed over the years, it tried to negotiate among peoples, whether in relations between tribes or in treaties with European settlers arriving on its lands.

When the American colonies were established in the Northeast, the united Iroquois nations presented a strong front to avoid invasion of their lands. One of the Iroquois' strengths was their willingness to include new members within the confederacy, such as the Tuscarora nation of **North Carolina** and members of the Huron tribe. By 1677, the confederacy was one of the most powerful groups of North American Indians, consisting of approximately sixteen thousand people. It stretched over a large area of what is now New York State and beyond.

Influencing the founding fathers

In the eighteenth century, the American colonists were eager to form their own democracy. Impressed by the democratic Iroquois Confederacy, they sought the advice of the Iroquois when preparing the Albany Plan of Union of 1755, an attempt to unite the original American **thirteen colonies** under one federal government as the Iroquois had united its nations. In 1787, founders of the new nation, **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826), **John Adams** (1735–1826), and John Hancock (1737–1793) were all inspired by the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy as they debated the writing of the U.S. **Constitution**.

The Iroquois became divided during the **American Revolution**, the colonists' war of independence from England (1775–83). Some Iroquois groups fought on the side of the colonists and others fought with England. Before the war was even over, the new U.S. government allowed land companies to buy up most of the Iroquois lands. The internal division weakened the once-strong Iroquois union, and the confederacy began to fall apart. Many Iroquois groups, particularly those who had fought with the British, left for Canada, never to return. The Iroquois who remained held onto as much land as they could. Today, their descendants own eight reservations in New York and **Wisconsin**. The Iroquois Confederacy was the country's eleventh-largest Native American group in the year 2000, according to the U.S. census.

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Isolationism

Isolationism is a policy of nonparticipation in international economic and political relations. It was practiced by the United States from the end of the presidency of **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) through the first half of the twentieth century, though not steadily.

This policy of abstaining from foreign relations is what kept the United States from entering into **World War I** (1914–18) until 1917. Only reluctantly did President **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) seek Congress's permission to enter the war. The U.S. economy had recently changed from mostly agricultural to mostly industrial, and this shift made the nation partly dependent on international trade. This new situation made it difficult for the United States to continue with its isolationism.

Most Americans felt that World War I was Europe's war, and the majority greatly resented the loss of American lives for a cause they could not embrace. Although they supported their soldiers overseas during the war, when it was over the United States returned to an isolationist attitude.

The nation focused on internal affairs rather than international relations throughout the 1920s. The next decade brought the **Great Depression** (1929–41), and Americans were focused on daily survival. As the decade closed and Germany's Nazi Party leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) forced the beginning of **World War II** (1939–45), President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) insisted that the United States would remain neutral.

Despite this commitment to isolationism, it was Europe's need for American products and goods throughout the war that brought the United States out of its economic misery. Many Americans believed that staying out of the war would bring them both prosperity and peace, but Roosevelt's administration grew to favor intervention. The president's advisers warned him that isolationism would allow Germany to take control of Europe and Japan to dominate Asia, which would close major markets to American trade forever. When word of the atrocities of the Holocaust reached Roosevelt, he decided that the combination of economic and moral issues warranted a break from isolationism. Still, it was the Japanese bombing of **Pearl Harbor** on December 7, 1941, that shocked America out of its inaction and thrust it into World War II.

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Italian and Greek Immigration

During the period from 1880 to 1920, millions of people in a huge wave of immigration came to the United States from southern and eastern Europe, including Italy and Greece. An estimated four million Italian immigrants arrived in the United States, making Italians the single largest European national group to move to America in that era. Great numbers of young Greek men were also part of this immigration wave. In fact, by 1925 one out of every four Greek men between the ages of fifteen and forty-five had gone to the United States.

Italian immigration

Italy experienced political turmoil and economic crisis at the end of the nineteenth century. Finding it difficult to support their families, many Italians decided to emigrate. Two of Italy's poorest regions, the island of Sicily and the region around Naples, accounted for over half the Italians who left their homes for the United States.

The United States attracted many Italians because it desperately needed workers. The American **Civil War** (1861–65) had killed over six hundred thousand young men, creating a labor shortage just when the country was building its major cross-country railroads and establishing factories and industrial centers. Young Italian men sought steady wages they could send home to their families. They left their homeland planning to return to Italy when economic circumstances improved. In fact, many Italians did return home after working in the United States for a short period.

Life for Italian Americans

Italian immigrants were among the poorest people to come to the United States in this period. They tended to take work as laborers in the cities of the northeastern United States, especially New York City and Boston, **Massachusetts**. Most immigrants from southern Italy could not read or write, and few spoke English. Thus, they were often forced to work in the lowest-paying jobs that no one else wanted.

Newly arrived Italian men used an employment system that revolved around a *padrone,* which means "boss." The padrone acted as a professional labor broker. Employers came to him to find workers, and job seekers came to him to find work. The padrone system contributed to a

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Italian immigrants often moved to towns in America where people from their own region of Italy had settled. One of the most famous was Little Italy in New York, which had several Italian storefronts. AP IMAGES

concentration of Italian workers in certain industries such as construction, where the padrones had contacts.

When they arrived in the United States, it was common for Italian Americans to move into a neighborhood where people from their own town or region of Italy had settled. Several families from the same Italian town often lived next to each other on the same street in Boston or New York, maintaining the same social ties they had in Italy. As these neighborhoods grew, they each became known as Little Italy.

Sometime around **World War I** (1914–18), prejudice against Italians became strong. Non-Italian Americans resented that the Italian

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Americans retained their language and culture and lived in tight-knit groups. They were suspicious of their Catholic religion, and they looked down upon the poorer Italians who were forced to take low-paying jobs. Hostility against Italians began to decline in the 1930s.

Greek immigrants

The first Greek immigrants were farmers who suffered from poverty in an unstable Greek economy in the late nineteenth century. Most who decided to emigrate were uneducated, and many wished to come only long enough to earn money to send to their families.

Like the Italians, the Greek immigrants had a padrone system. Greek padrones, though, recruited workers directly from Greece to come to the United States under contract. As with the **indentured servitude** system of earlier times, the employers would pay for the workers' passage to America. In return, the worker would agree to work for a number of years at an agreed-upon (but always very low) wage. Many Greek families who could not otherwise make ends meet sent their sons to the United States under such contracts. Young men and boys under the padrone system often worked as shoe shine boys or as helpers to shopkeepers.

Between 1900 and 1920, about 350,000 Greek immigrants arrived in the United States. The majority tended to settle in the cities of the Northeast and Midwest, such as Boston, New York, and Chicago, **Illinois**. Many Greek immigrants eventually opened their own businesses. Once a Greek man had established a business in the United States, he often sent for a wife from his home village through an arranged marriage; the chosen woman would then immigrate to the United States.

Greek Americans suffered discrimination at first, and at times it was violent. But on the whole, they were treated somewhat better than the Italians and other southern Europeans arriving at the time.

Immigration Act of 1924

By the 1920s, prejudices against newly arrived immigrants resulted in anti-immigrant policies in the United States. Congress passed the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, which restricted the number of immigrants who could come into the United States based on people's nationality. Three years later, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924,

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making national quotas permanent. It radically reduced the maximum number of immigrants from any single country to a number equal to 2 percent of the number of that particular nationality that had resided in the United States in 1890—before the many Italians and Greeks had arrived.

The intent of the law was to preserve the United States as a country dominated by people with northern European, Protestant ancestors. The result of the law was to end forty years of mass migration from southern and eastern Europe.

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J

Andrew Jackson

Andrew Jackson rose from humble backcountry origins to become a famous military hero and the seventh president of the United States. Many Americans, especially those of the western frontier, honored him as an example of the new, self-made American. Others viewed him as a military leader who used unnecessary brutality and as a president who exceeded his authority and divided his political party.

Youth during the American Revolution

Jackson's parents emigrated to the backwoods of **South Carolina** from northern Ireland in 1765, and Andrew's father died a few days before his birth. Jackson, who was born on March 15, 1767, was a reckless and quick-tempered boy. He attended some local schools, and could read and write, but he was less educated than any of the U.S. presidents before him.

The **American Revolution** (1775–83; the war for independence from Great Britain) overshadowed Jackson's youth. In 1779, the thirteen-year-old Andrew and his brother enlisted in the army and were soon captured by the British. During their captivity, both brothers caught smallpox, an infectious disease. The British released them, and they walked 40 miles home, barefoot and coatless. Two days after they arrived, Andrew's brother died. His mother died soon after. At fourteen, Jackson was alone. The hatred he felt for the British remained with him for life.

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Controversial figure Andrew Jackson was a military leader and later the seventh president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A young lawyer

After a somewhat wild youth, Jackson decided to study law. Admitted to the bar (licensed to practice law) in 1787, he set out for **Tennessee** to serve as a prosecuting attorney. He was soon appointed attorney general. Financial successes allowed him to begin building a plantation and to purchase slaves to work on it. He served in the Tennessee state legislature, then briefly as a U.S. senator, and later served six years as a judge in the Tennessee Superior Court.

Jackson married a divorced woman, Rachel Donelson Robard, in 1794, and was a devoted husband. In 1806, a man insulted Rachel's honor. Jackson challenged him to a duel and killed him.

Military career

Jackson began his military career as commander of a group of Tennessee volunteers in the **War of 1812** (a conflict between England and the United States over trade issues). In this role, he destroyed a large part of the population of the Creek Indians in **Mississippi** Territory who had been involved in skirmishes with U.S. troops. Promoted into the regular army, Jackson led a large force against the British at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. He triumphed in the battle and emerged as the war's greatest hero.

Three years later, Jackson invaded **Florida**, which at the time was a Spanish territory, in pursuit of Seminole Indians resisting relocation to **Indian Territory** (present-day **Oklahoma**). Thus began the first of the **Seminole Wars** (1817–18). Many of Jackson's actions in Florida were questionable. He ordered the execution of two British subjects suspected of aiding the Indians, and his brutal conduct toward Indians earned him a reputation among journalists and politicians as a tyrant and a murderer. But after his campaign, Spain ceded Florida to the United States, which greatly pleased many Americans. Jackson's popularity as a no-nonsense military leader grew.

For a short period in 1821, Jackson served as governor of the Florida Territory. He resigned when the Tennessee legislature chose him for the

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U.S. Senate. Two years later, he stepped down to make his first bid for the presidency.

Lost election of 1824

In the 1824 election, different factions of the **Democratic-Republican Party** ran for president. Jackson won the highest number of popular and electoral votes (votes cast by the **electoral college**, made up of members chosen by each state to elect a president), but he did not have the majority of electoral votes required by the **Constitution**. Therefore, it was up to the House of Representatives to select a president. When it chose **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–29), Jackson was convinced that the election had been fixed. For the next four years, Jackson's supporters made things difficult for the Adams administration, opposing many of its initiatives.

Jackson ran for president again in 1828. In this campaign, his supporters emerged as the new "Jacksonian" **Democratic Party**. Supporters of Adams were called National Republicans, later to become the **Whig Party**. Jackson won an overwhelming victory.

The presidency

Jackson's first term was marked by a conflict between him and his vice president, **John C. Calhoun** (1782–1850) over the issue of nullification, which held that if a state objects to a federal law, it has the right to block the law's enforcement. (See **Nullification Controversy**.) Calhoun's home state of South Carolina attempted to nullify the tariffs (taxes on imports and exports) of 1828 and 1829; Jackson reacted by calling for military action against South Carolina. It took a compromise tariff to avoid confrontation.

As president, Jackson continued to try to take Indian land, as he had done in the military. He promoted the Indian Removal Act, which was passed by Congress in 1830. The act called for the forced march of thousands of American Indians from their native lands in the Southeast along the **"Trail of Tears"** into Indian Territory, causing great suffering and death.

Jackson's second term as president was dominated by his campaign to abolish the national bank system, which he felt gave too much power to the federal government and favored the Northeast over the South and

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West. He forced the removal of federal deposits from the Second Bank of the United States and distributed them among a favored group of state banks. Senate members protested, declaring the president's actions unconstitutional, but he would not budge on the issue. In his last months in office, a national financial crisis resulted from these drastic measures. His critics began to call him "King Andrew," because they believed he had taken more power than the Constitution allowed a president.

After his presidency, Jackson retired to his estate in Tennessee, the Hermitage, but remained a powerful force in the Democratic Party. He died in 1845.

Jamestown, Virginia

In 1606, King James I (1566–1625) of England granted a charter to the Virginia Company of London, giving it rights to establish a business in the New World under the protection of the English. The one charter gave two companies, the Plymouth Company and the London Company, shares in land between the Cape Fear River of North Carolina and Bangor, **Maine**. The northern part of this land grant went to the Plymouth Company, and the southern part went to the London Company.

On December 20, 1606, the Virginia Company sent three ships, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery*, to the Chesapeake Bay region for the London Company. On May 24, 1607, the passengers disembarked and called the site for their settlement Jamestown, after King James I. Through persistence and determination, the settlers made Jamestown the first permanent English settlement in America.

Challenges

The settlement faced difficulties from its very first moments. It was to be governed by a local council of seven men. The men who were chosen to serve on the council, however, hated and feared each other. Many of the settlers were headstrong adventurers with individual ambitions. Others were unwilling to put in the work needed to establish a viable community, choosing to relax and play games instead of growing food and working. Disease weakened and killed many of the settlers in the first year.

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This fort was built by the first English settlers on their arrival to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. AP IMAGES

Only after three council members returned to England and three others died did the settlement get effective leadership, under Captain **John Smith** (c. 1580–1631). In 1608, Smith took firm control of the settlement. Four to six hours of work were required from each person every day. Smith also worked to improve relationships with the native Indians, though this was not an easy task. In 1609, Smith was injured and returned to England.

A new charter was written that year, and the seven-man council was replaced by a governor. The Virginia Company sent several hundred settlers to strengthen the colony before the governor's arrival, but their own arrival strained the settlement's resources. Without a strong leader like Smith, most of the settlers died during the Jamestown winter of 1609 to 1610, which is called the "starving time." Of the 490 settlers Smith had left behind, only sixty survived the food shortages, disease, and Indian attacks of the winter.

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New beginnings

In 1610, the new governor arrived and imposed a strict government. With additional supplies, increased manpower, and required work, the colonists began to be successful. In 1614, the colony switched from exporting ship masts and lumber to exporting **tobacco**. The economic outlook of the colony brightened somewhat.

In time, disease, violent clashes with Indians, and difficulty with laborers undermined the potential success of the tobacco crops. In 1619, the company reorganized again, sending another 1,216 people to Jamestown. The company authorized the colonists to form the **House of Burgesses**, the first representative elected assembly in America. But these efforts failed to bring the necessary profits for the company's survival, and King James I dissolved the bankrupt Virginia Company in 1624. This made **Virginia** the first royal colony, controlled directly by the king's ministers rather than through a company.

Decline

By 1625, 124 people resided in Jamestown, but more and more settlers began to move to the countryside to support their tobacco farms. In spite of efforts to revive its importance, Jamestown was badly located on swampy ground, and when fires in 1676 and 1698 destroyed the town, the government of Virginia was moved further inland to Williamsburg in 1699.

Only a few excavated foundations and the ruined tower of the brick church remain on the site of Jamestown today. The United States declared Jamestown a national historic site in 1940, and the Colonial National Historical Park welcomes visitors to it.

Japanese Immigration

See **Asian Immigration**

Japanese Internment Camps

The Japanese attack on the U.S. military base at Pearl Harbor, **Hawaii**, on December 7, 1941, surprised and outraged Americans. The **Pearl Harbor attack** heightened long-standing anti-Asian sentiment among many Americans living along the western coast of the United States, and

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Manzanar War Relocation Center was a Japanese internment camp during World War II. Approximately 110,000 people were forcibly relocated to Japanese internment camps. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the hostility toward Americans of Japanese descent culminated in the forced removal of approximately 110,000 people to Japanese internment (prison) camps.

Evolution of an executive order

Many Americans were convinced that Japanese Americans in Hawaii assisted the Japanese in their attack on Pearl Harbor. After the attack, nearly fifteen hundred Japanese suspected of disloyal actions were rounded up. Those not regarded as immediate security risks were restricted from traveling without permission, barred from areas near strategic installations, and forbidden to possess arms, short-wave radios, and maps.

Fear that Japanese living on American soil would support Japan's war effort fueled a desire to remove Japanese and Japanese American resi-

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dents altogether. Military leaders, patriotic groups, newspapers, and politicians joined in calls for action. They warned about the potential for sabotage by the issei (first-generation, Japanese-born immigrants) and nisei (second-generation, U.S.-born citizens) in America.

The anxiety reached such a feverish pitch that President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** issued Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. The order authorized the military to designate "military areas" from which "any or all persons may be excluded." Under this order, the military was able to force evacuations of issei and nisei throughout the West Coast. In March 1942, the War Relocation Authority was created to administer relocation centers.

Evacuation

At first, the military called upon the Japanese Americans living in the western parts of **California**, **Oregon**, and **Washington**, and along the **Arizona**-Mexico border, to leave voluntarily for the interior of the country. But the interior communities refused to accept the newcomers, and the military had to issue a freeze order requiring Japanese Americans to remain where they were. Then between March and June 1942, the military ordered them to leave their homes to report to temporary assembly centers.

The evacuees were given at most ten days, though sometimes as few as two days, to sell, discard, or store their belongings. Many Americans took advantage of the evacuees' unfortunate circumstances, buying their furniture, houses, and automobiles for low prices. Some Japanese Americans managed to store their belongings in churches or community buildings, but many of these were looted during the war. Evacuees were allowed to bring to the relocation camps only what they could carry.

The War Relocation Authority (WRA) created ten permanent relocation camps in the interior. Each camp held between ten and eleven thousand people. A typical camp consisted of wooden barracks covered with tar paper, and each barrack was subdivided into one-room apartments. The apartments were furnished with army cots, blankets, and a light bulb. Families or unrelated groups of individuals were assigned to share each room, reducing privacy. Bathing, washing, and dining facilities were communal. The camps were surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by armed military guards.

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Impact

Camp life was difficult for the Japanese Americans. Evacuees were allowed to bring with them only the bare essentials of clothing, bedding, and eating utensils. This meant they suffered the loss of familiar possessions and comforts. The cramped quarters strained family relationships, and many parents complained that it was difficult to discipline their children. Social order within Japanese American communities was affected as the traditional powers enjoyed by elder males were challenged by the restraints of life within the camps. Traditional customs in their lives, such as arranged marriages, disintegrated.

Angered by the loss of their rights and freedom, and bitter towards the U.S. government, internees sometimes directed their hostilities toward each other. Riots broke out in some camps.

Actions by the WRA worsened things in the camp communities. In 1943, Japanese Americans were labeled as "loyal" or "disloyal." The disloyal residents were moved to a segregation center within one of the camps. In 1944, the army began drafting men from the camps to serve in **World War II** (1939–45), sparking a considerable resistance movement.

Dissolution

Throughout World War II, U.S. courts upheld the legality of internment, ruling that the military had the power to take precautionary action against Americans who shared an ethnic heritage with the enemy. In December 1944, the U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled to discontinue detention of citizens whose loyalty had been established. The decision was nearly pointless, however, as President Roosevelt had announced the termination of his executive order the day before the ruling.

The evacuees still in relocation centers were allowed to leave at will, but many stayed in the camps in fear of hostilities outside. In June 1945, the camps were officially scheduled for closure by the end of the year, and remaining residents were to be forced to leave, if necessary.

It was not until 1976 that the U.S. government acknowledged any wrongdoing in the affair. In that year, President **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77) officially rescinded Executive Order 9066 and issued a formal apology to Japanese Americans.

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In 1981, pressure from the Japanese American community led Congress to establish the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. The commission report concluded that the internment was not justified by military necessity and was instead motivated by prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership. Federal courts vacated opinions that had upheld the constitutionality of the internment. In 1988, Congress passed a law issuing a formal apology and establishing a fund of $1.25 billion to pay compensation of $20,000 to each surviving internment victim.

Jay's Treaty

The United States and Great Britain signed Jay's Treaty on November 19, 1794. It was a follow-up to the **Treaty of Paris** of 1783, which was supposed to establish peaceful relations between the two countries after the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Jay's Treaty was meant to solve some persistent problems that were causing diplomatic tensions and threatening to provoke another war.

Growing pains

The United States had several complaints against Great Britain after the American Revolution. According to the Treaty of Paris, the English were supposed to abandon posts in the Northwest Territory near Canada. Britain not only refused to do so, but it also complicated American attempts to make peace with the region's Native American tribes.

At sea, Great Britain actively prevented U.S. ships from trading in British ports. British naval vessels regularly impressed, or kidnapped, U.S. seamen into British service, and this too was a constant strain on diplomatic relations.

Great Britain had its own complaints against the United States. British creditors with prewar debts in America were having difficulty collecting their debts in state courts, and British Loyalists were struggling to regain confiscated property in America. Disagreements about territorial boundaries also caused problems.

War

All of these issues were complicated by the outbreak of war between Great Britain and France in 1793. As a young country, the United States

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was unprepared to go to war on behalf of either country, but neutrality was difficult to maintain. U.S. treaties with France enabled French privateers to equip themselves and operate in U.S. ports. The United States also had promised to defend the French West Indies. Both the French and U.S. navies, however, were greatly inferior to the British. Great Britain and Spain were allies against France. Both countries had territories, and boundary disputes, along American borders. The United States could hardly risk conflict with Great Britain and Spain together.

American commercial interests also had to be protected. Great Britain was still the main trade partner for the United States. Great Britain provided many manufactured goods to the states and supplied credit. Though support for both the French and English existed in the United States, President **George Washington** (1732–99; served 1789–97) issued a proclamation of neutrality in April 1793.

The treaty

Attempts to remain neutral caused problems with both Great Britain and France. The British were particularly aggressive in challenging neutrality. Increased British **impressment** of U.S. sailors and the seizure of 250 U.S. ships in the French West Indies brought the countries to the brink of war. Washington sent John Jay (1745–1829), the chief justice of the U.S. **Supreme Court**, to England to negotiate a treaty.

Under Jay's Treaty, the English agreed to vacate the Northwest Territory, restore U.S. trading privileges in British ports and the East Indies, compensate for seized ships, and end discrimination of U.S. commerce. The United States opened the Mississippi River to the English, promised to pay debts owed to British merchants, and agreed to close U.S. ports to the outfitting of privateers for British enemies.

The treaty that Jay negotiated was unacceptable to many Americans and sparked sharp division among politicians and citizens. It provoked furious debate in Congress. Though it failed to resolve some of the most divisive issues, such as impressment of sailors and recognition of U.S. neutrality, the treaty did manage to stabilize diplomatic relations. Though disappointed, President Washington signed it, believing it to be the only alternative to war. Thanks to intense effort by his administration, it was passed by the Senate in February 1796.

Jay's Treaty had far-reaching implications. Most importantly, it avoided war between the United States and Great Britain during a vul-

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nerable time of development for the young country. But it complicated U.S. relations with France, which considered the treaty a breach of its own agreements with the United States. An undeclared naval war between the two countries followed. Political debates among Americans further inspired the organization of the **Republican Party** and the party system in American politics.

Jazz

Jazz music in the United States has roots dating back to the arrival of the first African American slaves in North America. Originally, the blues sound was a combination of rhythms made by instruments brought from Africa, combined with the fiddle strains and songs from white settlers from the British Isles. This blend evolved until it emerged in the 1890s as a type of music called ragtime. Ragtime eventually became jazz.

New Orleans, **Louisiana**, is considered the birthplace of jazz. Most early residents of New Orleans were Creole, people of Spanish, French, or African descent, and the early musicians brought the sound of their particular heritage to create a genre of jazz that became known as Dixieland. Another term for this type of music, which was played on brass instruments, is creole jazz. Dixieland music is marching band music with offbeat rhythms and improvised solos. Early Dixieland musicians included pianist Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton (1885–1941) and cornet player Joe "King" Oliver (1885–1938). Morton is considered to be the first jazz composer.

Leaders of the band

One of the most famous jazz musicians was Louis Armstrong (1901–1971). Armstrong was born in New Orleans and learned to play the cornet as a young teen. Throughout the 1920s, he performed in Chicago, **Illinois**, and New York City, eventually landing a long-term engagement at Connie's Inn, a popular and glamorous nightclub in New York City's Harlem. Armstrong became known for his ability to improvise. His career spanned decades and included performing on **Broadway** and singing. He is heralded as a key figure in the evolution of jazz music.

Often taking jazz in new directions was **Miles Davis** (1926–1991), a jazz trumpeter and composer. While never as technically talented as

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some of his contemporaries, Davis was influential in jazz circles for his style, which became known as cool jazz.

Another jazz great was **Duke Ellington** (1899–1974), who regularly performed at the Cotton Club, a music hot spot of the 1920s. Ellington played piano but was most influential as a composer and bandleader. Along with bandleader Fletcher Henderson (1898–1952), he created the Big Band sound, which features a jazz orchestra with more than one musician playing each instrument. Ellington's signature sound was one that incorporated mutes and growl techniques in the horns.

Thomas "Fats" Waller (1904–1943) was another jazz great who made a name for himself playing piano in Harlem nightclubs. Jazz was the premier genre of music throughout the 1920s, and its popularity knew no bounds. Paul Whiteman (1890–1967) was a bandleader who was promoted as the Jazz King. His most famous contribution to jazz was a 1924 concert that introduced the new song "Rhapsody in Blue," written by George Gershwin (1898–1937). George and his brother Ira (1896–1983) were the most successful songwriters of the Jazz Age, and their music combined elements from jazz, classical, and even opera. These crossover sounds found a strong fan base in white audiences.

Beyond the Jazz Age

As America entered the **Great Depression** (1929–41), jazz decreased in popularity. Its sound was simply too celebratory, and Americans were not in any mood to celebrate. Millions had lost their jobs and homes, and their daily lives were a struggle. The new music of choice was **folk music**, the lyrics of which reflected this new experience of loss and injustice.

There were a couple of exceptions. Ella Fitzgerald (1917–1996) enjoyed a long and illustrious career as a jazz singer. She began singing jazz with the orchestra of bandleader Chick Webb (1909–1939) in the mid-1930s. Before the end of the decade, she had recorded several hit songs and gained notoriety. Fitzgerald left the band in 1942 to embark on what would be a successful solo career. Benny Goodman (1909–1986) was another popular jazz musician whose clarinet style eventually fused into a type of music called swing. Goodman was one of only a few white jazz musicians who was able to build a career with his music.

Jazz had its loyal followers, however. Music of the 1940s included jazz, but its sounds were often incorporated and mixed with those of

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classical, blues, and swing. Jazz pianist William "Count" Basie (1904–1984) was also a bandleader whose band performed for more than fifty years. He incorporated jazz in a structured, orchestral setting and his band backed some of the most prominent jazz vocalists of the time, including Billie Holiday (1915–1959), Lester Young (1909–1959), and Herschel Evans (1909–1939). Pianist Thelonious Monk (1920–1982) made his first recordings in the mid-1940s and often collaborated with other jazz greats including saxophonist Sonny Rollins (1930–), saxophonist John Coltrane (1926–1967), Miles Davis, and Charlie Parker (1920–1955).

Charlie "Yardbird" Parker was a jazz saxophonist considered by historians to be one of the great jazz pioneers. Parker's sound eventually fused into a form of jazz called bebop. This form is characterized by fast tempos and improvisations that are based on harmony rather than melody. Parker's work in 1945 with trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie (1917–1993) took the jazz world by storm.



One of the great pioneers of jazz, saxophonist Charlie Parker helped influence the form of jazz called bebop. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

The first annual Newport Jazz Festival was established in July 1954. This was an act of courage on the part of socialites Elaine and Louis Lorillard. Among wealthy white crowds, jazz was considered inappropriate for the more sedate, proper country-club audiences. But six thousand jazz lovers paid up to $5 a ticket for the two-day **Rhode Island** program. Twenty-six thousand fans attended the 1955 Newport Jazz Festival and were entertained by two hundred musicians. The event moved to New York City in 1972 and became a two-site festival when it returned to Newport in 1981. Since 1986, it has been known as the JVC Jazz Festival.

The 1960s, like the 1930s, featured folk music, again, because its lyrics reflected the political and social unrest of the era. The 1970s were not notable for jazz music, either, although some musicians experimented with jazz-rock fusion. The early 1980s saw artists like Pat Metheny (1954–), Al Jarreau (1940–), George Benson (1943–), Chuck Mangione (1940–), and Kenny G (1956–) on the charts. Not one of

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these musicians was a jazz purist, but each mixed jazz sounds with other genres such as pop, rhythm and blues, and fusion. In an era of mixed sound, two names stood out in jazz circles. Trumpeter Wynton Marsalis (1961–) surprised the jazz world with his mastery of technique. By the time he was nineteen years old, Marsalis had signed a contract with a major recording label. Having studied classical music as a teen, Marsalis became the first musician ever to win Grammy Awards in both jazz and classical in the same year (1984).

Harry Connick Jr. (1967–) reached stardom at the age of twenty when he released his first recording in 1988. Connick's New Orleans–style piano playing and smooth vocals made him a favorite crossover artist whose music was played on jazz and pop music radio stations. Like his contemporary Marsalis, he had studied both classical and jazz; at one point, he had studied piano under the tutelage of Marsalis's father, Ellis.

Although jazz was not one of the more popular music genres of the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, it maintained a loyal following. Some new musicians arrived on the scene, most notably singer-pianist Diana Krall (1964–). In an era when musicians relied upon elaborate stage performances and music videos to enhance their acts and popularity, jazz musicians had difficulty competing.

Jazz Age

See **Jazz; Roaring Twenties**

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson was the third president of the United States and the main author of the **Declaration of Independence** (1776). This important document declared America's original **thirteen colonies** independent of England and profoundly influenced the future of American politics. It also expressed Jefferson's lifelong beliefs in natural rights, equality, individual liberties, and self-government. Along with being one of the nation's founders (political leaders in the time of the **American Revolution** [1775–83] who created and signed the Declaration of Independence and/or the **Constitution**) and great politicians, Jefferson was renowned for accomplishments in a remarkable variety of fields.

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Jefferson was born on April 13, 1743, at Shadwell, his father's plantation in central **Virginia**'s Albemarle County. Jefferson's father was a self-educated farmer who became a legislator in the Virginia **House of Burgesses**, the legislative body of Virginia's colonial government under Great Britain. Jefferson's mother was the daughter of a wealthy and socially prominent Virginia family that owned slaves. As a child, Jefferson loved horseback riding and music, but he was also very serious about his studies, and he had a love of learning that continued throughout his life.

A variety of influences

While at the College of William and Mary, in Williamsburg, Virginia, Jefferson studied foreign and classical languages, mathematics, and the natural sciences. He was captivated by the ideas of the Enlightenment, a philosophic movement of the time that focused on the great power of human reason to create a rational society of equal individuals. In 1762, Jefferson began studying law and then started a successful law practice. This put him in frequent contact with some of the leading men of Virginia, including **Patrick Henry** (1736–1799), a fiery advocate of revolution against Great Britain.

On January 1, 1772, Jefferson married Martha Wayles Skelton, the educated daughter of a wealthy Williamsburg, Virginia, lawyer. With the land and slaves they inherited from their fathers, the Jeffersons were one of the wealthiest families in Virginia, guaranteeing Jefferson a role in Virginia politics. The newlyweds moved into Monticello, a mansion Jefferson designed, near Charlottesville, Virginia.

Revolutionary political career

In 1769, Jefferson was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses, where he served for six years. In 1774, Jefferson joined a group of legislators who opposed England's domination over Virginia. They prepared a resolution to support the **Boston Tea Party**, a protest against the British tax on tea. The British-appointed governor of Virginia reacted by dissolving the House, prompting its members to meet to form a new plan of action. Jefferson submitted a paper, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America,* presenting the concept of "natural rights"—that people have certain rights that transcend civil laws and that cannot be taken away—which Jefferson would more fully describe in the Declaration of Independence. In this paper, Jefferson also forcefully denied that the

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British Parliament held political authority over the colonists, and he demanded free trade and an end to British taxation. The essay was very influential in the revolutionary movement, and Jefferson's fame spread.

Two years later, Jefferson was appointed to a committee to write the Declaration of Independence. Although debate continues to this day over the exact circumstances of its composition, most historians agree that Jefferson wrote the original draft of the document in June 1776 and that he then submitted it to two committee members, **John Adams** (1735–1826) and **Benjamin Franklin** (1706–1790), who suggested minor changes before sending it to the colonial congress. The delegates debated the text line by line for two and a half days, then adopted it on July 4, 1776.

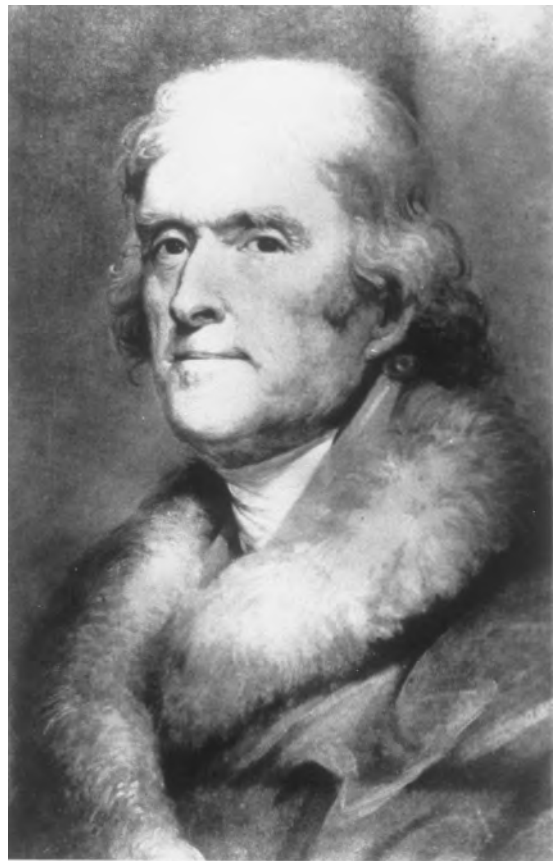
American statesman

During the American Revolution, Jefferson served as a member of the Virginia legislature and then as the governor of Virginia. Following the death of his wife in 1782, Jefferson retired from public office and wrote his only published book, *Notes on the State of Virginia.* The book described the physical environment of Virginia and expressed Jefferson's belief that the new republic should remain a nation of independent farmers.

In 1783, Jefferson again served as a delegate to the **Continental Congress** (the first national government of the United States), where he wrote rules for the governing of a region called the Northwest Territory, which included present-day **Ohio**, **Michigan**, **Indiana**, **Illinois**, **Wisconsin**, and part of **Minnesota**. Adopted a few years later as the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, these rules banned **slavery** in the territory north of the Ohio River and established how new states were to be admitted to the Union.

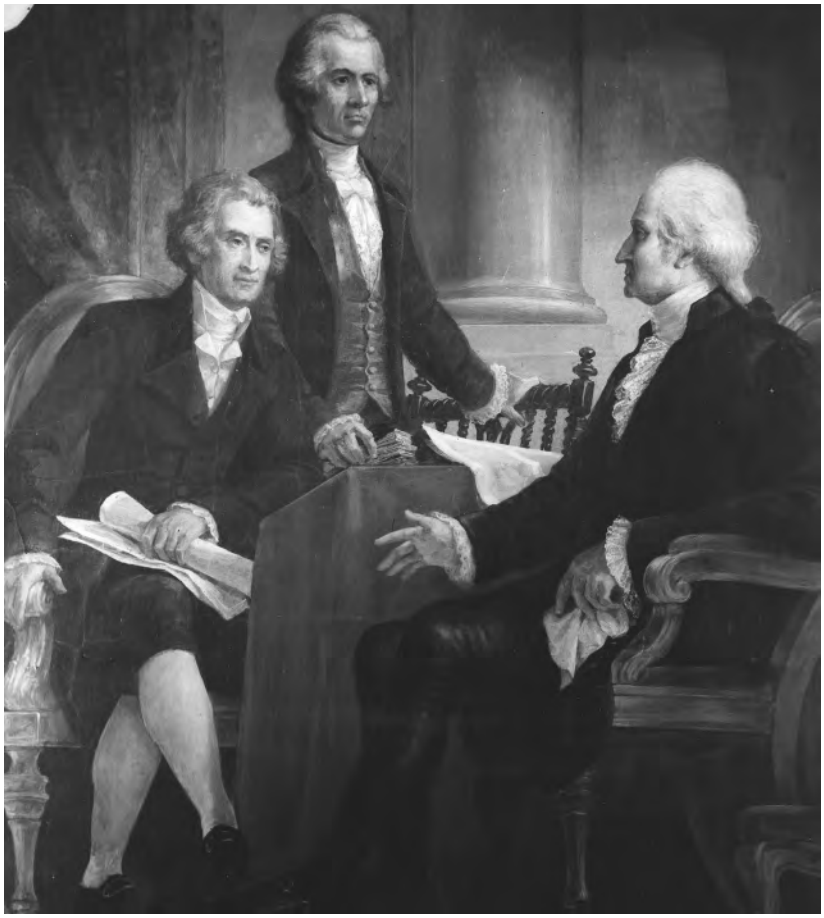
Clashes with Alexander Hamilton

In 1785, Jefferson became minister to France, and he remained in this position long enough to



Thomas Jefferson was the third president of the United States and the main author of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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President George Washington, right, meeting with Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, seated left, and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson and Hamilton often clashed on policy; Hamilton supporters became known as Federalists and those backing Jefferson were Democratic-Republicans. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

see the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. While he was in France, the U.S. Constitution was written. When he returned to the United States, he was appointed secretary of state by President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97). A series of conflicts soon developed between Jefferson and the secretary of the treasury, **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804). Jefferson believed that the federal government should limit itself mainly to foreign affairs and allow states and local governments, led by farmers and workers, to handle local matters. Hamilton believed in a strong central government under the control of wealthy merchants and property owners. Their debate caused two groups to form: The backers of Hamilton became members of the **Federalist Party**, or Federalists, and those who supported Jefferson became part of the **Democratic-Republican Party**.

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The Washington administration adopted Hamilton's ideas, and in 1793 Jefferson resigned. He ran for the presidency three years later, narrowly losing to his friend, incumbent vice president John Adams. At that time, the second-place finisher became vice president. Jefferson accepted the position, but he disagreed with Adams, who was a Federalist, over many issues. This was especially true with the passage of the **Alien and Sedition Acts** of 1798. These acts restricted the voting rights of recent immigrants and interfered with newspapers that criticized the government. Jefferson thought this seriously limited the freedoms of speech and the press and was contrary to the Constitution. Throughout his long political career, Jefferson never stopped being a champion of freedom and liberty.

Becomes third U.S. president

Jefferson defeated Adams in the election of 1800—the first election in which American voters were given a clear-cut choice between political parties. Jefferson served two terms as president, during which he cut government spending and simplified the way government was run. But his major achievement was the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803, in which his administration bought a vast territory from France for $15 million, nearly doubling the size of the United States.

The question of slavery

Jefferson's personal life did not always seem to agree with his political philosophy, especially in regard to slavery. Though he owned about two hundred slaves, his personal and public papers reveal that he opposed the institution. He supported legislation to restrict slavery, but he stopped short of actions that might endanger his political support among slave owners. A rumor arose during Jefferson's first term as president that he had had a sexual relationship with his slave Sally Hemings (1773–1836) and had fathered several children with her. This story has persisted to the present day. Scientific testing has shown that descendants of Hemings may have also been Jefferson's descendants, but the facts probably will never be known for certain.

Jefferson retired to Monticello in 1809, having been in politics almost continuously for forty years. He turned his attention to architecture, farming, and education. In 1819, he designed and founded the University of Virginia, even selecting its faculty and planning its curricu-

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lum. During this time, Jefferson renewed his friendship with John Adams, with whom he had feuded for several years. Both men died on July 4, 1826, exactly fifty years after signing the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson Memorial

In 1928, **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945), then assistant secretary of the U.S. **Navy**, visited **Washington, D.C.**, and was disappointed that there was no memorial dedicated to President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9). Later, as president, Roosevelt expressed his view that such a memorial should be built, and in 1934 Congress passed a Joint Resolution to establish a Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission (TJMC). The commission was given authority to plan, design, and construct the memorial.

The commission chose architect John Russell Pope (1874–1937) to submit a design. The National Competitions Committee for Architecture protested that the commission had not held a design contest, a more democratic selection process that Jefferson himself would have desired. Conflict notwithstanding, Pope designed a memorial based



The Jefferson Memorial in Washington D.C., was completed in 1943. SAUL LOEB/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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on the Pantheon in Rome, which Jefferson had publicly declared to be a perfect model of a circular building. An adaptation of the design, favored by the Commission of Fine Arts, was accepted in 1936. Pope's death the following year led to further controversy as to which design was better, Pope's original, or the modified version. Ultimately, the TJMC chose one of Pope's earlier Pantheon designs and then had it modified by Pope's former associates. President Roosevelt approved it.

The memorial, which sits on the shore of the Potomac River Tidal Basin, directly south of the White House, was completed in 1943. It is constructed of marble and limestone and cost just over $3 million. In 1912, Japan gave the United States a gift of three thousand Japanese cherry trees, which line the Tidal Basin. Nearly four thousand more of these trees were planted in 1956.

Inside the monument stands a nineteen-foot bronze statue of Jefferson. Weighing in at 10,000 pounds, the statue was added four years after the official dedication of the memorial in 1943. Inside the statue chamber are inscribed quotations taken from the **Declaration of Independence** and personal letters from Jefferson to important figures from the early years of the United States.

Jewish Immigration

The first Jews to settle in North America came from two Dutch communities in 1654. One group was fleeing from Brazil, where the Portuguese had expelled a Dutch company called the **Dutch East India Company**. This group settled in New Netherland in the Dutch town of **New Amsterdam**, which became New York City when the English took it in 1664.

The second group included Jacob Barsimson, a Jew who sailed to New Amsterdam from the Dutch city of Amsterdam. More Jewish merchants followed from Amsterdam in 1655. By the time of the English conquest of New Netherland, around fifty Jews had lived in the colony, though not altogether as a community.

Built first synagogue

Many Jews migrated to New York City from 1690 to 1710. By 1692, they were meeting for worship in a private home, calling their congrega-

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The first Jews to settle in North America came from two Dutch communities in 1654. Jewish immigration to the United States continued for centuries, including this group of young Jewish refugees immigrating during World War II in 1939. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

tion Shearith Israel. In 1730, they received permission from authorities to build New York City's first synagogue. At the time of the **American Revolution** (1775–83), around four hundred Jews lived in the city.

A small community of Jews from the Caribbean settled in Newport, **Rhode Island**, in the middle of the seventeenth century, shortly after Jews settled in New Amsterdam. After New Amsterdam became New York, more Jews moved from there to Newport. By 1756, the Jewish community in Newport had both a synagogue and a school.

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In the South, Jewish communities formed during the colonial period in Charleston, **South Carolina**, and Savannah, **Georgia**. Some fled from Savannah to Charleston in the 1740s for fear of Spanish invasions. Many returned to Savannah in the 1760s after the end of the **French and Indian War**.

Barred from public office

Around 1790, there were about fifteen hundred Jews in the United States. The year before, synagogues sent President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) notes of congratulation at his inauguration. They spoke of the importance of religious freedom, to which Washington responded that the United States "gives bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." At the time, most states excluded non-Christians from serving in public office.

By 1820, the Jewish population in America had grown to around twenty-seven hundred. Their communities were concentrated in Newport; New York City; Philadelphia and Lancaster, **Pennsylvania**, Richmond, **Virginia**; Charleston; and Savannah. Philadelphia's first permanent synagogue was erected in 1782. Before the 1840s, there were no professionally trained rabbis in America. Congregations were led by a cantor, called the hazan.

Nineteenth and twentieth century immigration

During the nineteenth century, Jews began immigrating to North America in large numbers. The first immigrants came mainly from the German states (a group of nation-states in what is now Germany), which had begun to pass anti-Semitic laws (laws hostile to Jews) around 1830. Many of the new arrivals were rebels who had tried, and failed, to initiate a revolution against the German governments. The German immigrants were generally an elite group; many had been educated in the finest European universities and many were idealist and highly political. (See **German Immigration**.) With the new influx from the German states, the Jewish community in the United States grew to about 160,000 in 1860.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Jews from Eastern Europe began to arrive in large numbers. In fact, between 1881 and 1914, two million Eastern European Jews arrived in the United States. They came

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from lands that were considered part of Russia, but had once been part of Poland. The Russian government had discriminated against Jews, sending them to live in an agricultural region known as the Pale of Settlement, an area including Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and a part of Russia. The Pale became horribly overcrowded and its inhabitants lived in desperate poverty. From 1881 to 1906, they were subjected to pogroms, or state-sponsored violence by mobs. Many fled to other countries.

When they arrived in the United States, most Eastern European Jews were extremely poor and they differed greatly from the elite population of German Jews already in the country. They struggled to find their way in the new land, most frequently settling in large eastern cities like New York City; Chicago, **Illinois**; Boston, **Massachusetts**; and Philadelphia. They faced many difficulties. Adding to the toll of poverty, harsh working conditions, and difficulties adapting to a foreign culture, during the 1920s and 1930s anti-Semitism in the United States increased significantly.

World War II

When Nazi leader Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) rose to power in Germany in the early 1930s, Jews became the targets of persecution. By 1938, it had become clear to most Jews that Hitler and the Nazis intended to kill them all. Many tried to flee. When U.S. president **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) learned of the violence against the Jewish people of Germany, he condemned Hitler's actions, but he did not alter the U.S. immigration laws to provide a way for the Jews to legally enter the country.

On May 13, 1939, over nine hundred people boarded the steamship *St. Louis* in Hamburg, Germany. Most were Jews fleeing the Nazis, and they had paid every penny they could beg or borrow to buy a place on the ship and to secure a landing permit for Cuba. But the Cuban government did not allow most of the passengers to disembark, breaking its own arrangements. The ship finally set sail for Florida, where the U.S. government turned the ship away saying the quota—the number of immigrants admitted to the country from Germany and Austria—had already been filled. The U.S. response was later called a "paper wall," erected to keep the imperiled Jews out of the United States. The passengers of the *St. Louis* were forced to sail back to Europe. Some found

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safety in other nations but many of the passengers would die at the hands of the Nazis.

During the years 1938 to 1941, about 110,000 Jews immigrated to the United States. Until the end of the war, the United States maintained its policy of not becoming involved in the rescue of European Jews.

Later immigration

Jews have continued to immigrate to the United States since World War II, especially from nations that were once part of the Soviet Union, where they faced violence and discrimination intermittently through history. In 2000, there were 6.15 million Jews in the United States, accounting for about 2 percent of the nation's population.

Jim Crow Laws

In 1877, as the **Reconstruction** era (1865–77), the period following the American **Civil War** (1861–65), drew to a close, the former **Confederate States of America** were freed from the control of the federal troops that had been stationed there to ensure the fair treatment of the freed slaves. With the troops gone, Southern whites began to assert policies of **segregation** (separation of blacks from whites in public places). Although the **Thirteenth Amendment**, **Fourteenth Amendment**, and **Fifteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution** had freed African Americans from **slavery** and declared them citizens with enforceable rights, white Southerners remained unwilling to share communities and facilities with African Americans as equals.

In 1875, Congress had passed a Civil Rights Act guaranteeing African Americans access to public facilities. When some minor efforts were made to enforce the act, southern state legislatures reacted by creating an entire legal system to separate the races in every aspect of daily life. The result was a web of public policies and practices—the "Jim Crow laws"—that relegated persons of color to second-class status.

Origin of the name

Thomas "Daddy" Rice, a white minstrel performer, popularized the phrase "Jim Crow" in 1828 when he created a stage character based on a slave named Jim owned by a Mr. Crow. Mocking African Americans through his presentation, Rice blackened his face with burnt cork

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("blackface"), donned a ragged costume, shuffled as he danced, and sang "ev'ry time I turn around I jump Jim Crow." Rice's popular ditty, "Jump Jim Crow," became an integral part of his routine, and by the 1830s his act propelled blackface minstrelsy into American culture. Somehow, from its stage use, the term "Jim Crow" evolved to refer to the practice of racial segregation.

Plessy v. Ferguson

In the late nineteenth century, the U.S. **Supreme Court** made two decisions supporting the Jim Crow laws. In 1883, the Court struck down the 1875 Civil Rights Act, saying that it exceeded Congress's powers. In 1896, the Court ruled in ***Plessy v. Ferguson*** that racial segregation was legally acceptable.

In 1890, the state of **Louisiana** had passed a law requiring that "colored" and white persons be provided "separate but equal" railroad passenger car accommodations. In 1892, Homer Plessy (1863–1925), a person of one-eighth African American descent, refused to leave the "white" car on the East Louisiana Railroad. His case eventually ended up in the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that the state law providing for "separate but equal" facilities was a reasonable exercise of state police powers to promote the public good. In fact, the Court went further and held that separate facilities did not have to be identical.

The Jim Crow laws spread throughout the South, requiring the separation of the races in every facet of life, including transportation, schools, lodging, public parks, theaters, hospitals, neighborhoods, cemeteries, and restaurants. Interracial marriages were prohibited. Business owners and public institutions were prohibited from allowing African American and white customers to mingle. Though the law called for "separate but equal," facilities for African Americans were almost always inferior to those set up for whites.

Although the objective of Jim Crow laws was to eliminate any contact between blacks and whites as equals, the result was to deprive African Americans of key economic and social opportunities, adequate food, shelter, clothing, education, and health care. In addition, between 1890 and 1908, every state of the former Confederacy enacted laws to limit African American voting rights. With discriminatory voting requirements, African Americans (and many poor whites) were effectively barred from participation in the political arena.

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Fighting Jim Crow

The **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), created in 1909, took the lead in combating Jim Crow laws. It brought one lawsuit after another to the courts, disputing the constitutionality of Jim Crow. NAACP successes were few before **World War II** (1939–45). The turning point came in 1954 when the Supreme Court struck down public school segregation in the case ***Brown v. Board of Education***. Reversing the earlier *Plessy* decision, the Court asserted that the separate but equal doctrine was unconstitutional in regard to public educational facilities.

The **civil rights movement** of 1954 to 1965 brought the injustice of Jim Crow in the South to the national attention. Although many white southerners resisted attempts to eliminate Jim Crow, civil rights activists kept up the pressure to end segregation until the federal government finally intervened. The Jim Crow era came to a close with a series of landmark federal laws passed by Congress during the 1960s. The most notable of the new federal laws were the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, the **Voting Rights Act** of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The Jim Crow era had lasted from the 1880s to the 1960s. Its legacy was a society still struggling with the effects of "separate and unequal."

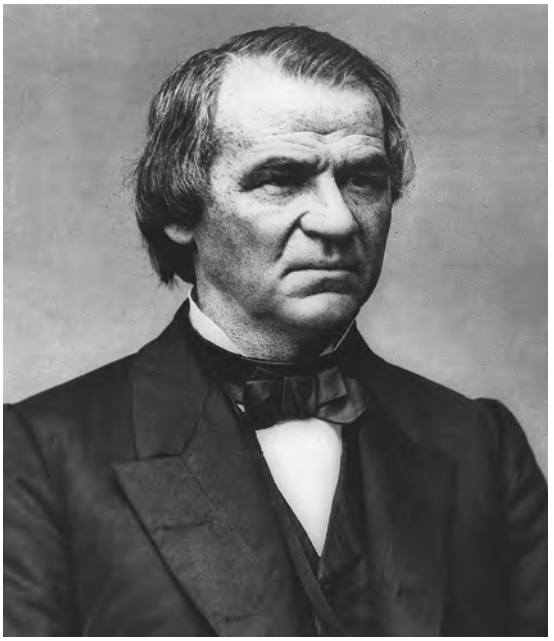
Andrew Johnson

Andrew Johnson became the seventeenth president of the United States on April 15, 1865, the morning that President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) died. Johnson inherited the responsibility of helping the nation to reunite and redefine itself after the end of the American **Civil War** (1861–65). This period following the war, called **Reconstruction**, was challenging for the Democratic Johnson as tensions with the Republican Congress evolved. His stubbornness and aggressive tactics created battles with Congress that eventually led to the first impeachment of a U.S. president.

Early life

Andrew Johnson's rise to the presidency was remarkable for two reasons: He was the first person to attain the office without either legal or military training, and he managed to overcome the terrible poverty and dep-

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Andrew Johnson became the seventeenth president of the United States on April 15, 1865, the morning that President Abraham Lincoln died. He spent his presidency trying to push forward Lincoln's Reconstruction policies. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

rivation of his upbringing. No other president rose from lower depths of poverty, not even Lincoln.

Johnson was born December 29, 1808, in a two-room shack in Raleigh, **North Carolina**. Both of his parents were illiterate, and his father worked a variety of jobs to support the family. Service to the local militia as captain and to the Presbyterian Church made Johnson's father a respected member of his community. His death in December 1811 left Johnson's mother to struggle to support their two children on her own. She did so by sewing, weaving, and washing for a few years, and then she remarried. Her new husband proved to be a poor provider.

In 1822, Johnson and his brother were apprenticed to a local tailor. Johnson learned the trade well, and throughout his life remained proud of his skills. The tailor and local minister taught Johnson the basics of reading and writing. But the apprenticeship came to an abrupt end in 1824 when Johnson and his brother were involved in an incident of rowdiness. Fearing punishment, the boys fled to **Tennessee**, where Johnson eventually opened a tailor shop.

Soon after arriving in Greeneville, Tennessee, Johnson met Eliza McCardle. They were married May 17, 1827, and had five children. His tailor shop thrived, but Johnson's passion for political debate drew him into public service. In time, he became a full-time politician representing the working people. He was a tireless campaigner with excellent speaking skills, and he was both courageous and outspoken. His devotion to the common farmers and tradesmen of Tennessee and his work against the wealthy slaveholders moved him to support the U.S. **Constitution** and the union of states. Johnson, however, was also a man of the South who had firm proslavery beliefs.

Between 1829 and 1842, Johnson served as alderman and then mayor of Greeneville, and then as a state legislator. He next served as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1843 to 1853. He was elected both in 1853 and 1855 to serve as the governor of Tennessee. In 1857, he won a seat in the U.S. Senate.

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Ascending to the presidency

Johnson was a U.S. senator during the election of 1860, when the debates marked growing divisions in the nation. The expansion of **slavery** and state power to dictate federal government policy were two important issues. Johnson supported the proslavery candidate of the **Democratic Party**, Stephen A. Douglas (1813–1861), who lost the election to the Republican, Abraham Lincoln. Though Lincoln denounced the expansion of slavery, his party intended to allow it to remain in the areas where it had already been established.

Southern fears of losing the right to own slaves and to have powerful state governments led many states to consider **secession**, or leaving the union of the United States. Johnson's own state of Tennessee was one of them. As senator, Johnson spent the winter after the election trying to discourage secession, taking a much firmer pro-**Union** stand than most Southern congressmen. At first, Johnson was successful.

A month before Lincoln's inauguration in March 1861, six states seceded to form the **Confederate States of America**. In April, the Confederates fired upon the Union forces at Fort Sumter in **South Carolina**, provoking Lincoln to call for troops from the states. Tennessee joined the next wave of seceding states.

Johnson and his family were driven from Tennessee, but Johnson maintained his position within the U.S. Senate. Although he believed in states' rights and slavery, he placed preservation of the Union above all else. He denounced the Confederacy as a conspiracy by wealthy plantation owners, and he took an active role in devising war measures in the Senate. Johnson was the only Southern senator not to resign his seat and follow his state into the Confederacy.

In 1862, the Union army pushed Confederate forces out of western and central Tennessee. Noting Johnson's Union loyalty, Lincoln invited him to become the military governor of Tennessee. Johnson received full power to restore order in Tennessee and to build a new pro-Union government for the state. It was a challenging task, but Johnson was aggressive in making it happen.

Johnson became the ideal running mate for President Lincoln's reelection campaign in 1864. Though Johnson was a Democrat, he was firmly committed to the Union. Having him as the vice presidential candidate helped to attract support from both the northern prowar

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Democrats and the border state Unionists. Lincoln and Johnson were elected and then inaugurated March 4, 1865.

The Civil War came to an end just days before President Lincoln was shot by an assassin on April 14, 1865. Johnson was sworn in as president only hours after Lincoln's death on April 15. Reintegration of the rebellious states had yet to be arranged, so the difficult tasks of restoring the Union fell to Johnson's administration. Both his aggressively stubborn actions and his Southern and Democratic roots caused tensions with the Republican Congress.

Johnson as president

Johnson's presidency was dominated by the issues surrounding Reconstruction. What would the rebellious states be required to do before being brought back into the Union? How would they prove their loyalty? What changes to their political systems would they have to make? Since slavery had been abolished, what would be the status of blacks legally, politically, and socially?

President Johnson introduced his Reconstruction program on May 29, 1865, with the unanimous approval of his cabinet. The program had two proclamations. The Amnesty Proclamation pardoned (forgave) all participants in the rebellion except for the highest-level leaders of the Confederacy and the very wealthy. Those not pardoned would have to apply to the president for restoration of their rights to vote and hold office. Those pardoned would have to take a loyalty oath. All property, except slaves, would be restored.

The second proclamation, which dealt specifically with North Carolina, set the pattern for the reintegration of all seceded states where pro-Union governments were not yet set up. Acting governors were to appoint temporary state officials and to recommend people for federal appointments. There would be conventions to write new state constitutions that had to support the abolition of slavery and nullify (cancel) the states' ordinances (declarations) of secession. Only those who had been eligible to vote in 1861 and had taken the new loyalty oath could vote. Unpardoned rebels and all blacks were barred from voting. Similar proclamations were made for **Mississippi**, South Carolina, **Florida**, **Georgia**, **Alabama**, and **Texas**.

During the summer of 1865, all of these states held constitutional conventions. South Carolina, however, refused to nullify its ordinance of

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secession, and Mississippi rejected the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution, which had abolished slavery. By the fall of 1865, the Southern states held state and congressional elections. Many of the winning candidates were actually ineligible to hold office under the Amnesty Proclamation. Johnson himself contributed to the ineffectiveness of this proclamation. At first, he granted pardons only sparingly, but by the end of 1865 he was granting them almost automatically in hopes of gaining goodwill in the South. He wanted to run for president in the election of 1868 and was already seeking political support.

When the mostly Republican U.S. Congress reconvened in 1866, they would not let the newly elected Southern congressmen take their seats. Congress created the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction to investigate conditions in the South and to recommend appropriate laws. These actions were a signal to Johnson that Congress believed that further Reconstruction measures were needed. It was a direct challenge not only to Johnson's Reconstruction policy but also to his authority as president.

Johnson reacted to Congress by asking the public to pressure Congress to accept the Southern congressmen. For a time, it seemed that this strategy might work. In February 1866, however, Congress passed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill to extend indefinitely the **Freedmen's Bureau**, which had been established at the end of the Civil War to provide aid, education, and legal protection to former slaves. Before passing it, Republicans in Congress had offered to change anything that Johnson did not like about the bill, and since he had voiced no objections, they expected that he would sign it. However, when it came time for the president to sign the bill into law, Johnson stunned Congress by declaring it unnecessary and unconstitutional. The congressional vote on the bill had excluded the duly elected representatives of the eleven Southern states, and on that basis Johnson vetoed it. Congress failed to override the veto, and Johnson reveled publicly in the victory.

Three weeks later, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**, which declared that blacks were citizens of the United States entitled to equal protection of the laws. It gave the federal government broad enforcement powers. Johnson vetoed this bill as well, calling it an unconstitutional intrusion on states' rights that discriminated against whites in favor of blacks. Although his opinion may have been sincere, Johnson's veto was motivated also by his desire to retain Democratic and Southern

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support. Outrage in Congress led it to override Johnson's veto, making the bill a law. This was the first time in American history that Congress had overridden a presidential veto.

Impeachment

Johnson's vetoes and unwillingness to compromise united his political opponents in Congress. This weakened Johnson's power during the remainder of his term. In total, Johnson used the veto twenty-nine times, and Congress overrode it fifteen times. The veto overrides enacted many Reconstruction acts and the Tenure of Office Act. This act prohibited the president from dismissing, without Senate approval, any federal official previously appointed with the Senate's consent. Johnson called it an unconstitutional violation of the powers of the presidency.

Johnson had inherited his entire cabinet from Lincoln. From the start, he had been working with the cabinet members' guidance, but he did not work well with Secretary of War Edwin Stanton (1814–1869). Though Johnson had tolerated Stanton's lack of respect for his policies, by the summer of 1867, the president moved to suspend him. As Congress was out of session, Johnson replaced Stanton temporarily with former Civil War general **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885). Upon reconvening, Congress rejected Johnson's appointment. In February 1868, Johnson again removed Stanton from office and replaced him with General Lorenzo Thomas (1804–1875). Ignoring the need for Senate approval, Johnson violated the Tenure of Office Act.

Johnson's disregard for the law gave a dissatisfied Congress the excuse it wanted to pursue impeachment. Impeachment is the first of a two-step process to remove a government official without his or her consent. The process begins with an accusation of misconduct from the House of Representatives (impeachment), and continues with a trial in the Senate (resulting in possible conviction). The proceedings took all of April and May 1868, and though the House voted to impeach Johnson, the president narrowly escaped conviction in the Senate. Seven Republican senators repeatedly cast "not-guilty" votes, consistently leaving the opposition one vote short of removing Johnson from the White House. Though Johnson remained in office, he stopped aggressively frustrating the efforts of the Republican Congress.

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Post-presidential years

Johnson pursued the Democratic nomination for president in 1868. However, his battles with Congress, his poor presidential record, and the impeachment all worked against him. The Republicans had nominated a popular war hero, General Grant, and the Democrats needed a stronger candidate to face the opposition. They chose New York governor Horatio Seymour (1810–1886), but Grant won easily.

Johnson left the White House on the morning of Grant's inauguration, March 4, 1869. He returned to Greeneville, Tennessee, where he again threw himself into local and state Democratic affairs. He failed in his efforts to be elected to the U.S. Senate in 1869 and to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1872. In 1875, the Tennessee legislature finally elected Johnson to the U.S. Senate by one vote. Johnson entered office in March 1875, but his service proved to be short. On July 28, he suffered a stroke, then he suffered another a few days later and died on July 31, 1875.

Lyndon B. Johnson

Lyndon B. Johnson was born on August 27, 1908, into a political family on a **Texas** farm. Never a serious student, Johnson focused more on being popular. After high school graduation, he held a number of part-time jobs and hitchhiked to **California** with friends. Once there, he discovered that his dream of a high-paying job was just a dream, and he hitchhiked back to Texas. At that point, Johnson decided college was the best way to go, and he enrolled in Southwest Texas State Teachers College. He graduated in three years and got a teaching job in Houston.

Politics was in his blood, however, and by November 1931 Johnson was working for a congressional candidate named Richard Kleberg (1887–1955). Kleberg won the race and took Johnson with him to **Washington, D.C.**, as his personal secretary. Twenty-three-year-old Johnson spent the next four years building a network of friends and contacts in Washington. He met and married Claudia Alta Taylor in 1934. The couple eventually had two daughters.

The following year, U.S. president **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) chose Johnson to head the Texas division of the National Youth Administration (NYA), a program that provided education and employment assistance to young people. He was the

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After President John F. Kennedy's assassination, Lyndon B. Johnson (above) became president. His presidency was riddled with conflict as a result of U.S. participation in the Vietnam War. AP IMAGES

youngest of the state NYA chiefs, and he won widespread praise for his work.

Heads to the Senate

Johnson won election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1937, beating eight other candidates. He remained in the House for more than ten years. In 1948, he ran for U.S. Senate and won.

Johnson was elected Senate leader of the Democratic minority in 1953. When the Democrats won control of the Senate from the Republicans in 1954, he became the Senate majority leader, an influential position he retained for six years.

Johnson ran for the Democratic nomination in the presidential race of 1960 but lost to U.S. senator **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963). Kennedy asked Johnson to be his vice presidential running mate and Johnson accepted. In November, Kennedy was elected president after defeating incumbent vice president **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994). When Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, Johnson took the oath of office and became the thirty-sixth president of the United States.

President Johnson

Kennedy had been an extremely popular president, and the nation mourned his death. Johnson needed to assure the public that he could fill his predecessor's shoes, but at the same time, he was dealing with an administration of intellectuals from the Northeast who viewed Johnson as an unrefined southerner who did not have what it takes to lead the country.

Johnson delivered a televised speech to Congress just days after Kennedy's funeral, and with it he won both sympathy and support. He became popular enough to win reelection in 1964. That popularity also convinced Congress to pass numerous laws to help America's minorities

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and poor. Together, these laws made up a program known as the "**Great Society**."

Trouble brews

Despite the president's efforts in civil rights and the "war on poverty," there were summer riots in cities across America from 1964 to 1968. (See **Race Riots of the 1960s**.) In the background was another disaster waiting to happen: the **Vietnam War** (1959–75).

Vietnam was a problem Johnson inherited from Kennedy and the thirty-fourth president, **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61). Since the 1950s, America had backed the South Vietnamese government in its war against the North Vietnamese communist government. With the support of China and the Soviet Union, North Vietnam hoped to take control of South Vietnam.

Just before Kennedy's assassination in 1963, the leader of South Vietnam was assassinated. The government there became weaker and more unstable. North Vietnam became more powerful and even won support among the South Vietnamese people.

America at war

In his 1964 campaign, Johnson had promised to keep American soldiers off the battlefields in Vietnam. Privately, however, he had every intention of sending troops to fight. Like other leaders before him, Johnson believed in the **domino theory**, which says if one country falls to communism, those surrounding it will, too. Johnson did not want to take the blame for communist victory in Vietnam.

In August 1964, North Vietnamese forces reportedly attacked two American destroyer ships in the Tonkin Gulf off the coast of North Vietnam. Congress gave Johnson power to do whatever he felt necessary to prevent further aggression. Years later, it became known that the United States had provoked the attack by invading North Vietnamese waters to aid South Vietnamese. In addition to keeping this secrect, Johnson also exaggerated the attack on the destroyers. In fact, he had already prepared what became known as the Tonkin Gulf Resolution and was just waiting for the right time to use it.

Johnson sent troops to Vietnam with an official declaration of war. With each passing year, he sent over more American troops, spurring a

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major **antiwar movement** in the United States. By 1966, Congress was also against the war. By promising the public that victory was just around the corner when in reality the war was far from over, Johnson created what was known as the "credibility gap." The war he publicly described was far different—and more optimistic—than the one portrayed in the media. Public trust of the president was destroyed.

Leaves the White House

Even Johnson had to admit his ineffectiveness as a leader. On March 31, 1968 (an election year), Johnson stunned the nation by announcing that he would not seek nomination of the **Democratic Party** for another presidential term. This voluntary stepping-down earned Johnson the admiration of the public and media, as did his announcement that he was calling a temporary halt in the bombing of North Vietnam. Although the war continued, bombing in North Vietnam never did resume.

Johnson retired to his Texas ranch, where he wrote his memoirs. A heart attack in 1955 left him in fragile health, and afterwards he experienced regular heart trouble. In January 1973, Johnson suffered another heart attack and died at home.

Mother Jones

Mary Harris Jones was born in Ireland in either 1830 or 1837 (records vary) and came to the United States as a young woman. She met and married George Jones, who, along with their four children, died of yellow fever in 1867. Jones moved to Chicago, **Illinois**, and lost everything she owned four years later in the Great Chicago Fire.

Jones needed to support herself so she joined the **Knights of Labor**, a labor union, and worked on its behalf to gain acceptance in the public and grow its numbers. Her time was spent rallying support and speaking out on behalf of the working class. In 1905, she helped found a labor union called Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), also known as the Wobblies. Jones became an organizer of labor strikes throughout America but had a particular fondness for miners and their cause. Of all the workers, miners experienced by far the worst (and most dangerous) working conditions and the lowest wages; Jones made it her personal mission to help them achieve better lives.

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Jones worked not only with miners but also with their wives and children. She would organize mining families to participate in demonstrations and protests on behalf of the miners. Women and children carrying mops and brooms marched at the mines, preventing strikebreakers from crossing the miners' picket lines into the mine shafts. Jones earned the nickname "Mother" when she began calling the miners her "boys."

Mother Jones embraced socialism (an economic system in which the government owns and operates business and production as well as controls the distribution of wealth) and worked closely with American Railway Union leader Eugene Debs (1855–1926). An enthusiastic public speaker, she was known for organizing public events to get the media focused on striking workers. Her tireless efforts on behalf of working men and women took her to the coal mines of **Pennsylvania**, where she encouraged miners to join the union.



Activist Mother Jones was known for organizing public events to get the media focused on striking workers. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Opponents of Jones called her the most dangerous woman in America; her physical courage was known throughout the nation. She joined in protests, many of which resulted in her arrest. Jones spent time in more jails throughout the country than any other labor activist in history.

Surprisingly, Jones did not support the **women's suffrage movement** (the right to vote). She believed that a focus on winning the vote would take away much-needed attention on the economic situation of working-class women. Jones discussed this in her autobiography, *The Autobiography of Mother Jones.* In it, she wrote, "You don't need a vote to raise hell, you need convictions and a voice."

Mother Jones died in 1930 at the age of ninety-three or one hundred. She is buried in the Union Miners Cemetery in Mount Olive, Illinois. Thousands of miners and their families attended her funeral. Her name lives on as the title of a political magazine that supports socialism. Jones is remembered as the "Grandmother of All Agitators."

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Lower Courts

The Constitution says that Congress may create courts inferior to the Supreme Court. Congress has divided the United States into twelve circuits, eleven of them numbered and one covering the District of Columbia. These circuits each have one circuit court of appeals and many district courts. The district courts, which hold trials, are scattered throughout the states in federal districts. The circuit courts of appeals hear appeals from the district courts. Parties who lose in the circuit courts of appeals may ask the Supreme Court to review the case.

Judicial Branch

The U.S. **Constitution** divides the federal government into three branches. The judicial branch, headed by the **Supreme Court**, decides cases under the nation's laws. The other two branches are the **legislative branch**, called Congress, and the **executive branch**, headed by the president of the United States.

Most of the Constitution's provisions concerning the judicial branch appear in Article III, which begins, "The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." The Constitution does not list any qualifications that a person must meet in order to be a judge.

Judicial power is the power to decide cases that arise under the U.S. Constitution, federal laws, and treaties with foreign nations. It also covers other kinds of cases, such as those affecting ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls; cases involving the seas; cases in which the United States is a party; and cases between different states or between citizens of different states.

The Constitution distinguishes between original jurisdiction and appellate jurisdiction. Original jurisdiction is the power to hold a trial to make a first decision in a case. The Supreme Court's original jurisdiction power only covers cases in which a state is a party, and cases affecting ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls. In all other cases, the Supreme Court has only appellate jurisdiction, which is the power to review decisions from lower courts for errors.

The Constitution says that trials for all crimes must be heard by juries, and must be held in the same state in which the crime was committed. No person may be convicted of the crime of treason except by confession in court, or by evidence that includes testimony from at least two persons concerning the specific act of treason.

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K

Kansas

Kansas joined the Union on January 29, 1861, the thirty-fourth state to do so. The name derives from the Kansa Indians, the "people of the south wind." Kansas ranks fourteenth among the fifty states in size, and it is located in the western northcentral United States. It is bordered by **Nebraska**, **Missouri**, **Oklahoma**, and **Colorado**.

Plains tribes (Wichita, Pawnee, Kansa, and Osage) lived or hunted in Kansas when the first Europeans arrived. Around 1800, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, and Kiowa joined them. The first European to set foot in the state was explorer Francisco Coronado (c. 1510–1554), in 1541. France sold most of Kansas to the United States as part of the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803.

In 1822, the Santa Fe Trail opened to wagon traffic, and for fifty years that route was of great commercial importance to the West. Thousands of migrants crossed northeastern Kansas in the 1840s and 1850s. The **Kansas-Nebraska Act** of 1854 created the Kansas Territory, and almost immediately disputes arose as to whether Kansas would be a free state or a slave state. Eventually, it chose to be a free state.

As railroads expanded into the West, more white settlers came to the area and established communities. The **Texas** cattle drives brought great prosperity to several Kansas towns from 1867 to 1885. This was the era that brought fame to Wyatt Earp (1848–1929) and Wild Bill Hickok (1837–1876).

The western region of Kansas was particularly hard-hit during the 1930s and the **Great Depression** (1929–41). This region was part of

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what was called the **Dust Bowl**, and residents faced ten years of drought and deadly dust storms.

Kansas was the site of one of the most important **Supreme Court** cases in American history. Race relations in the United States after the American **Civil War** (1861–65) were dominated by **segregation**, the separation of whites and African Americans. This policy extended to public establishments such as restaurants, grocery stores, and even schools. The accepted thinking was that if African Americans were kept separate from whites but still given equal treatment, there should be no problem. But they were not treated equally. Especially where education was concerned; they received far less funding for facilities, textbooks, and teachers. As a result, the quality of their education was inferior to that of white students.

In 1951, thirteen Kansas parents filed a class-action lawsuit against the Board of Education of the City of Topeka. Called ***Brown v. Board of Education***, the suit demanded that the school district reverse its policy of segregation. The battle took three years, but in 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court declared the law of "separate but equal" segregation to be illegal on the basis that it denied African American children equal educational opportunities. The decision was unanimous.

In the twenty-first century, Kansas's population is 85.2 percent white, with 5.5 percent of African American heritage, and 2 percent Asian. Topeka is the capital city, but the state's most populated city is Wichita, home to more than 350,000 in 2006.

Kansas's economy is primarily agricultural, with a focus on meatpacking and wheat production. The largest industry in the state is aircraft production. Wichita manufactures 70 percent of the world's aviation aircraft.

Kansas-Nebraska Act

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 played a large role in bringing about the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Within a year of its passage, proslavery and antislavery settlers were at war in **Kansas**—a confrontation known as "Bleeding Kansas"—and the nation's political parties had turned from positions of compromise to outright opposition.

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Long-term slavery issue

For more than thirty years prior to the act's passage, the federal government had been looking for a solution to the conflict between those who wanted **slavery** to expand into new U.S. territories and those who wanted to see the abolition (elimination) of, or at least a limit on, slavery. The first serious attempt to resolve the issue was the Compromise of 1820, also called the **Missouri Compromise**, which allowed **Missouri** to join the Union as a slave state and **Maine** to come in as a free (non-slave) state, while providing that no more slave states could be created north of Missouri's southern boundary (36 degrees; 30 minutes latitude). Under the Missouri Compromise, an uncertain peace was maintained for nearly three decades.

The peace was disrupted at the end of the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) when the United States won **California**, **Arizona**, and **New Mexico**—territory south of the Missouri Compromise line, but not specifically covered under the compromise. Congress then enacted the **Compromise of 1850**, which admitted states to the Union in slave-state/free-state pairs to maintain the balance. Most northerners wanted to keep slavery out of the western territories. With a flood of settlers in the early 1850s heading to the territory west of Missouri known as **Nebraska** (comprised of present-day Kansas, Nebraska, **North Dakota**, and **South Dakota**), there was an urgent need for a plan.

Stephen Douglas's proposal

Had the issue of slavery in the territories followed a strict sectional (North/South) vote, the North would have kept slavery out of the new territories. But by 1854, the **Democratic Party** controlled the national government, and southerners controlled the party. Northern Democrats with political ambitions, such as U.S. senator Stephen A. Douglas (1813–1861) of **Illinois**, tried to avoid any conflict over slavery and, when pushed, often sided with the South. In 1854, Douglas's main interest was neither slavery nor the settlement of the Nebraska Territory. Douglas wanted to get federal support for a transcontinental railroad (one that traveled across the continent) that would begin in his hometown of Chicago and end in San Francisco, California. To get congressional support, he needed strong ties with the southern branch of his party.

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In the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Douglas proposed to split the Nebraska Territory into two states: Kansas, the area west of Missouri; and Nebraska, the land west of **Minnesota** and **Iowa**. His proposal pleased southerners because in its final form it repealed the Missouri Compromise (which would have kept slavery out of both states). Douglas argued that sectional conflict between the North and the South over slavery could be avoided by adopting a policy he called "popular sovereignty," which allowed the citizens of each territory to decide whether slavery could exist in their areas. After months of fierce debate in both houses of Congress, the Kansas-Nebraska Act was signed into law on May 30, 1854.

Northerners were so greatly angered by the Kansas-Nebraska Act that most left the Democratic Party and formed the new **Republican Party**. In creating this party, "free" Democrats and former members of the **Whig Party** and **Free Soil Party** buried their differences, uniting around their opposition to the expansion of slavery in the West. In the state, local, and congressional elections of 1854 and 1855, the new party swept Democrats out of office throughout the North. Although compromise had been central to the political parties for decades, after 1854 the two major parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, were nearly totally opposed to one another over the issue of slavery.

Bloody Kansas

As a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, armed settlers rushed into Kansas Territory from the North and South, hoping to influence the territorial votes on slavery. By 1855, Kansas was in a state of violent chaos as southerners and northerners competed for land and resources. In 1856, violence erupted in response to massive vote fraud by southerners entering the territory to vote for a proslavery government. In May 1856, proslavery ruffians attacked the Free-Soil town of Lawrence, Kansas, destroying much of it. In retaliation, men under the command of John Brown (1800–1859), an **Ohio** abolitionist, killed a group of proslavery settlers. By the summer of 1856, the territory was caught in a small civil war.

A new territorial governor restored order in late 1856, but the conflict continued to smolder in the territory. In 1858, President **James Buchanan** (1791–1868; served 1857–61) tried to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave state, to the outrage of most northerners. The attempt

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failed, and in January 1861, on the eve of the Civil War, Kansas entered the Union as a free state.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act failed to accomplish the goals of its author and its supporters: Douglas's transcontinental railroad had to wait until after the Civil War, and southerners did not get a new slave state in Kansas. Instead, the act prompted massive violence in the territory and helped create a new political party wholly dedicated to preventing slavery from spreading to the new territories. Though it was not the intention of its authors, the Kansas-Nebraska Act helped push the nation into civil war.

Helen Keller

Helen Keller was born on June 27, 1880, in Tuscumbia, **Alabama**. At nineteen months, she contracted a high fever and lost consciousness. When she awoke, she was both deaf and blind. No one understood at the time that her loss of sight and hearing was permanent.

Helen Keller spent her life promoting social reforms to improve the treatment of the deaf, blind, and mute. AP IMAGES



Although she learned to perform simple household tasks such as folding laundry, Keller knew she was different from other children, and she often reacted to her situation with frustrated rage. Her parents realized their daughter needed professional help if she was to live in the real world. At the age of six, she accompanied her father to **Washington, D.C.**, where **Alexander Graham Bell** (1847–1922), the inventor of the **telephone**, examined her. Bell had developed a system of visible speech (sign language) to help the deaf communicate. He urged Keller's father to write to the Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston, **Massachusetts**, to request a teacher.

Enter Anne Sullivan

The teacher assigned to Keller was Anne Sullivan (1866–1936), and she would remain Keller's teacher and mentor for many years and her friend for life. Sullivan worked with Keller in the privacy of a small guest house in the Keller

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family's backyard. It was important for Keller to be separated from her parents, who tended to indulge her and give in to her wishes in order to keep the peace.

Sullivan taught Keller sign language by signing words and names for things into the palm of Keller's hand. One day, the pair walked toward a well, where someone was drawing water. Sullivan spelled the word "water" into Keller's hand as she placed her other hand under the spout to feel the running water. It was at that moment that Keller realized everything had a name that could be spelled.

With that realization, the world opened up for Keller, and she became immediately curious about everything around her. Sullivan patiently continued to teach her, and soon Keller learned to express herself. After that came the ability to read Braille, a system of writing for the blind that uses characters made up of combinations of raised dots. At age ten, Keller attended the Horace Mann School for the Deaf, where she progressed rapidly and even learned to speak French and German.

Becomes a reformer

Keller continued her studies at the Wright-Humason School for the Deaf and the Cambridge School for Young Ladies in Massachusetts, where she studied history, mathematics, astronomy, physics, and literature. In 1904, she graduated with honors from Radcliffe College.

Keller overcame her physical limitations and came to understand that the next step was to battle the public's indifference to the welfare of the disabled. She spent the rest of her life promoting social reforms aimed at improving the education and treatment of the blind, deaf, and mute. Credited with prompting the organization of state commissions for the blind, Keller was key in the effort to end the practice of placing deaf and blind people in mental asylums, which was common in the early 1900s.

Keller did not stop there. She made it her mission to educate the public in the prevention of blindness in newborns by writing newspaper and magazine articles discussing the relationship between sexually transmitted disease and blindness in newborns. She traveled across the globe, lecturing about the need to improve the quality of life of disabled individuals. Her work won many awards and citations.

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In 1903, Keller wrote and published the first volume of her autobiography and called it *The Story of My Life.* The second volume, *Midstream: My Later Life,* was published in 1929.

Still friends

Although Keller is the one who received most of the attention and accolades, Sullivan made it possible for Keller to achieve all that she did. Sullivan married John Macy, the editor of Keller's autobiography, but she did not let that interrupt her friendship. Instead, Sullivan continued to help her former student by manually spelling lectures and reading assignments into Keller's hand throughout school and college. When Keller toured on lecture, Sullivan accompanied her and gave her full support.

This mutually beneficial partnership ended with Sullivan's death in 1936. In 1957, a television play titled *The Miracle Worker* aired to high praise. It brought to the world the story of Sullivan and Keller at the well, where Keller first understood what language and communication were all about. Two years later, the play went to **Broadway** and was an immediate hit. The production ran for nearly two years. It was made into a movie in 1962 and earned Academy Awards (Oscars) for both actresses who played Keller and Sullivan.

Keller suffered a series of strokes in 1961 and took that as a sign that it was time to retire from public life. She was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor a civilian can receive, in 1964. She died four years later at the age of eighty-seven.

Kellogg-Briand Pact

Prior to **World War I** (1914–18), the United States and France were allies (joined forces). That changed after the war for a number of reasons, including the fact that the United States continued to try to collect the full amount of war debt incurred by France.

France's foreign minister, Aristide Briand (1862–1932), tried to repair his country's relationship with the United States. Toward this effort, Briand wrote an open letter to the American public suggesting that the two countries sign a treaty agreeing to outlaw war between them.

Calvin Coolidge (1872–1933; served 1923–29) was president of the United States at the time, and he did not like the idea of another country trying to force him into a response where diplomatic issues were

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concerned. He gave Briand no response. However, a few weeks later, Columbia University president Nicholas Murray Butler (1862–1947), sent his own, similar letter to Coolidge, which the *New York Times* published. Media across the nation began a campaign to outlaw war.

The American public liked the idea of not using war to solve conflicts. Petitions were circulated, and their more than two million signatures increased the pressure on the government. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg (1856–1937) agreed that a pact would have its advantages, but he wanted to include many nations in the treaty.

Signed in August 1928 by fifteen nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawed war as an instrument of national policy. More than sixty nations joined the treaty in the months following its passage. The pact had its shortcomings. The term "war" was generally interpreted to mean that the countries could not wage war; each believed it could still defend itself if attacked. The treaty contained no expiration date, nor did it include a provision for amending the agreement at any point in time.

The pact had its share of skeptics, who believed it was too idealistic to be of any real use. They turned out to be correct when **World War II** (1939–45) broke out. Though intentions of the treaty were good, the Kellogg-Briand Pact actually may have been harmful because officials sometimes delayed taking action against aggressors in hopes the terms of the treaty would be honored.

John F. Kennedy

John F. Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917, the second of nine children. Joseph Kennedy (1888–1969), his father, was one of the wealthiest men in America, which allowed Kennedy to escape the economic hardships of the **Great Depression** (1929–41; the period following the stock market crash of 1929 in which there was high unemployment and depressed world economies). Kennedy was often ill as a child and spent many hours in bed, reading. In his senior year at Harvard University in 1940, Kennedy wrote his thesis on why England was not prepared for **World War II** (1941–45). The paper was published as a book under the title *Why England Slept* and became a best-seller.

Kennedy enlisted in the U.S. **Navy** and was commander of a small vessel called a PT boat. On August 2, 1943, a Japanese destroyer sank Kennedy's boat in the southwest Pacific Ocean. Despite a seriously in-

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jured neck, Kennedy helped save the lives of several crew members and was awarded medals for his bravery.

Enters the world of politics

Kennedy ran for U.S. Congress and won in 1946. As a Democrat representing **Massachusetts** in the House of Representatives, he worked for public housing and other social programs in his district. He ran for and won a U.S. Senate seat in 1952. During his first year as senator, Kennedy married Jacqueline Lee Bouvier (see box).

Defeats Nixon

Kennedy had suffered back problems his entire life. In 1954, he underwent two risky operations on his back, and during recovery, he wrote a study of American political leaders. Kennedy won the Pulitzer Prize for *Profiles in Courage* in 1957. Kennedy was reelected to the Senate in 1958; two years later, he won the Democratic nomination for president.



President John F. Kennedy made great strides in the civil rights movement and space exploration program and is still considered one of America's most popular presidents. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Kennedy's Republican opponent was Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994). For the first time in history, Americans watched a presidential debate live on television. Kennedy won the election by only twelve thousand votes and became the youngest person ever elected president. He was forty-three years old.

In his inaugural speech, President Kennedy explained his New Frontier program, which included a tax cut, an increase in spending for space exploration, and a call to action on the issue of civil rights. It was during this speech that he made the famous quote, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

Immediate conflict

As was true of so many presidents before him, Kennedy was concerned about the spread of **communism** (a system of government in which the state controls the economy and all property and wealth are shared equally by the people). Since the end of World War II, America had been

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entangled in what is known as the **Cold War** (1945–91; an intense political and economic rivalry with the Soviet Union). Physical fighting never occurs in a Cold War, nevertheless, there is much stress and tension between the opponents.

In 1961, Kennedy backed a **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) plan to have refugee Cubans invade the island of Cuba and overthrow its leader, Fidel Castro (1926–). The invasion occurred on April 17, but it failed miserably due to poor communication and planning. Known as the Bay of Pigs Invasion, it was a major embarrassment for the president, and it strained relations with Cuba for many years.

Threat of nuclear war

Relations between Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) broke down in the summer of 1961. At the time, Germany was divided into East and West. Communist forces controlled East Germany and built the Berlin Wall in August 1961 to keep Berliners from escaping to West Germany.

In October 1962, American spy planes discovered nuclear missile sites in Cuba, an ally of the Soviet Union. Kennedy responded by ordering a naval blockade of the island so that no more weapons could be taken in. He demanded Khrushchev remove the missiles from Cuba; the Soviet leader refused to back down. For one week, in what became known as the **Cuban Missile Crisis**, the world waited anxiously to see how the power struggle would end. Finally, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles, but only if America would agree to withdraw its missiles from Turkey. Kennedy agreed, and the very real threat of nuclear war was averted.

Kennedy's problems were far from over. The United States had signed a treaty in 1961 in which it pledged to help South Vietnam fight against communist North Vietnam, which had invaded its tiny southern neighbor in 1954. As the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) escalated, Kennedy sent in troops. The nearly twenty years of fighting in Vietnam marked a turbulent period in history as America divided into two camps: one that supported sending Americans overseas to fight the war, and one that publicly and loudly protested America's involvement in another country's conflict.

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Queen of Camelot

Jacqueline Bouvier was born on July 28, 1929, to a wealthy **New York** family. Her childhood years were spent in New York City and Long Island, where she learned to ride horses almost from the day she could walk. The future First Lady received the best private education money could buy, and she spent much of her time writing, drawing, and studying ballet.

When Bouvier's parents divorced, her mother married Hugh Auchincloss and took Jackie and her sister to their stepfather's home in **Washington, D.C.** They spent summers in Newport, **Rhode Island**, where Jackie was crowned Debutante of the Year for the 1947–48 season. She studied at Vassar College for two years, then traveled to France before transferring to George Washington University where she received her degree in 1951.

Bouvier was working as a photographer in Washington when she met Senator John Kennedy, who was known as the most eligible bachelor in the capital. The two married in Newport in 1953. Mrs. Kennedy miscarried a child and gave birth to a stillborn (dead upon birth) daughter before Caroline Kennedy was born in 1957. John Jr. was born in 1960. His life would be cut short when the airplane he was flying crashed in 1999. The Kennedys had one more child, Patrick, who died two days after a premature birth in 1963.

Jackie Kennedy took her role as First Lady seriously and brought to the White House a sense of style, intelligence, and class. She was highly interested in the arts and devoted much time to making the White House a museum of history and arts as well as a home for her family. Women across the country looked to Kennedy for fashion sense and style, and her elegant and classic clothing tastes were copied from coast to coast.

The First Lady's courage in the wake of her husband's assassination earned her the admiration and support of the world. She became every bit as famous as her late husband, and with that fame came an intrusion into her private life. She moved to New York City and married wealthy Greek businessman Aristotle Onassis (1906–1975). Twenty-three years Jackie's senior, Onassis died in 1975.

From 1978 until her death from cancer in 1994, Jackie Bouvier Kennedy Onassis worked as an editor for the book publisher Doubleday. Her legacy has been preserved in numerous films and books, and she remains in the twenty-first century one of the most admired people in American history.

Helping those in need

Kennedy established the Alliance for Progress in 1961, an organization dedicated to sending economic aid to Latin American countries. That same year saw the founding of the Peace Corps. Still active in the twenty-first century, this agency sends volunteers to help the needy in struggling countries around the globe. Volunteers teach language and sciences, but

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they also train people in areas such as farming and environmental conservation in an effort to help them become self-sustaining.

The president's humanitarian efforts were not limited to foreign countries. On the homefront, he established a program to increase the hiring of African Americans in government agencies. He assured the admittance of African Americans into the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama. Not all of Kennedy's reform measures were approved by Congress. He unsuccessfully introduced a tax cut, federal aid for education, a program to fight poverty, and medical care for the elderly.



First lady Jackie Kennedy stands with her children, Caroline and John Jr., as President John F. Kennedy's casket passes by. Brothers Ted Kennedy (left) and Robert Kennedy are close behind her. John Jr. saluting the casket became a nationally recognized symbol for the sad day. AP IMAGES

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Shot in Dallas

Kennedy and his wife traveled to Dallas, **Texas**, to give a speech on November 22, 1963. While riding in a motorcade in the back seat of an open convertible car, the president was fatally shot. Police arrested Lee Harvey Oswald (1939–1963), a communist supporter, and charged him with Kennedy's assassination. Oswald, who denied the shooting, was murdered in a Dallas police station by nightclub owner Jack Ruby (1911–1967) two days later. Although a formal investigation maintained that Oswald was the lone gunman, many experts and historians dispute that finding.

Kennedy's death rocked the nation to its core as millions mourned the loss of a president who brought hope into their lives. Kennedy was buried in **Arlington National Cemetery**, his grave marked with an eternal flame. Vice President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973) was sworn in as president, Jackie Kennedy by his side. One week after Kennedy's death, the late president's widow gave an interview to *Life* magazine in which she repeatedly compared the reign of the Kennedy administration to Camelot, the kingdom belonging to the legendary King Arthur. *Camelot* was also the name of a 1960 **Broadway** musical about King Arthur, his court, and the imminent downfall of all that was good and wise and shining. One of Kennedy's favorite lines from that musical was "Don't let it be forgot, that for one brief shining moment there was Camelot."

From the moment Jackie Kennedy's interview was published, the adoring public remembered the Kennedy administration as a modern-day Camelot.

Robert F. Kennedy

Robert Francis Kennedy was born on November 20, 1925. Often called "Bobby," Robert was the seventh of Rose and Joseph Kennedy's nine children, and the smallest and shyest of the four boys. The Kennedys were a wealthy and powerful family. Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy (1890–1995) was the daughter of John F. Fitzgerald (1863–1950), one of Boston's most colorful mayors. Joseph Patrick Kennedy (1888–1969) was the grandson of middle-class Irish Catholic immigrants. The elder Kennedy had made a fortune in shipbuilding, movie distribution, and other investments.

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Senator Robert Kennedy looked to follow in his brother's footsteps but during his run for presidency he was shot and killed in June 1968. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

The family

Full of ambition for his boys, Joseph demanded toughness and competitiveness from them. Bobby, born in 1925, was smaller than his two older brothers, Joe Kennedy Jr. (1915–1944) and future president **John F. (Jack) Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63). Lacking Joe's strength and Jack's cool wit, he had to work hard for things that came easily to the older boys.

School, war, and politics

Kennedy was a poor student despite his best efforts. In school, he insisted on playing football, though his small size and merely average coordination meant frequent and painful bruises. While he was in his teens, his older brothers served in the U.S. **Navy** in **World War II** (1939–45), and Jack became a war hero. Bobby enlisted in the Naval Reserve and reported for training before graduating from high school. In August 1944, the Kennedy family was grief-stricken when Joe Jr. was killed in a plane accident.

After his discharge from the navy in 1946, Bobby helped with Jack's first political campaign, when Jack ran for a seat as a U.S. representative from **Massachusetts**. Then Bobby attended Harvard, graduating in 1948, and set off for the Middle East, where Jewish leaders were in the process of forming the state of Israel. He wrote several articles on the political situation there. On returning to the United States, he enrolled at the University of Virginia Law School, earning his law degree in 1951. He went to work as an investigative lawyer for the Justice Department.

Law and politics

In 1952, John F. Kennedy decided to run for a Senate seat and Bobby, though reluctant to leave his post in the Justice Department, was persuaded to be his campaign manager. Working eighteen-hour days, he reenergized and refocused the campaign and its staff. He also won the nickname "ruthless Bobby" for his tough attitude toward local Democratic leaders. Jack won the election.

In 1953, Bobby returned to Washington, working as an investigative lawyer and taking a post as assistant counsel (junior lawyer) to the Senate

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Committee on Investigations. The committee's chair was U.S. senator **Joseph McCarthy** (1908–1957) of **Wisconsin**. Six months into the job, Kennedy resigned in protest over the methods used by McCarthy and his helpers in their hunt for communists in the government. A year later, McCarthy had fallen from power and Kennedy returned as the committee's chief counsel (head lawyer). For six years, he worked on exposing **organized crime**'s grip on the labor unions.

Civil rights in the JFK campaign

In 1960, Bobby managed Jack's successful campaign for the presidency. At the age of just thirty-four, Bobby had become a master political organizer.

The issue of civil rights emerged strongly in the campaign. Though the Kennedy brothers were not in favor of **segregation** (separating blacks and whites in public places), neither of them had given much thought to the situation of blacks and other minorities in American society. Like many other white Americans, they were just awakening to the anger that had built up among black Americans after hundreds of years of racial discrimination.

In October 1960, at the height of the presidential campaign, police in Atlanta, **Georgia**, arrested black civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968). A white judge sentenced him to four months' hard labor, and in the middle of the night King was taken in chains from jail to a prison camp deep in the Georgia countryside, and his wife feared for his safety. John F. Kennedy called her to offer his comfort and support. When Bobby found out about the call, he was initially furious. Getting his brother elected came first, and Jack—Roman Catholic, a northerner, and liberal—needed all the help he could get in order to win the election, including support from the South.

Yet when Bobby learned that the judge had refused to grant bail for King, he himself called the judge, complaining that King's rights had been violated. The next day, after both calls were reported in the newspapers, King was released. John F. Kennedy may have lost some white votes in the South, but he won the black vote, and he won the election.

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Attorney general

John Kennedy chose his brother to serve in his cabinet as attorney general. The U.S. attorney general heads the Justice Department and serves as the highest law officer in the land, but Robert Kennedy would also be his brother's closest adviser on both foreign and domestic policy. It was the first time a president had appointed a close relative to a cabinet position, and the appointment drew some criticism.

As attorney general, the issues of the **civil rights movement** weighed heavily on Kennedy during his time in office. President Kennedy had won his office with only a narrow margin, and he feared his influence was too weak to push a civil rights bill through Congress. He decided to focus instead on trying to make sure the civil rights laws that already existed were fully enforced. As attorney general, that was Robert Kennedy's job and he led the federal government into direct conflict with the leaders of the southern states over segregation.

Law enforcement

In 1961, civil rights leaders launched the **Freedom Rides** in an attempt to desegregate buses in the Deep South. Black and white riders trained in nonviolent protest took a well-publicized bus trip through the South to exercise black peoples' right to sit anywhere on the buses and in bus stations. When they arrived in **Alabama**, white crowds beat the Freedom Riders as police stood by. Robert Kennedy sent five hundred federal marshals to Montgomery, Alabama. There, reinforced by state troopers and the National Guard, they broke up a violent white crowd that had surrounded Martin Luther King's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. A year later, Kennedy once again sent federal troops to stop a violent white crowd when a court order required the all-white University of Mississippi to allow a black student, **James Meredith** (1933–), to enroll in classes in 1962.

Bay of Pigs

Robert Kennedy also aided his brother in the **Cuban Missile Crisis**. In October 1962, the United States determined that Soviet nuclear missiles were being established on secret bases in nearby Cuba, posing a dire threat to the United States. For thirteen days, President Kennedy, his cabinet, and his advisers met to discuss what to do. Some cabinet mem-

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bers and military leaders advocated an invasion of Cuba and bombing the island. Robert Kennedy advised a more peaceful naval blockade of Cuba; the president followed his advice. The blockade forced Soviet ships bringing in more missiles and installation equipment to turn back. The United States then made a truce with the Soviet Union, agreeing to remove some of its own missiles from Turkey, a country that bordered the central western border of the Soviet Union. Potential warfare was averted.

JFK assassination

In June 1963, President Kennedy sent a bill to Congress that would ban segregation in all public places. Robert Kennedy took the lead in talking to as many senators as he could to try to win support for the bill. In August, black leaders organized the **March on Washington**, in which over a quarter of a million people gathered to demonstrate their support for the bill. Yet as the brothers had feared, the bill was soon stalled in Congress by southern senators.

In the midst of the turmoil, on November 22, 1963, John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, **Texas**. Robert, utterly devastated by his brother's death, continued to serve as attorney general for a year under President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69). During that time, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, John F. Kennedy's bill banning segregation in all public places.

Senator from New York

In 1964, Kennedy announced that he would run for one of two U.S. Senate seats in **New York**. He won easily and served in the Senate during three years (1965–68) of social unrest that included major **race riots** in northern cities. Kennedy began to focus heavily on the problems faced by those who lived in poverty. In 1966, he announced a program to fight poverty in the desperately poor Bedford-Stuyvesant area of New York City. As President Johnson pushed through Congress new programs to fight poverty, Kennedy pressed for more. In particular, he took up the causes of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans. In his three years in the Senate, Kennedy became a champion of the powerless.

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He also began to attack Johnson's increasing involvement of U.S. forces in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). The bombing of Vietnamese villages by American planes disgusted Kennedy. By 1967, he openly condemned the war, drawing large and enthusiastic crowds when he spoke. With his unruly hair and youthful appearance, he became a hero among young Americans.

The campaign

Kennedy announced that he would run for the Democratic nomination for president in the 1968 primaries. Soon after Kennedy decided to run, Johnson dropped out of the race. Kennedy ran on a platform of peace, antipoverty, civil rights, and social improvement.

In April 1968, Kennedy learned that Martin Luther King had been assassinated. He gave an impassioned speech as riots broke out in dozens of cities. Two months later, Kennedy won a crucial victory in the **California** primary, making him the likely Democratic candidate for president. Following a victory speech on June 5, 1968, Kennedy was shot by Sirhan Sirhan (1944–), a Palestinian American who may have been angry about Kennedy's support for the state of Israel. He died a day later.

Kent State Shooting

On May 4, 1970, the Ohio National Guard was dispersing a protest rally on the commons of the Kent State University campus in Kent, **Ohio**, when soldiers suddenly opened fire on students, killing four and wounding nine others, some seriously.

Antiwar protest movement

In 1969, growing opposition to U.S. involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1959–75) had produced massive demonstrations nationwide. Public opinion on the war was divided in early 1970; many Americans were hostile toward the **antiwar movement**, which was strongest on college campuses.

On Thursday, April 30, 1970, President **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) announced that U.S. forces had invaded territory in Cambodia. The announcement triggered huge demonstrations on college campuses across the country. Kent State was one of these colleges. On the evening of Friday, May 1, the protest at Kent State

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National guardsmen toss tear gas into students rallying at Kent State University. Soldiers opened fire, killing four and wounding nine. AP IMAGES

turned to rioting. The protests continued on Saturday, and student demonstrators burned down the university's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) building. Authorities called in the Ohio National Guard to Kent.

The National Guard used tear gas against students to disperse a peaceful demonstration on Sunday, May 3. Guardsmen beat several students and bayoneted others, but there were no fatalities. That day, at a news conference, Ohio governor James A. Rhodes (1909–2001) called the protesters "the worst type of people that we harbor in America." He went on to threaten, "We are going to eradicate the problem, we're not going to treat the symptoms."

The shooting

Outraged over the use of tear gas, the beatings, and the bayoneting, the students conducted another rally on Monday. Kent State students believed their rally was legal. The senior officer in charge of the National Guard disagreed and gave the order for the guardsmen to disperse the

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students. Forty minutes later, they opened fire on the crowd of students in a thirteen-second sustained volley in which at least sixty-seven rounds were fired. Four students were killed, and nine were wounded.

Officials claimed at the time that the retreating guardsmen had fired in self-defense while being attacked by hundreds of students who had charged to within 3 or 4 yards of the guardsmen's position. But the incident was photographed and filmed from several angles and recorded on audio tape, and all of these records showed clearly that the majority of the dead and wounded students were standing 100 or more yards away. At least one of the four fatally wounded students had not even participated in the demonstration; one was an ROTC student.

Criminal or not?

Prior to the killings, the guardsmen had been subjected to verbal abuse by students. Some rocks were thrown at them, and some of the tear gas canisters they had fired into the crowd were thrown back. Moreover, they had just come from riot duty in nearby Cleveland, Ohio, where they had been shot at while trying to contain violence during a truckers' strike. They had not gotten much sleep during the several days preceding the incident.

Still, a Justice Department study and the President's Commission on Campus Unrest both concluded that the shootings were unnecessary and inexcusable and urged the filing of criminal charges against the guardsmen.

In court

In Ohio, the public was not sympathetic to the students. A special state grand jury cleared the guardsmen of any crime but charged twenty-five of the protesters with criminal offenses. Substantial evidence indicates that the Nixon administration attempted to obstruct the investigation of the case and prosecution of the guardsmen. In 1971, the case was officially closed. It was opened again in 1974, after Nixon resigned the presidency, but the charges against the National Guard were again dismissed.

Impact

The Kent State shootings were a rare event in U.S. history, in which American soldiers killed American civilians engaged in protest of govern-

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ment policy. The shootings touched off an enormous nationwide student strike that shut down more than two hundred colleges and universities and disrupted classes in hundreds more.

Kentucky

Kentucky entered the Union on June 1, 1792, as the fifteenth state. It is located in the eastern southcentral region of the United States and ranks thirty-seventh in size of the fifty states. Kentucky, known as the Bluegrass State, is surrounded by **Tennessee**, **Missouri**, **Illinois**, **Indiana**, **Ohio**, **West Virginia**, and **Virginia**.

Unlike most other states, Kentucky was not home to any Native Americans when white explorers first visited it in 1750. The Shawnee and Cherokee hunted on Kentucky land, but they lived in Ohio and Tennessee. The first colonial settlement was Harrodstown (now Harrodsburg) in 1774.

A land speculator from **North Carolina** purchased land in central Kentucky and tried to create a fourteenth colony there. Virginians blocked the proposal, and in 1776, they incorporated the region as the County of Kentucky.

Kentucky was the main gateway for migration into the Mississippi Valley. By the late 1780s, its settlements were growing, and Virginia soon realized it could not retain control of the area.

By 1860, half of all Kentucky's agricultural income was from **tobacco**. Kentucky was unique during the American **Civil War** (1861–65) because it sent men to fight on both sides of the war. Perhaps more so than in any other state, Kentucky residents felt divided. In the North, Kentucky-born **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) was president of the United States. In the South, Kentucky native **Jefferson Davis** (1808–1889) was president of the **Confederate States of America**. Kentucky sent around one hundred thousand soldiers to serve in the **Union** army, while around thirty thousand fought for the Confederacy. After the war, railroad construction increased and led to the development of timber and coal industries in the eastern part of the state.

In 2006, Kentucky was home to more than four million people, 89.9 percent of them white. Frankfort is the capital city, but it ranks next-to-last in size of all the state's major cities. Louisville is the largest, with more than 550,000 residents. Kentucky is a mountainous state, its

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highest point being Black Mountain at 4,139 feet (1,262 meters). The Appalachian Mountains run through Kentucky.

As was true during the Civil War, Kentuckians remain divided in their loyalties to political parties. In the twenty-first century, poorer mountain areas tend to vote Republican, while the wealthier lowlanders usually vote Democratic.

Kentucky's economy was once agricultural, but manufacturing took over and continues to bring in the most money. Kentucky leads the United States in the production of coal and whiskey and ranks second in tobacco production. It is also one of the biggest producers of trucks and automobiles.

Kentucky is known for its fine thoroughbred racehorses, and it hosts the Kentucky Derby on the first Saturday in May every year, a tradition since 1875. It is the most famous event in thoroughbred horseracing in the world.

Jack Kerouac

Jack Kerouac gained fame as the author of *On the Road,* the novel that best reflects the values and attitudes of a literary movement known as the **Beat Movement**, or Beat Generation.

Kerouac was born in Lowell, **Massachusetts**, into a working-class French-Canadian family on March 12, 1922. He spoke only French until he was seven years old. Kerouac was an imaginative boy, who wrote his own newspapers, radio plays, and novels. He excelled in his school studies and developed into a gifted athlete. A football scholarship took him to Columbia University in New York City. Things did not work out there as well as he had hoped. He broke his leg the first season, and in 1941 he spent much of the season arguing with his coach.

By that time, **World War II** (1939–45) was in full swing, and Kerouac struggled with what he considered a national shift in morals brought about by the war. He left college to join the U.S. Merchant Marine. He returned to New York in 1942 but soon left again to join the U.S. **Navy**. He had difficulty with the military's discipline, and also spent time in the psychiatric ward of Bethesda Naval Hospital in **Maryland**. He left the Navy with an honorable discharge for "indifferent character" and returned to New York City.

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Dawn of the Beats

In 1943, Kerouac met and befriended William Burroughs (1914–1997) and Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997), two published writers who, along with Kerouac, would form the core of the Beat Generation. Ginsberg was just seventeen when he met Kerouac; Burroughs was several years older than both men. He would become their mentor and would have great influence over Kerouac. It was Burroughs who introduced him to morphine and the underground drug scene of New York's Times Square.

In 1950, Kerouac published an autobiography called *The Town and the City.* While working on the book, he would take breaks and visit friends. He met Neal Cassady (1926–1968), a young criminal with a serious drug and alcohol addiction. For Kerouac, Cassady was the epitome of the American Dream: someone who did not have to work, who lived by his own rules, and did whatever he pleased. The two became fast friends.



Jack Kerouac gained fame as the author of his beatnik-influenced novel **On the Road.** HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Without consciously realizing it, Kerouac and his friends established a new artistic protest movement that would span roughly throughout the 1950s. Self-declared nonconformists, these men were so influential to their culture that they immediately became the antiheroes of the day. The media dubbed them beatniks.

The term *beat* has never been clearly defined. Kerouac is said to have coined the term *Beat Generation* when he suggested he and his friends were beaten down in frustration at the difficulty of individual expression at a time when artists were intent on conforming. On another occasion, Kerouac said *beat* was derived from the word *beatific,* suggesting the Beats had earned intellectual grace through the purity of their lives.

Whatever the origin, the Beat Generation and all it stood for was reflected in Kerouac's next novel, *On the Road.* The book's subject was a fictionalized Neal Cassady and the friendship they shared. It took just twenty days for Kerouac to type a 175,000-word manuscript that was stylized to imply the same kind of energy as the story itself. The author

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called it "spontaneous prose," and the raw energy it put forth was too new and experimental; no publishing house would touch it. For six years, *On the Road* sat. Those years turned out to be Kerouac's most productive, as he attacked each new novel with the same passion and energy as he had his unpublished manuscript.

Finally, in 1957, Viking Press published *On the Road,* but only after Kerouac agreed to extensive cuts and revisions. By that time, the Beat Generation was a literary force, and the time was right for an experimental novel. Most critics considered the book a disaster and nothing more than an immoral act of rebellion, one that glorified drug use, sex, and cheap thrills. It has since been chosen by *Time* magazine as one of the hundred best English-language novels published between 1923 and 2005. The original manuscript, which is actually a 120-foot-long (37-meter) roll of paper fed through Kerouac's typewriter, was sold for $2.4 million in 2001.

Post–*On the Road*

Although Ginsberg and Burroughs were writers whose work embodied the Beats, it was Kerouac who was hailed as the father of the movement. It was a label he resented, and one he felt inclined to live up to. These years of fame intensified Kerouac's alcoholism, and he aged quickly. He continued to write, but his work was considered too quirky to publish. He had visions of publishing separate but interconnected novels, but things did not work out that way. In two years' time, he published six novels while at the same time appearing on television shows, writing magazine articles, and recording spoken-word albums. Kerouac became burnt out and unstable.

By 1961, Kerouac had further deteriorated and his work was not taken seriously. He drank himself into a constant stupor, and his unraveling life was the subject of his last major novel, *Big Sur.* Kerouac went home to live with his mother, where he would stay until his death. Although always drunk, he continued to write and publish, though the quality of his writing suffered severely.

As the 1960s progressed and the beat movement gave way to the hippie movement, Kerouac found pleasure in publicly standing against whatever it was the hippies were promoting. His politics were conservative, and he supported the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). Some believe this stance was nothing more than the writer's bitterness at having been left

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behind or falling out of the spotlight. Whatever the reason, Kerouac spent his last years living with his third wife and mother. Kerouac died at home in Lowell, Massachusetts, of liver disease brought on by alcoholism. He was forty-seven years old.

Kerouac's wife had his papers sealed, and it was not until her death in 1990 that they were made available for publication. In addition to volumes of poetry, some of Kerouac's correspondence was published. These letters were written to Ginsberg, Cassady, book editors, and Kerouac's first wife. The letters are valuable because they shed light on the background of the writing of *On the Road.* The book was rereleased in 2007, its fiftieth anniversary. By 2001, the novel had 3.5 million copies in the United States alone. It continues to sell at a rate of 110,000 to 130,000 copies every year, according to the *New York Times.*

Martin Luther King Jr.

During the second half of the twentieth century in the United States, Martin Luther King Jr. emerged as the major leader of the modern **civil rights movement**. He organized massive numbers of African Americans and their supporters in the 1960s to practice nonviolent **civil disobedience** in pursuit of racial justice and economic equality.

Joins family line of clergymen

King was born in Atlanta, **Georgia**, on January 15, 1929, into a family with deep ties to the African American church and the civil rights struggle. His father was a Baptist minister in Atlanta. King's maternal grandfather, Reverend Adam Williams, had served as the pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta since 1894. Both his father and his grandfather were prominent civil rights leaders.

In his childhood, King was keenly aware of social injustices and poverty. He watched his father campaign against racial discrimination in voting and in salary differences between white and African American teachers. His father's activism provided a model for King's own politically engaged ministry.

King attended Morehouse College from 1944 to 1948. Morehouse president Benjamin E. Mays (1894–1984) encouraged King to view Christianity as a potential force for social change in the secular (nonreligious) world. King struggled with mixed feelings about religion during

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Martin Luther King Jr. was the most influential and recognized leader in the civil rights movement. He strongly believed in nonviolent means of protest but was himself violently assassinated by a white segregationist. AP IMAGES

his college years, but he decided to enter the ministry after graduation, responding to an inner feeling that he should serve God and his community. He was ordained (made a minister of the church) during his final semester at Morehouse. King later continued his religious education at Boston University's School of Theology, where he completed a doctorate in theology in 1955.

Establishes nonviolent protests

Accepting a 1954 offer to become pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, **Alabama**, King quickly came into contact with the many problems of the modern South. In December 1955, Montgomery African American leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to protest the arrest of **Rosa Parks** (1913–2005), a member of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man. They chose King to head the new group.

During a year-long boycott (an organized refusal to do business with someone in order to express disapproval), African Americans in Montgomery avoided using the bus system. (See **Montgomery Bus Boycott**.) King forged a distinctive protest strategy involving the African American churches and also appealing to broad-based public support. In his organizing, King began to use the ideas of East Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), combining Gandhi's nonviolence with Christian principles. In an effort to expand his nonviolent civil rights movement, in 1957 King founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC) to coordinate civil rights activities throughout the South.

By the time he moved to Atlanta in 1960, King was known nationwide for his book on civil rights advocacy, *Stride Toward Freedom* (1958), and for his work to increase African American voting registration in the South. He also worked with a student-oriented group of civil rights workers known as the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**

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(SNCC) in an effort to desegregate restaurants in the South with a series of nonviolent sit-ins (a form of civil disobedience in which demonstrators sit down and refuse to move). (See **Sit-in Movement of the 1960s**.)



Martin Luther King Jr., bottom center, taking part in the March on Washington, one if his many nonviolent demonstrations to raise awareness for civil rights causes. AP IMAGES

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Birmingham, Alabama, 1963

In 1963, King participated in the civil rights campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, where demonstrations called for a variety of changes in the treatment of African Americans and resulted in King's arrest and brief imprisonment. (See **Birmingham Protests**.) The arrest brought international attention to him and to the civil rights movement. King spoke bravely and intelligently in speeches that invoked biblical and constitutional principles. His activities caught the attention of President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63), who introduced significant civil rights legislation.

"I Have a Dream"

In 1963, in front of two hundred thousand people gathered in **Washington, D.C.**, King delivered a speech known today as the "I Have a Dream" speech. It marked a high point in King's crusade and served as an inspiration for civil rights supporters. Televised throughout the world, his speech electrified his audiences. The sight of the hundreds of thousands of people who had participated in the **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom in support of the civil rights movement greatly enhanced the public perception of the movement.

For his use of nonviolent social activism in pursuit of justice for racial minorities and the poor, King received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. During the late 1960s, he remained a voice of moderation in an increasingly diverse and militant African American movement, leaving his mark on various social protest movements, particularly labor disputes, the modern **feminism** movement, the **American Indian Movement** (AIM), the migrant workers movement, and the American Hispanic movement.

On April 4, 1968, while King was working with striking sanitation workers in Memphis, **Tennessee**, he was assassinated by a white segregationist, James Earl Ray (1928–1998). America deeply mourned the loss of King. Among many other honors awarded King since his death, a federal holiday was established on his birthday, January 15, and a monument to him was erected in Washington, D.C.

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King George's War

Between 1689 and 1763, England and France fought four wars for dominance in the New World. The wars are known collectively in English history as the French and Indian Wars. In American history, the **French and Indian War** name applies to the last of the four wars, fought from 1754 to 1763.

The third of the French and Indian Wars was King George's War (1744–48), named for King George II (1683–1760). From Europe's perspective, King George's War was just the New World theater for a larger war being fought in Europe called the War of the Austrian Succession. The conflict was also an escalation of war between England and Spain in the New World, which had begun in 1739. When France entered the war, it fought alongside Spain.

In King George's War, as in all of the French and Indian Wars, Native American tribes fought either for France or England. Sir William Johnson (1715–1774) served as superintendent of the Iroquois for England and worked to bring the Mohawk tribe onto Britain's side.

King George's War ended with a peace treaty in 1748 that restored colonial borders to where they had been prior to the war.

King William's War

From 1689 to 1763, England and France fought four wars for dominance in the New World. The wars are known collectively in English history as the French and Indian Wars. In American history, the **French and Indian War** name applies to the last of the four wars, fought from 1754 to 1763.

The first of the French and Indian Wars was King William's War (1689–97), named for King William III (1650–1702). The European powers regarded King William's War as the New World theater for a larger war being fought in Europe called the War of the Grand Alliance.

In each of the French and Indian Wars, Native American tribes fought either for France or England. During King William's War, the **Iroquois Confederacy** fought for England and

First Fallen

A record of King William's War indicates that the first person to fall in combat in **Massachusetts** was an African American. The record refers to him simply as a "Naygro of Colo. Tyng," and says he was killed at Falmouth.

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continued fighting France after England's peace with France in 1697. War casualties reduced the Iroquois population by half. In 1701, the Iroquois made peace with France and decided to remain neutral in future colonial conflicts.

When King William's War ended in 1697, European control of New World land remained as it had been when war began in 1689.

Henry Kissinger

Henry Kissinger rose to prominence in the late 1960s and into the 1970s, when he established himself as one of the most influential people in international affairs.

Heinz Kissinger was born on May 27, 1923, in Germany. His Jewish family fled Germany in 1938, just before the **Holocaust**. They initially found safety in London, England, but immigrated to the United States several months later. Kissinger became a naturalized U.S. citizen in 1943.

Young Kissinger changed his first name to Henry upon arriving in New York City. There he worked during the day to help support his family and attended high school at night. He studied accounting at the City College of New York in 1941 and was drafted into **World War II** (1939–45) in 1943. After the war, he took a teaching job at the European Command Intelligence School.

Enters politics

Kissinger returned to America and entered Harvard University as a sophomore on several scholarships in 1947. He eventually received a doctorate in 1954. He accepted a job teaching at Harvard that same year and was a lecturer from 1957 to 1959. From 1959 to 1962, he was an associate professor; from 1962 to 1971, he was a professor of government. He served Harvard as a faculty member in the Center for International Affairs from 1957 to 1971 and was director of the Defense Studies Program from 1958 to 1971. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Kissinger was an unofficial advisor to the administrations of **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61), **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63), and **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69). During these years, he wrote and published books on policy.

Kissinger was an advisor and speechwriter for presidential candidate Nelson Rockefeller (1908–1979) in 1968. Although Rockefeller did not

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win the Republican nomination, he recommended Kissinger to President **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) and suggested he be named director of the National Security Council. It was in this position that Kissinger became more influential than even some of the senior cabinet members. While director, he also served as special assistant to the president. In this capacity, he conducted secret negotiations with North Vietnam, China, and the Soviet Union. While his Republican colleagues wanted the United States to be the dominant superpower in global relations, Kissinger sought more of a balance of power in the hopes of maintaining stable international relations.

Kissinger's theory worked well, and he was instrumental in bringing the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) to an end. In 1973, he shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Vietnamese leader Le Duc Tho (1911–1990).

After Nixon was reelected in 1973, he named Kissinger his secretary of state. The Arab-Israeli War erupted that same year, and Kissinger was immediately thrust into the conflict. Although he had previously remained neutral regarding Middle Eastern conflicts, he became integrally involved as secretary of state. He visited diplomats and government officials often in Egypt, Syria, and Israel to help those leaders wage peace. Even after Nixon resigned in the wake of the **Watergate scandal**, Kissinger stayed on as secretary of state for President **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77).

After the White House

Kissinger left his position in the federal government after Ford was defeated in his bid for reelection by **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) in 1976. Kissinger established his own consulting firm and took a post as professor of diplomacy in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in **Washington, D.C.** He served as a paid senior fellow at the Aspen Institute, an advisor to Goldman Sachs brokerage firm, and a consultant to Chase Manhattan Bank. He also toured the country as a lecturer.

Although busy with these responsibilities, Kissinger longed to be involved in government again. He served as an unofficial advisor to President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) and was believed to be the mastermind behind Reagan's Middle East policy. Despite the absence of an official title, Kissinger traveled to China and met with the country's leaders. This led to criticism in the 1990s, however, when

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some reporters accused Kissinger of using his political clout to forge ties for clients of his private firm.

In addition to writing books on policy, Kissinger has written three memoirs chronicling his years with Nixon and Ford. These autobiographies provide details of the inside workings of contemporary history, and two of them were on the best-seller list. There had never before been a foreign policy maker with the level of power and influence Kissinger enjoyed, and there has not been one since. Even his critics recognize his genius.

Kissinger married Ann Fleischer in 1949, and he and his wife had a son and daughter. The couple divorced in 1964. In 1974, he married Nancy Maginnes. Although still consulted from time to time in politics even in the twenty-first century, Kissinger largely remained uninvolved, although he did endorse Republican candidate **John McCain** (1936–) for president in the 2008 election.

KKK

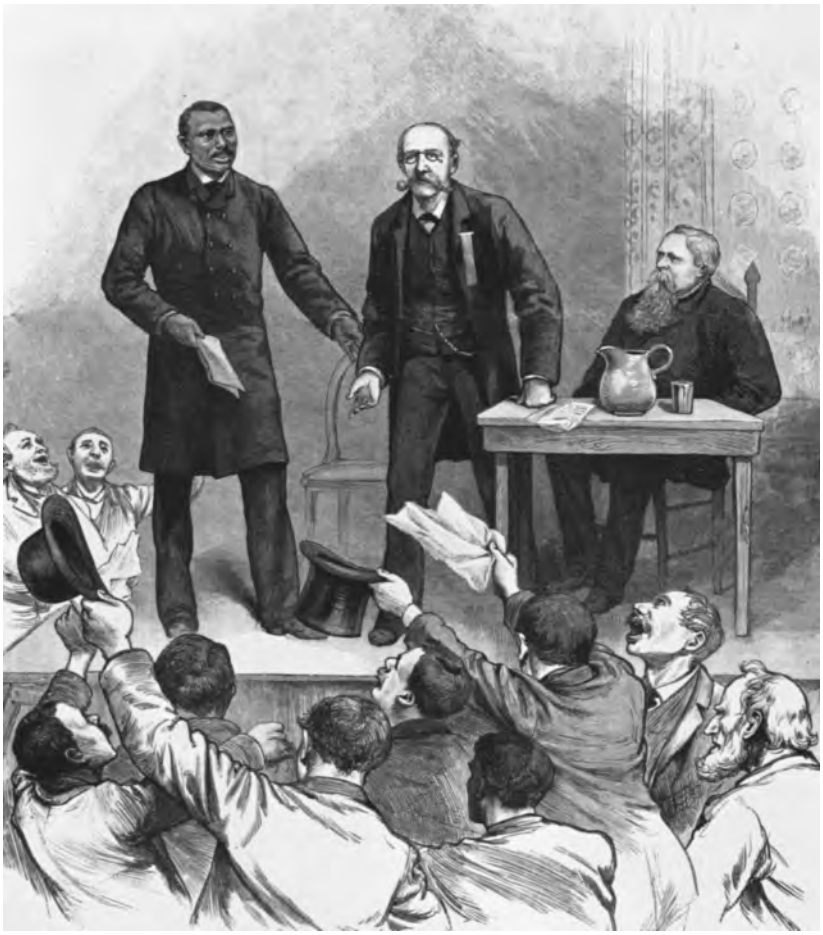
See **Ku Klux Klan**

Knights of Labor

Many issues led to the labor disputes of the **Gilded Age** (the period following the American **Civil War** [1861–65] and Reconstruction, roughly the last twenty-three years of the nineteenth century): prejudice against immigrants; greed of big business owners versus the rights of workers; and social class distinction. American and immigrant workers were willing to risk their lives to form labor unions (formally organized association of workers that advance their members' views on wages, work hours, and labor conditions). Without the unions, and sometimes even with them, it was difficult to demand and enforce workers' rights.

Pennsylvania saw particularly intense labor union efforts. As far back as the 1790s, shoemakers in Philadelphia had joined efforts to fix prices and keep out cheap competition. In the 1820s, a mechanics union was formed. In 1869, one of the most powerful labor unions ever formed was organized in Philadelphia. Under the leadership of Uriah S. Stephens (1821–1882), nine tailors established the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor (KOL). The KOL differed from previous unions in that it allowed both unskilled and skilled laborers to join. Prior to the Industrial

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An assembly of the Knights of Labor where grand master workman Terence V. Powderly, center, prepares to speak.
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Revolution, a period of time during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when rapid industrial growth caused a shift in focus from agriculture to industry, most laborers were skilled craftsmen. But with the invention of machinery that could do the work of many men, businesses did not need to hire (or continue to pay the wages for) as many skilled laborers. Much of the workforce of the late nineteenth century was unskilled. The KOL also welcomed women and African Americans into its ranks. During its early years, the KOL met in secrecy. By the 1880s, it had become a national force.

Among other goals, the KOL negotiated for an eight-hour work day (ten- or twelve-hour shifts had been the norm), an end to **child labor**,

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Terence V. Powderly

In September 1879, machinist and union organizer Terence V. Powderly (1849–1924) became grand master workman, the highest position in the KOL. Powderly was an Irishman living in Pennsylvania. In addition to being a laborer, he practiced law and managed a grocery store.

The small Powderly did not fit the image of a strong union leader, but he had good political skills and kept his grand master position for fourteen years. Powderly was a skilled public speaker, able to inspire his listeners and move them to action. His vision for the KOL had the skilled worker defending the unskilled worker as well. That blend of skill levels was one of the reasons the KOL attracted so many members, but it was also one of the main reasons for its end.

Most skilled workers did not want to join forces with the unskilled because they felt they had nothing to gain from such an alliance. That is why traditional labor unions did not allow unskilled workmen to join. It was only a matter of time before the traditional unions pitted themselves against the KOL.

The KOL played important roles in a number of strikes throughout the winter of 1883–84. In 1885 they found themselves involved in a major railroad strike. Financier **Jay Gould** (1836–1892) owned and controlled much of the Southwest railroad system, including the Wabash line. Gould was known for his unethical business tactics, which included blackmail (demanding money in exchange for withholding potentially damaging information). Workers of the Wabash line, some of whom were KOL members, were not happy with their work situation and went on strike. Without them, Gould's entire system could not operate. He was forced to deal with the KOL, and the KOL's victory over the railroad's most celebrated businessman earned them the leadership of the labor movement. Total membership increased, and Powderly was the undisputed king of labor. The honor proved to be short-lived.

equal pay for equal work (which meant that regardless of sex and race, people who performed the same task would be paid the same wage), and an income tax that would require higher taxes to be paid by those who earned more. The KOL also pressed for the government to take control of the **telegraph** and **railroad industries** to end price gouging (overcharging) by private businessmen.

Because the KOL was open to all workers, its membership grew rapidly. In 1884, fifty thousand laborers were members. By 1886, that number had jumped to seven hundred thousand. Membership was open to all craft and trade occupations, such as machinist, blacksmith, and carpenter. Workers in the professional sector, such as lawyers and doctors, could not join.

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Membership in the KOL declined steadily after 1886 for various reasons. Labor strikes had become violent and mostly unsuccessful. In addition, other labor unions formed and took members away from the KOL. By 1900, the KOL had almost completely disbanded.

Know-Nothing Party

Until the late 1840s, most Americans were descended from British ancestors and most were Protestants. (See **Protestantism**.) The ethnic balance began to change around 1848. Between 1840 and 1860, the numbers of Irish and German immigrants traveling to the United States soared, reflecting the poor economies of both nations. (See **Irish Immigration** and **German Immigration**.) Because of the rapid influx of immigrants, the nation's population doubled in size every twenty to twenty-five years for most of the nineteenth century. Cities on the East Coast were transformed as hundreds of thousands of immigrants arrived. Though the newcomers would quickly rise in the ranks of American society, many began life in the United States in terrible poverty.

Nativism

Americans whose families had lived in the United States for a few generations often were hostile to the new immigrants. Uneasy about their own futures, native-born workers feared that the immigrants would work in poor conditions at extremely low wages, and this would endanger the jobs and wages of long-time (American-born) workers. Adding to the hostility were misunderstandings about the new immigrants' religious faiths—many were Catholics or, later, Jews—and their unfamiliar cultural customs. (See **Catholicism** and **Jewish immigration**.)

Nativism, the policy of favoring native-born citizens over immigrants, increased as the immigrant population grew. Irish Catholics were often the target of nativism and discrimination. Nativists called for laws to prevent immigrants and minorities from competing for their jobs or gaining political power. As the competition in the workforce increased, there were loud calls for restricting immigration.

From secret group to national party

In 1843, an anti-Catholic group called the American Republican Party was formed in **New York** to attempt to halt immigration and protect

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jobs. Their campaigns resulted in riots, including one violent incident in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, that resulted in twenty-four murders and the burning of two Catholic churches. In 1845, the group reformed as a national party called the Native American Party, which later renamed itself the American Party. They hoped to bar all naturalized citizens (immigrants who became citizens, rather than American-born citizens) from political office, and to lengthen the waiting time for citizenship to twenty-one years.

The American Party, also known as the Know-Nothings or the Know-Nothing Party, was formed in 1849. Its members initially called it the Order of the Star Spangled Banner. Part political party and part secret society, it maintained lodges open only to white, native-born citizens and inducted new members with secret initiation rituals. When questioned about these rituals, members answered "I know nothing," leading many to call the party the Know-Nothings.

Rise and fall

The Know-Nothings claimed that immigrants—particularly the Irish and other Catholics—threatened to destroy American values and democracy. The party raised fears of a conspiracy to use the U.S. voting system to elect agents of the pope (the head of the Roman Catholic Church) so that the pope could exert political control over the United States. Know-Nothing campaigns, which worked up strong and sometimes violent anti-immigrant feelings, were highly successful in the 1840s and 1850s.

The party benefited greatly from the turmoil of American politics in the years leading up to the American **Civil War** (1861–65). For decades, politics had been dominated by two national political parties—the **Whig Party** and the **Democratic Party**. The Democrats had always welcomed immigrants, but Whig voters in the North had always feared religious and ethnic minorities. By 1852, sectional factions within the Whig Party caused it to weaken. Many former Whigs joined the Know-Nothings, whose members vowed to end the immigrant tide. The growth of the party was quick. Along with nativists and former Whigs, many conservatives turned to the Know-Nothings because they were uncomfortable with both proslavery Democrats and antislavery **Republicans**.

By 1855, the American Party held forty-three seats in the House of Representatives. It had elected governors in **Kentucky**, **Maryland**, **Delaware**, and four New England states. It had gained control of the

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Massachusetts legislature and elected a Know-Nothing mayor in Philadelphia.

In 1854, the Know-Nothings nominated ex-president **Millard Fillmore** (1800–1874; served 1850–53) as their presidential candidate. In the November election, he carried only one state—Maryland. The nation was absorbed in the issues of **slavery** that were dividing the North and South. The Know-Nothings lost support for never having established a clear stand on slavery. After 1856, the party disappeared.

Korean War

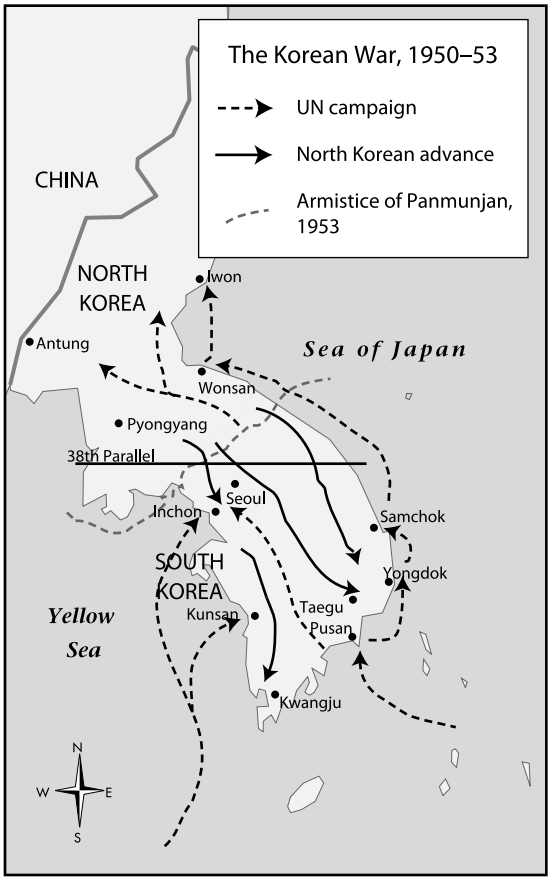
Korea was one of the nations that was divided at the end of **World War II** (1939–45) to allow for occupation by various countries of the victorious coalition of **Allies** (Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, China, Canada, and Australia). Korea had been under Japanese control for many years but after World War II was occupied by Russian and U.S. forces. The country was divided into North and South Korea, with the **thirty-eighth parallel** of latitude as the boundary line.

In North Korea, the Soviets organized a communist regime called the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Kim II-sung (1912–1994) was its first premier (head of government). South Korea was led by Syngman Rhee (1875–1965) and became known as the Republic of Korea (ROK).

Both governments wanted to unify Korea, but each wanted to do so on its own terms. The North would invade the South, then the South would retaliate, keeping the country in a constant state of conflict. Even so, U.S. troops pulled out in June 1949. Only a small group of advisers stayed behind.

South Korea's army was small and poorly trained, whereas North Korea had an army of 135,000 men equipped with the most modern Russian weapons. It also boasted between 150 and 200 combat planes. South Koreans and some Americans worried that North Korea might attack across the thirty-eighth parallel at any time. On January 12, 1950, U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson (1893–1971) announced that Korea was not part of the defensive perimeter of the United States's vital interests in Asia, implying that the United States might not fight over Korea. This declaration was interpreted by some as an invitation to the communists to invade South Korea.

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A map showing various strategic movements during the Korean War. The war began when the North Korean army crossed the 38th parallel to attack South Korea. THE GALE GROUP

War begins

Whether or not it was an invitation, the North Korean army crossed the thirty-eighth parallel to attack South Korea on June 25, 1950. Because North Korea invaded without warning, it met with little resistance, and within thirty-six hours the army was moving its tanks into the outer suburbs of Seoul, the capital of South Korea.

To the surprise of the communists, the international community responded to the attack quickly. The United Nations (UN) Security Council unanimously passed a resolution calling for an immediate end to the hostilities and withdrawal of North Korean forces back to their original position behind the thirty-eighth parallel. North Korea ignored the order, so the UN Security Council met again on June 27 and recommended that members of the UN assist South Korea in repelling the attack. President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) committed U.S. air and navel forces to the struggle in addition to the ground forces already stationed in Japan.

But this was not enough to keep the communists from advancing. By the end of the month, more than half the ROK army had been destroyed, and U.S. forces were forced to fight as they retreated south. Fifteen other nations sent in troops. On September 15, 1950, General **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964), commander in chief of the Far East and supreme commander of the UN forces, launched a surprise attack not from the port of Pusan, but from the landing at Inchon, the west-coast port just outside of Seoul. North Korean forces were expecting a land attack, not an assault from the water. MacArthur's strategy forced the communists back across the thirty-eighth parallel.

Turning point

What happened next determined the future of Korea. The UN coalition had to decide whether to pursue the communist forces across the thirty-eighth parallel. The United States wanted a complete victory, so Truman

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gave MacArthur permission to cross the boundary. MacArthur had already decided this would be his plan, and the first crossings took place on October 1. By late November, UN and ROK troops had forced the enemy to the river boundary between North Korea and communist China.

China came to the aid of North Korea, making good on its warning that it would not allow North Korea to be invaded. Thousands of Chinese soldiers sided with their communist brothers, and UN troops began to withdraw. By July 1951, a stalemate (deadlock) was reached. The fighting settled into trench warfare, with each side digging in. The bloody battles continued for two years, with more than one million Americans serving in Korea.

Negotiations

While troops were fighting, negotiations were initiated by the communists. The talks were repeatedly called off because the communists were



Four soldiers crouch in a fox hole during the Korean War. The war lasted over two years, with more than one million Americans serving in Korea.

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using them to spread propaganda and to make the fighting last as long as possible. Meanwhile, the United States was getting frustrated with the deadlock on the battlefield. In 1953, President Truman left office and was replaced with **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61), a Republican who won support by promising to go to Korea if elected. He kept his promise, but the visit had little if any influence on the peace talks.

An agreement was finally reached and signed on July 27, 1953. It called for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of both armies about a mile from the existing battle line, which was just below the thirty-eighth parallel. The treaty also called for the creation of a Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission to enforce the terms of the truce. A conference would be held to settle all questions, including the future of Korea and the fate of prisoners of war who refused to return home. In the following months, the UN repatriated (sent home) more than 70,000 North Korean and communist prisoners. In return, they received only 3,597 Americans, 7,848 South Koreans, and 1,315 prisoners of other nationalities. The conference was never held, and tensions remained high between North and South Korea.

The Korean War lasted just over three years and cost the United States 140,000 casualties (dead and wounded) and $22 billion. It prevented communism from spreading into South Korea and proved that the United States would fight to contain communism.

With the Korean War, U.S. policy shifted from war for total victory to limited war with no demand for total victory.

Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is an organization that formed in the South after the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Its members believe strongly in the superiority of whites over other races. They work to ensure that the freedom of blacks do not threaten the social advantages of whites. The original organization disintegrated in the 1870s, but it was revived in its current form in 1915.

Reconstruction-era KKK

The original KKK was formed in 1865 in Pulaski, **Tennessee**. Six young Confederate soldiers organized what they called a social club. They

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The Ku Klux Klan is an organization that formed in the South after the American Civil War. Its members believe strongly in the superiority of whites over other races. AP IMAGES

adopted disguises, secret signs, and rituals similar to those used by other fraternal organizations. The name "Ku Klux Klan" derives from the Greek word *kyklos,* meaning circle, and the English word *clan,* meaning family. Within months, the Klan's activities focused on spreading terror among newly freed slaves and their supporters.

The KKK organized under a hierarchy of leaders and quickly gained members throughout the South. It served as an underground resistance to the Republican federal government in **Washington, D.C.**, which had taken control of the southern states following the American Civil War. By giving slaves their freedom and taking steps to give them equal rights, the federal government shook the social order that had existed in the South. Worried that the governments' policies would threaten the social and economic advantages that whites enjoyed, the KKK resorted to intimidation through terror to advance its cause. Attacking anyone, black or white, who supported the rights of blacks, members of the KKK

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whipped, robbed, raped, and murdered their victims. Klan violence peaked around 1870.

Several factors contributed to the KKK's dissolution within the next few years. In 1869, the head of the KKK, Imperial Wizard Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821–1877), ordered its groups to disband in response to public pressure and excessive violence. Congressional attention led to investigations of the group and the passage of four anti-Klan laws in 1870 and 1871. The laws enabled the U.S. government to bring numerous Klansmen to justice. Finally, by the 1870s, the KKK's goal of maintaining white social supremacy throughout the South had been met. **Black Codes** (state and local laws restricting blacks' civil rights) and then **Jim Crow laws** provided legal means to hinder black equality. The Ku Klux Klan was no longer necessary for suppressing the rights of black Americans.

Present-day KKK

The spirit and name of the Ku Klux Klan was revived in 1915 by William Joseph Simmons (1880–1945). America's experience during **World War I** (1914–18) fed public fears and intolerance. As a result, the new Klan, revived as a Protestant fraternal organization, widened its focus of persecution. It opposed not only blacks, but also Catholics, Jews, immigrants, supporters of the political Left (liberals), and proponents of unionization.

The new KKK grew rapidly, peaking at more than four million members in the 1920s. Many of its members won election to public office. The Klan's acts of violence raised public anger, and by the 1940s Klan membership dwindled and nearly died out. The **civil rights movement** of the 1950s and 1960s, however, revived membership in the Klan. Although it has survived into the twenty-first century, its membership has fallen to a few thousand and its groups have become increasingly divided.

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L

Labor Movement

Prior to the 1870s, America's economy was based on agriculture. The **Industrial Revolution** of the late nineteenth century introduced new opportunities for labor and changed the way Americans earned a living.

Between 1860 and 1900, the number of workers in manufacturing quadrupled to six million. Where once people had made their living farming, millions now left home each day to work in industry and earn a wage. Change on such a magnificent level tends to bring problems that need to be solved, and in the case of the Industrial Revolution the treatment of workers was one such problem.

Hardships in every industry

In every industry, pay was very low and working conditions were horrible. Many industries, such as **coal mining**, relied on immigrants who needed work. Company owners knew they could force them to work long hours in dangerous conditions for next to no pay, and the immigrants would accept that without complaint. Most knew no English and had no idea how American society operated. They were grateful just to find jobs.

Women and children were treated particularly poorly. **Child labor** was common as families required every able body to work to pay for housing and food. According to the laws of the day, women and children were considered second-class citizens, so most industries saw no need to treat them humanely.

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Labor unions to the rescue?

Big business was right: workers needed their jobs, and they were willing to accept poor treatment up to a point, especially if there was hope for a better life. But as workers continued to labor long hours without earning enough money even to survive, they knew something had to change. The determination to change wages and working conditions led to the formation of labor unions, formally organized associations of



Steel workers storm the Carnegie Steel Company during the Homestead Strike in Pennsylvania in 1892. AP IMAGES

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workers that advanced members' views on wages, work hours, and labor conditions.

Company and factory owners were vehemently opposed to the formation of labor unions. The more money they had to invest in wages or making the workplace safe, the less profit they would make. Also, there were no benefits such as health insurance in those days, so if a worker got sick, there were always many more willing to take his or her place.

The idea of labor unions was not new to the Industrial Revolution. As far back as the 1790s, shoemakers in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, organized their efforts. One of the most powerful labor unions was organized in 1869. The **Knights of Labor** (KOL) allowed both skilled and unskilled laborers to join. At first, the group met in secrecy, but by the 1880s it had become a national force.

When workers were dissatisfied with their wages or labor conditions, they met with their union. Union leaders would then attempt to meet with the owner or manager of the employees' company to negotiate how best to compromise so that both sides could be satisfied. More often than not, business owners refused to negotiate. When that happened, workers did not have many options in how to respond, so usually they went on **strike**. A strike is when workers refuse to do their jobs until their grievances are discussed and resolved.

Violence everywhere

Some of the most violent labor strikes in American history occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1877, 20 percent of America's labor force was unemployed. Another 60 percent worked irregular hours and took odd jobs as they could find them. Railroad workers were laboring fifteen to eighteen hours a day only to earn 35 percent less in wages than they had earned five years before. It was a hard time for everyone.

America depended upon the railroad for business and industry to run. When one railroad company informed its workers they would be forced to endure another 10 percent pay cut, the workers went on strike. As more railroads announced pay cuts, more workers went on strike. In **West Virginia** a strike got so violent that President **Rutherford B. Hayes** (1822–1893; served 1877–81) called in federal troops to take control. It was the first time a U.S. president took federal action against strikers. Another strike in 1877, this one in Pennsylvania, turned into a

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riot in which twenty-five people were killed and more wounded. More than $10 million in property damages had been incurred. (See **Great Railroad Strike**.)

The Haymarket Square riot on May 4, 1886, began as a peaceful protest in downtown Chicago, **Illinois**. Participants were publicly denouncing the police brutality of strikers just the day before. Police had attacked unarmed strikers and killed several of them. As the Haymarket meeting was coming to an end, police arrived to break it up. Someone from the crowd threw a bomb into the group of police officers, killing one on the spot. A riot broke out, and both sides began shooting. No one knows who threw the bomb, and the number of dead protestors has never been confirmed. Seven more police officers died as a result of the bomb.

There seemed no end to the strikes. The **Homestead Strike** at the Carnegie Steel Company in 1892 involved armed battles between strikers and detectives hired to act as guards. It took eight thousand state troops to take control of the strike, and the workers never had their demands met. Ten men died in the violence and scores of others were injured. Two years later, workers at a railroad car manufacturing plant in Pullman, Illinois, went on strike. President **Grover Cleveland** (1837–1908; served 1885–89 and 1893–97) sent in twenty-five hundred troops to halt the **Pullman Strike**. Strikers rioted against the troops for two days. Around thirty strikers were killed and many more wounded. Soon, fourteen thousand troops were on site. After several weeks of negotiating, the company reopened for business.

Strikes continue

The coal mining industry saw its share of strikes, one in 1900 and another in 1902. But the worst strike of the industry by far did not happen until 1914. In September 1913, more than ten thousand coal miners went on strike in Ludlow, **Colorado**. Led by the United Mine Workers of America, the workers demanded, among other things, union recognition, a wage increase, enforcement of the eight-hour-day law as well as state mining laws, and the right to choose where they shopped and lived.

The leader among mine operators was the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, owned by **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937). Rockefeller

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had the miners and their families evicted from company housing and used the National Guard to keep the mines operating.

Without shelter, the mining families set up tents in the hills and continued striking throughout the winter. Conditions were harsh, and food was scarce. But Rockefeller showed no sign of changing his mind; arbitration would not take place.

April 20, 1914, was Easter on the calendar of the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Greek immigrants among the miners were celebrating. Despite the strike, the mood around the tent camp that morning was festive. At 10 AM, however, Colorado troops surrounded the camp in Ludlow and opened fire on the miners' tent colony, which had been set up on public property. Company guards, strikebreakers, private detectives, and soldiers had planned the attack. They brought with them an armored car mounted with a machine gun called the Death Special. As



Samuel Gompers, center, leader of the American Federation of Labor, with other union officials in 1918.

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bullets sprayed through the colony, tents caught on fire. Later, investigations revealed that kerosene had been poured on the tents.

By the end of the day, twenty people, including two women and eleven children, were dead. Three strikers were taken prisoner and executed. None of the attackers was ever punished, although hundreds of the miners were arrested and blacklisted (forbidden to find work) in the coal industry. John D. Rockefeller Jr. (1874–1960), who by this time was in charge of the mine, denied the massacre ever occurred and publicly stated that no women or children died in what he called a fight that was started by the miners. He spent the next decade trying to repair the damage done by the **Ludlow Massacre** to the Rockefeller name. He gradually came to acknowledge the atrocity of the massacre, and through his efforts to right the wrongs that had been done, Rockefeller increased the social awareness of his entire family. The Rockefellers would eventually become one of the most philanthropic (generous, through charitable donations) families in America.

The American Federation of Labor

Samuel Gompers (1850–1924) worked at one of the bigger cigar shops in New York. Gompers was born in London, England, to Jewish parents who had emigrated from Holland. He learned how to make cigars at a young age. When he moved with his family to America in 1863, he relied on his skills to earn a living. By 1885, having earned a reputation as a dependable worker with a serious mind, Gompers was elected president of Cigar Makers International Union Local 144.

In 1886, the New York Cigar Manufacturers' Association cut wages. Local 144 of the Cigar Makers International Union and the other cigar union, Progressive No. 1 of KOL, protested. When cigar manufacturers ordered a lockout of ten thousand workers, Progressive No. 1 negotiated and settled with the employers. Local 144 did not give in. As president, Gompers felt betrayed by the KOL and its leader, Terence V. Powderly (1849–1924), and accused the group of not having the best interests of the workers in mind. Gompers persuaded the Cigar Makers union to boycott all other cigars.

The conflict between the two unions gave the crafters (skilled laborers) unions the opportunity they had been waiting for to confront the KOL. The Knights, still focused on improving the rights of the unskilled laborer, ordered all members of the Cigar Makers International Union to

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The Construction Workers Union picketing for higher wages circa 1930. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

resign or give up their KOL membership. On December 8, 1886, forty-two members of twenty-five different labor unions met and formed the **American Federation of Labor** (AFL). The labor movement had a new leader.

Unlike the KOL, the AFL acknowledged that each trade within its membership had autonomy (the ability to make its own specific rules and regulations). The executive committee would not interfere in each trade union's internal affairs, but it would have the right to resolve disputes. The AFL required dues (regular payments) to create a strike fund. That money would be paid to workers on strike, although the amount would not equal their usual pay. Soon, city and state federations of the AFL were formed to promote labor legislation.

Gompers was elected the AFL's first president in 1886. With the exception of one year, he kept that position until his death thirty-eight years later. He drafted charters, collected monies, organized conventions, and edited the AFL's newspaper. He was a popular president who never lost communication with the laborers.

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Despite Gompers's popularity, the AFL's growth was slow. Membership in 1886 was 150,000. By 1892, it had increased by just another hundred thousand. Despite the slow rise in membership, however, the AFL offered the first real stability to labor unions. That stability attracted four railway brotherhoods, which had learned their lesson in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877. Other labor unions joined because the AFL offered health insurance and other benefits that many laborers considered as important as wages, if not more so. Laborers who disagreed with the philosophy and mission of the KOL left the Knights in favor of the AFL. The KOL had its lowest membership ever in 1900 and eventually disappeared.

A look to the future

Laissez-faire (lack of government interference) capitalism was America's reality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Without a way to fight effectively for justice, the working class could not hope to improve the future. The Haymarket Square riot and the Homestead and Pullman strikes were reminders that power was in the hands of the wealthy. The majority of laborers still worked between fifty-four and sixty-three hours each week, sometimes even longer.

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) offered hope. By 1901, 75 percent of all trade union members were also members of the AFL. Its leader, Gompers, remained opposed to allowing unskilled workers into the AFL, partly because the socialists favored it.

Socialists in America continued to fight capitalism. When the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) tried to take over the KOL and the AFL in the 1890s, it failed. Many Jewish laborers, tired of the authoritarian (controlling) attitude of the SLP, severed ties with the organization in 1897 and 1898. Their leaders joined fellow labor leader Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926) in founding the Socialist Party of America in 1901. Socialism is a system in which the government owns and operates business and production as well as the distribution of wealth.

Although progress was slow for the labor movement, most of the important gains were made in state and federal legislation. Congress passed the Erdman Act in 1898, which stated that railroads could not discriminate against union members. Between 1886 and the end of the century, reform took place in areas that included child labor, women's labor, negotiation guidelines, the eight-hour workday, safety conditions,

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and responsibility for accidents. Major federal reform legislation was not passed until the 1930s.

Bartolomé de Las Casas

For fifty years, the sixteenth-century Spanish missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas fought the inhumane treatment of the native people of the New World by Europeans. His book, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (1552), is an eyewitness account of life in the early Spanish settlements of the West Indies.

Las Casas's father was a merchant who sailed on **Christopher Columbus**'s second voyage to the New World in 1493. He acquired property in Hispaniola (an island in the Caribbean Sea). The younger Las Casas was born in 1474. While his father traveled, he remained in Spain, studying theology and law in Madrid.

Joins Spanish colonists on Hispaniola

Around 1502, Las Casas traveled to Hispaniola to live. Fascinated by the native people of the island, the young man studied their cultures and languages. Despite his understanding of the natives, Las Casas used the native Hispaniolans as slave workers to farm the land his father had given him. He saw nothing wrong with this practice.

The Spanish believed that because Columbus had conquered Hispaniola, the land and its people belonged to Spain. Queen Isabella (1451–1504) of Spain agreed that the native people should be put to work, but she also ordered the Spanish settlers to convert the natives to the Catholic faith and to teach them to read and write. The explorers and settlers, however, were more interested in gold and treasures than in converting the native people to the Catholic religion. In their greed, the explorers enslaved the natives to work in mines and on their farms. Las Casas shared their desire for riches.

The Spaniards disrupted the native Hispaniolans' hunting and food-gathering practices, causing famine among the tribes. They also brought to the New World diseases against which the native people had no natural defenses. Thousands died of smallpox, measles, and influenza. The natives tried to fight against the Spanish invasion of their lands, but their primitive bows and arrows were no match for the swords of the

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Spaniards mounted on horseback. Hundreds of thousands of natives died each year. Those who remained were quickly enslaved.

Comes to new understanding of native people

Most Spaniards gave no thought to the world they were destroying. Gradually, however, some recognized the suffering of the natives and began to speak out against the injustice. In 1514, while reading a passage in the Bible, Las Casas suddenly realized the horror of the Spanish brutality toward the native people.

Las Casas gave up his land, freed his slaves, and began delivering sermons to the Spanish settlers to try to stop the injustice. He traveled back and forth to Spain to report to its rulers the suffering of the native peoples.

In 1520, King Charles I (1500–1558) of Spain granted Las Casas, who had become a bishop, some land to set up peaceful, free villages where native Hispaniolans could live and work with Spanish peasants. Under Las Casas's plan, the peasant families were to instruct the native people in European systems of farming and wage earning, as well as in Catholicism. The experiment quickly failed when the native Hispaniolans rebelled and the peasants deserted to join the other colonists. Las Casas, discouraged, returned to Spain and isolated himself in a monastery for nearly ten years.

During his stay at the monastery, Las Casas began working on his book, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies,* which was not published until 1552. The book described the cruelties the native peoples had suffered after the Spanish had arrived in the New World. While in Spain in 1542, Las Casas read some of the passages of his as yet unfinished book to King Charles. The ruler was shocked by the terrible stories of native women raped in front of their husbands, of native children thrown into rushing rivers, and of young men slowly burned alive—all inflicted by the Spanish. At least partly because of the book's affect on him, in 1542 King Charles established the New Laws, which prohibited the future enslavement of native Hispaniolans and gave guidelines for the proper treatment of those already working for Spanish landowners. (See **Encomienda System**.) But under pressure from outraged settlers, the New Laws were repealed in 1545.

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Las Casas continued to fight on behalf of native Hispaniolans for the rest of his life. His book, translated into English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian, was read throughout Europe.

League of Nations

In 1918, President **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) developed a peace program called "Fourteen Points." His vision imagined a world without secret alliances or **imperialism** (the dominance of one country over many others). It was important to Wilson that even weaker countries be heard alongside stronger ones.

The last of his Fourteen Points called for the formation of a League of Nations, an international alliance to preserve peace. Representatives from all countries would join and work to solve international disputes without war. The League was established in 1920, and ironically, the U.S. Senate voted against joining, because most Senate members agreed that the United States was already involved in too many of Europe's disputes and conflicts. The American public supported this stance. As a result, the United States never joined the League of Nations, though American diplomats did encourage the League's activities and attend its meetings unofficially.

It became clear that the League had failed in its mission to prevent war when **World War II** (1939–45) began. The organization disbanded in 1946 and was replaced by the United Nations. For his efforts toward international peace, Wilson received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1920.

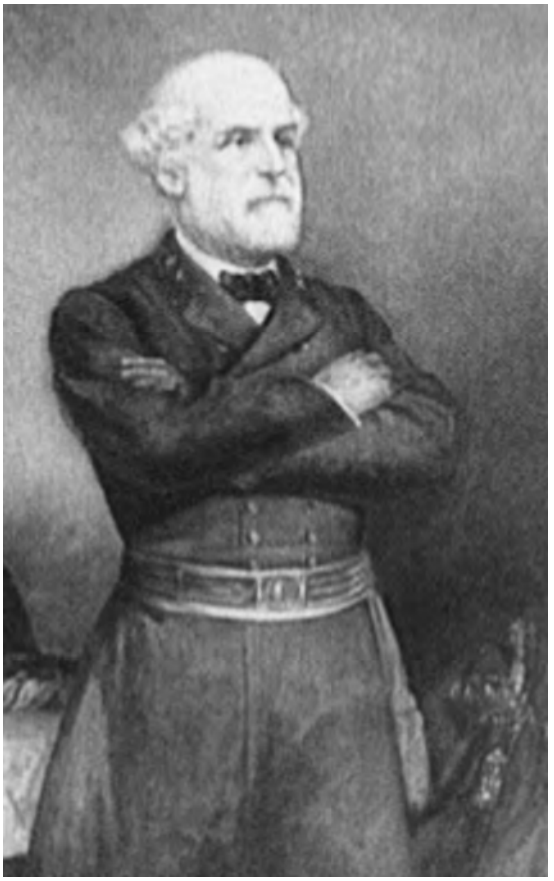
Robert E. Lee

Robert E. Lee was a leading general for the Army of the **Confederate States of America** during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). His strategies and determination gave the Confederacy many victories on the battlefield, but in the end it was he who surrendered to the **Union** Army in April 1865.

Early life

Lee was born January 19, 1807, at Stratford Hall Plantation, Virginia. He was one of five children born to Henry Lee III and Ann Hill Carter

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Robert E. Lee was a leading general for the Confederate Army during the American Civil War. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Lee. Henry "Lighthorse Harry" Lee was a member of the **Virginia** upper class and had been a hero in the **American Revolution** (1775–83), governor of Virginia, and a member of Congress, but his fortunes were in decline at the time of Robert's birth. Henry Lee's debts forced him into prison in 1809 and caused the family to move to Alexandria, Virginia, in 1810.

In 1813, Henry Lee left for the Caribbean to recover his fortune and his health. He would never return, for he died in 1818. Forced to parent alone, Ann Lee raised her children in very modest circumstances, and taught them standards of conduct to help them avoid the mistakes their father had made. These lessons served Robert E. Lee throughout his lifetime.

In 1825, Lee attended the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He finished second in the class of 1829 and earned an appointment in the U.S. Engineer Corps. His first assignment was at Cockspur Island in the Savannah River in **Georgia**. He made many friends in Savannah, yet spent every leave in northern Virginia in the company of Mary Custis, step-granddaughter of President **George Washington**. They were married in July 1831 at the Custis family estate in Arlington, Virginia.

The young couple moved to Fort Monroe, Virginia, the place of Lee's second assignment in the Engineer Corps. They had seven children between 1832 and 1846. The family often lived at the Custis estate in Arlington when Lee's assignments brought him to nearby **Washington, D.C.**, or called him far away. (This estate still stands today amidst what is now **Arlington National Cemetery**.)

Military career

Lee served on the staff of General Winfield Scott (1786–1866) during the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48). He became one of Scott's trusted advisors and proved his talent, energy, and daring during a campaign from Vera Cruz to Mexico City in 1847. Through this, Lee earned both Scott's admiration and the temporary rank of colonel.

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In 1852, Lee returned to West Point as superintendent. He transferred from staff assignments to command of cavalry troops on the **Texas** frontier in 1855. When his father-in-law died in 1857, Lee returned to Arlington to take care of the estate. He remained there until he was called to lead a detachment of Marines against a slave insurrection at **Harpers Ferry**, Virginia, in 1859. In 1860, he returned to Texas and active duty.

Civil War

By February 1861, several Southern states had announced their **secession** (withdrawal) from the United States. Lee, who opposed secession, returned to Virginia to help handle the crisis. In April, however, negotiations failed and the conflict erupted into the Civil War.

President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) offered Lee a command position to suppress the rebellion. Lee's home state of Virginia, however, had seceded at the outbreak of war, so Lee submitted his resignation to the U.S. Army and accepted a command of the armed forces of Virginia. He felt his loyalties lied more with his native state, rather than with the federal government. He organized the mobilization of Virginia troops and gave his men and equipment to the Confederate cause in June 1861. On August 31, Lee became a full general in the Confederate Army.

General Lee's contributions to the Confederate cause were significant both on and off the battlefield. Though he spent the first several months of the war leading troops, in March 1862 Confederate president **Jefferson Davis** (1808–1889) recalled Lee to Richmond, Virginia, to serve as his chief of staff. In this position, Lee was an invaluable advisor, managing communication between Davis and his generals.

The following June, Confederate general Joseph E. Johnston (1807–1891) was seriously wounded. President Davis placed Lee in charge of Johnston's troops, and Lee was thereafter in the field. His armies fought many noteworthy battles. Lee was a highly effective general who earned many victories for the Confederacy, but his efforts to beat the Union Army ultimately failed. General Lee surrendered to Union general **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885) at **Appomattox Courthouse**, Virginia, on April 9, 1865. The Confederacy collapsed almost immediately.

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Last years

After the war, Lee accepted a post as president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) in Lexington, Virginia. He took the position seriously, dedicating himself to leading the next generation of Southerners into the **Reconstruction** phase it faced. His wartime efforts and leadership as an educator earned him great respect in the South. Lee's health, which had suffered since the war, continued to decline. He died of a stroke on October 13, 1870, at his home in Lexington.

Legislative Branch

The U.S. **Constitution** divides the federal government into three branches. The legislative branch, called Congress, is responsible for making the nation's laws. The other two branches are the **executive branch**, headed by the president, and the **judicial branch**, headed by the **Supreme Court**.

Most of the provisions concerning Congress appear in Article I of the Constitution. It begins, "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." This means Congress is a bicameral legislature, one with two chambers.

Membership

When the Constitution was written in 1787, large states would not agree to a legislature with equal representation for each state, and small states would not agree to a legislature with representation based on population. The solution was to create a bicameral Congress. Each state has two members, or senators, in the Senate, giving the states equal representation there. Membership in the House of Representatives, however, is based on population, giving larger states more power there than smaller states. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives must agree for Congress to enact a law.

The Constitution dictates elections for the full House every two years. To become a representative, a person must be at least twenty-five years old, a U.S. citizen for at least seven years, and an inhabitant of the

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The chamber of the House of Representatives, whose membership is based on the population of a state. AP IMAGES

state he or she is to represent. The number of representatives a state gets in the House is based on population. Initially, slaves counted as only three-fifths of a person for this calculation, but that was changed by the **Fourteenth Amendment** after **slavery** became illegal throughout America.

The Constitution originally called for the selection of senators by state legislatures. The **Seventeenth Amendment** changed this method to popular elections. Senators serve six-year terms, with the elections staggered so that one-third of the seats are up for election every two years. To become a senator, a person must be at least thirty years old, a U.S. citizen for at least nine years, and an inhabitant of the state he or she is to represent. The vice president of the United States serves as president of the Senate and has the power to cast a vote on legislation and other matters only when the Senate is equally divided.

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Powers of Congress

To pass a bill (a proposal for a new or revised law), both chambers of Congress must agree by simple majorities. If they do and the president signs it, the bill becomes a law. If the president vetoes (rejects) the bill, it goes back to Congress for reconsideration. A vetoed bill only becomes law if both chambers vote in favor of it by two-thirds majorities.

The Constitution contains a section on the powers of Congress. The powers include those to collect taxes; provide for the common defense and general welfare of the country; borrow money; regulate commerce with Native Americans, foreign nations, and between the states; establish rules on citizenship and bankruptcies; coin and regulate money; establish a postal service; protect inventions, writings, and discoveries; establish courts under the Supreme Court; make laws regarding the seas and international law; declare war; raise and regulate armies and navies; provide for national service by state militias; make laws for the land area occupied by the federal government; and make all laws that are necessary and proper for wielding its other powers and those of the rest of the federal government.

The original Consitution contained specific limitations on the power of Congress. It forbade Congress from banning the importation of slaves before 1808. Congress may not suspend the writ of habeas corpus, a method for freeing a person who is imprisoned illegally, except in times of rebellion or invasion. Congress may not criminalize a person's past conduct or impose criminal sanctions on a person without a trial. After the adoption of the original Constitution, many amendments placed further limits on the power of Congress, notably the first ten amendments in the **Bill of Rights** adopted in 1791.

Lend-Lease Act

In 1941, much of the world was engaged in **World War II** (1939–45). In the United States, there was a lot of pressure on President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) to avoid involvement: **World War I** (1914–18) was still fresh in the memories of the citizens, and few were willing to go through the horrors of war again.

In 1934, the U.S. Congress had passed the Johnson Debt-Default Act, which required nations at war to pay cash for any goods purchased in the United States. During World War II, Great Britain and China

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were both struggling to get the cash needed to purchase supplies for their forces. By 1940, Roosevelt was determined to find a way to provide assistance to the **Allies** without risking public outrage or direct U.S. involvement in the war. His answer was the Lend-Lease program.

The Lend-Lease Act gave the president power to sell, transfer, lend, or lease supplies to nations whose defense was vital to U.S. interests. President Roosevelt explained the act by comparing it to lending a garden hose to a neighbor to enable him to extinguish a house fire. The public supported this concept, and Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act in March 1941.

Under the program, the United States provided economic and military aid by lending food, tanks, airplanes, weapons, and raw materials to Allied countries. Repayment for this aid was to be decided by the president. In the end, many of the debts were forgiven without being paid. After the United States entered the war, Allied nations gave U.S. troops abroad about $8 billion in aid. After the war, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) considered the military efforts of the recipients as fair trade for the lend-lease assistance they had received.

The Lend-Lease program ended in 1945. Over the course of the program's four-year existence, the United States provided more than forty countries with aid. Most of it went to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China. By the end of the war, the United States had given more than $49 billion in aid to support the Allied efforts through the Lend-Lease program.

Lewis and Clark Expedition

Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838) and their companions were the first white men to cross the western half of the present-day United States.

Jefferson's mission

On January 18, 1803, President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9) asked Congress for authorization and funding of $2,500 for an expedition to explore the Missouri River to its source in the Rocky Mountains, and then down the nearest westward-flowing stream to the Pacific. Jefferson gave two purposes for the proposed mission: to prepare the way for the extension of the American fur trade and to advance geo-

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graphical knowledge of the continent. He particularly wanted to find the most direct water routes across the continent to support trade.

When he sent his message to Congress, none of the territory Jefferson wanted explored belonged to the United States. The area between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, called **Louisiana**, belonged to France, and the Pacific Northwest had been claimed by Great Britain, Spain, and Russia, as well as by the United States. But while he was planning the expedition, Jefferson was conducting a negotiation with the French government that resulted in the **Louisiana Purchase** of 1803. Under this agreement, the United States purchased a huge territory that more than doubled the nation's area. Part of the expedition, therefore, would be on U.S. soil, and part of it would be into areas the United States hoped to acquire.

To command the expedition, Jefferson chose his private secretary, Captain Meriwether Lewis. He, with the president's agreement, invited his old friend William Clark to be the expedition's coleader.

Organizing the corps

After making initial preparations in the East, Lewis traveled to Wood River, **Illinois**, opposite the mouth of the Missouri River. Clark and several recruits joined him on the way down the Ohio River. Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1803–4 at Camp Wood River recruiting and training their men, gathering additional supplies and equipment, and collecting information about the Missouri from traders and boatmen. The final, permanent party included twenty-seven young, unmarried soldiers; a half-Indian hunter and interpreter named George Drouillard (c. 1775–1810); and Clark's black slave, York (c. 1770–1831). In addition, a corporal and five privates with several French boatmen were to accompany the expedition during the first season, and then return East with its records and scientific specimens. The expedition was called the Corps of Discovery.

Starting out

The Corps of Discovery began its historic journey on May 14, 1804. It started up the Missouri River in a 55-foot keelboat and two pirogues, or dugout canoes. Averaging about 15 miles a day, by the end of October the Corps of Discovery had reached the villages of the

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Sacagawea with Lewis and Clark during their expedition from 1804 to 1806. NEWELL CONVERS WYETH/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES

Mandan and Minnetaree Indians near the mouth of the Knife River in present-day **North Dakota**. There the explorers built a log fort for winter quarters. During the long, cold winter at Fort Mandan, Lewis and Clark made copious notes in their journals, drew maps of their route, and sought the advice of numerous Indian visitors. From the Minnetarees, especially, they obtained valuable information about the course of the Missouri River and the country through which it ran. These and other Indians contributed enormously to the success of the exploration.

On April 7, 1805, the expedition resumed its journey. The party now numbered only thirty-three persons. It included, besides the permanent detachment, an interpreter named Toussaint Charbonneau (c. 1759–1840) and his young Shoshoni wife **Sacagawea** (c. 1786–1812). Sacagawea had been captured in an Indian raid and sold to Charbonneau. She was pregnant and gave birth to a baby boy during the journey. Later, Clark adopted the boy.

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Uncharted territory

Passing through country never before visited by white men, by August 17 the expedition reached the navigable limits of the Missouri River. With Sacagawea's help, Lewis and Clark purchased horses from Indians who lived nearby and began the portage (getting across the land between two bodies of water with boats and equipment) of the Rocky Mountains. After crossing the mountains, the explorers descended the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific, where they arrived in mid-November.

After wintering at Fort Clapsop (named for a neighboring tribe) on the banks of the present-day Lewis and Clark River on the south side of the Columbia River, the explorers started for home on March 23, 1806. They split up temporarily in present-day **Montana**. Lewis and a small party explored the Marias River, while Clark and the rest of the men descended the Yellowstone River. Reuniting below the mouth of the Yellowstone, they hurried on down the Missouri and arrived in St. Louis, Missouri, on September 23, 1806.

The Lewis and Clark expedition had accomplished its mission with remarkable success. In about twenty-eight months, it had covered more than 8,000 miles. During the entire journey, only one man lost his life, probably from a ruptured appendix. The explorers had met thousands of Native Americans in their travels but had only one violent encounter with them. The total expense of the undertaking was about $40,000. At this small cost, Lewis and Clark and their party took the first giant step in opening the land west of the Mississippi River to the American people.

Lexington and Concord, Battle of

See **Battle of Lexington and Concord**

Liberty Bell

The Pennsylvania Assembly ordered a bell for the tower of Independence Hall in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, in 1751. The bell, known as the Liberty Bell, was to commemorate the fifty-year anniversary of **William Penn**'s 1701 Charter of Privileges, the state's original constitution. Penn wrote of the freedoms and rights valued by people all over the world. Because of that idea of freedom, abolitionists (those who fought against

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slavery) adopted the Liberty Bell as their symbol. (See **Abolition Movement**.)

A line from the Bible, "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," is inscribed on the bell. Also inscribed is the line, "By Order of the Assembly of the Province of Pensylvania for the State House in Philada." The spelling of "Pennsylvania" had not yet been formalized, and it is spelled with one "n" in the original constitution as well as on original maps of the **thirteen colonies**. "Philada" was an abbreviation for "Philadelphia."



The Liberty Bell was created to commemorate the fifty-year anniversary of William Penn's 1701 Charter of Privileges, Pennsylvania's original constitution. PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION & VISITORS BUREAU

Took a few tries

The bell, which was forged by Whitechapel Foundry, arrived in Philadelphia in September 1752, although it was not hung until March 10, 1753. During that initial hanging, the bell cracked. Experts of the day believed the crack was due to the iron being too brittle, but more modern experts think the casting process itself was flawed, leaving the bell imperfect.

John Pass and John Stow, Philadelphia foundry workers, added copper to the bell hoping to make it less brittle, but the townsfolk disliked the sound of the mended bell. The two workers tried again. This time, they completely recast the bell. Isaac Norris, one of the original writers of the letter that was sent to order the bell, disliked the tone of the new bell and asked that another bell be made by Whitechapel.

When the new bell arrived, it sounded no better than the bell that had been recast by Pass and Stow. So the original Liberty Bell remains in the steeple, and the newer bell hangs in the dome of the roof of the state house. It is attached to a clock and rings on the hour.

There is a legend dating back to 1847 that tells of eager Americans waiting to hear the news that independence had been declared in 1776. An elderly bellman was waiting word in the steeple while his young grandson eavesdropped on Congress. When the boy supposedly heard the declaration made behind closed doors, he yelled to his grandfather to ring the bell. Since that time, the bell has been associated with the **Declaration of Independence**.

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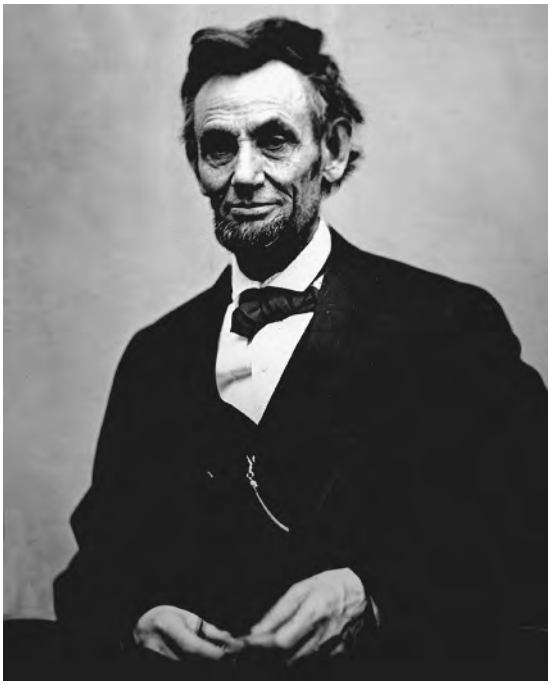
Abraham Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as the sixteenth president of the United States in 1861. His leadership during the political and constitutional crises of the American **Civil War** (1861–65) earned him a place in history as one of the United States's most highly regarded presidents.

Early life

Lincoln was born on February 12, 1809, in the backwoods of Kentucky. His parents were both illiterate farmers, and Lincoln was raised to be a farmer too. He received very little formal schooling, but he borrowed books and read as much as he could on his own.

In 1819, the Lincoln family moved to **Indiana**, where his mother died soon after. Because Lincoln's relationship with his father was strained and distant, Lincoln's sister, Sarah, became his greatest support. After Sarah's death in 1828, Lincoln joined a four-month voyage on a flatboat expedition down the Mississippi River. This allowed him to see parts of the country that he had never seen, inspiring him to pursue a different future than becoming a farmer.



Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth president of the United States, led America through the American Civil War and instituted the Emancipation Proclamation, abolishing slavery. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In 1831, Lincoln left the family homestead. After another expedition down the Mississippi, he volunteered for the **Illinois** state militia during the Black Hawk War (1832), a conflict with Native Americans. He never experienced any fighting, but his company noticed his leadership and elected him captain.

In 1832, Lincoln moved to New Salem, Illinois, where he worked in a variety of jobs, then moved to the state's capital, Springfield, in 1837. In November 1842, he married Mary Todd, and over the next eleven years they had four sons.

Political career

Lincoln's interest in a political career started in 1832, when he first ran for the state legislature. Though he lost that election, he was elected in

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1834 for the first of four terms. Lincoln was self-motivated, and he taught himself law and earned a license to practice by 1836.

While serving as a legislator, Lincoln practiced law, using Springfield as his base starting in 1847. From there, Lincoln followed the yearly rounds of a federal circuit judge to the state's outlying counties to represent clients who needed experienced attorneys. This work improved Lincoln's skill as a lawyer, and it also helped him make political contacts.

Lincoln's service in the state legislature came to an end in 1841. He practiced law until 1847, when he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He accomplished very little there, however, and in his disappointment returned to Springfield after one term, vowing to stay out of politics.

In 1854, Congress passed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, which stated that the new territories of **Kansas** and **Nebraska** would be allowed to decide for themselves whether to allow **slavery** within their borders. This caused a political stir because it effectively negated the 1820 **Missouri Compromise**. Under that law, Congress had allowed **Missouri** to be admitted to the Union as a slave state, but it had banned slavery in the northern territories of the **Louisiana Purchase**. Angered by the new law and the possible spread of slavery, Lincoln was inspired to run for the U.S. Senate in 1855, but he lost.

The **Republican Party** was formed in 1854 by people who opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Lincoln quickly joined and became an active leader in Illinois. In 1857, the **Supreme Court** handed down its decision in the ***Dred Scott*** case, which supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Fueled again by anger, Lincoln ran a second time for the Senate.

This time, Lincoln's opponent was U.S. senator Stephen A. Douglas (1813–1861), the Democratic sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Facing a difficult race, Lincoln invited the senator to engage in a series of seven debates. The fiery exchanges drew large crowds and national press coverage. Douglas emphasized explosive race issues, and characterized Lincoln as a radical abolitionist (opponent of slavery). Lincoln responded by carefully defining his conservative antislavery views: he favored maintaining slavery where it was already and banning it only from spreading to new areas.

Though the election was close, Douglas won and returned to **Washington, D.C.** But the attention surrounding the **Lincoln-Douglas**

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debates and Lincoln's performance earned him the Republican nomination for president in 1860.

Election of 1860

Known for his support of business, his support of free labor (the labor of white workers who owned property), and his opposition to the spread of slavery, Lincoln was an attractive Republican nominee. His party also was in favor of a protective tariff, or tax, to aid U.S. business; a homestead act (a law allowing the sale of undeveloped land in the West to farmers); a transcontinental railroad to aid national development; banking reform; and other internal improvements.

The **Democratic Party** convention that convened in early May in **South Carolina** resulted in a deadlock, with no candidate chosen. Southern Democrats wanted a federal slave code that would allow slavery in the western territories. Northern Democrats favored popular sovereignty, letting each state decide whether to allow slavery within its borders.

The divisions in the Democratic Party eventually grew too deep, and the Northern and Southern Democrats announced separate presidential candidates. A fourth candidate ran from the Constitutional Union Party. Its platform neglected the explosive issue of slavery, focusing instead on preserving the **Constitution** and the **Union**. After a complex, four-way campaign, Lincoln was elected president.

State secessions

Southern fears of a Republican president grew throughout the campaign of 1860. Many feared that Republicans would emancipate, or free, all African Americans throughout the Union and strengthen federal control over state governments.

When Lincoln won the election, panic spread throughout the South. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina became the first state to vote to secede, or withdraw, from the Union. (See **Secession**.) Before Lincoln was inaugurated, **Alabama**, **Florida**, **Georgia**, **Louisiana**, and **Mississippi** seceded too, joining to form the **Confederate States of America**.

In an attempt to maintain calm, Lincoln refrained from making public comments about the secessions before his inauguration. Privately, he and other Republicans tried to assure Southerners that they were not a threat to them or their property. But the Confederates were not persuaded,

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and they continued to establish their own government. They named their first president, former U.S. senator Jefferson Davis (1808–1889) of Mississippi, wrote a constitution, scheduled elections, and even authorized an army of ten thousand men before Lincoln took office.

Lincoln's inauguration

Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861. His inaugural address was vague enough to allow flexibility in handling the growing crisis but also reassure the Union. While restating his party's commitment to not interfere with slavery in the states, he also argued forcefully that secession was wrong. Lincoln pledged to uphold the Union, to "hold, occupy, and possess" federal property, and to collect all federal taxes and fees.

In the final parts of his inaugural address, Lincoln explained that it was up to Southerners to solve the constitutional and political crisis of secession. He pledged that the government had no interest in initiating a civil war, and conflict would arise only through others' acts of aggression. He ended by asking Southerners to work through the tensions rather than break the bonds of the Union.

Civil War

After his inauguration, Lincoln sought to keep control of all federal property in the Confederate states. This goal was challenged by the South Carolina governor's demand that Lincoln remove the military troops from his state. Lincoln chose instead to resupply the men of Fort Sumter in Charleston. He warned the Confederate commander of the supply ship's approach and told them not to interfere.

After discussing the issue, Confederate president Davis and his cabinet demanded the Union surrender of Fort Sumter. Receiving a rejection, the Confederates destroyed most of the fort and forced a surrender on April 14, 1861. As a result of the battle, **Arkansas**, **North Carolina**, **Tennessee**, and **Virginia** also seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. The Civil War had begun.

The White House was not prepared for a rebellion so soon after President Lincoln's inauguration. Lincoln had recruited highly qualified men to lead the government's departments, but it was difficult at first to control them. He also had a series of ineffective generals, and this motivated him to educate himself in military history and strategy to better

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guide his army. Tens of thousands of men volunteered to serve, but the Union Army lacked everything from shoes to muskets to supply them.

Lincoln acted quickly and assertively in spite of his challenges. He organized a war plan based on the experience and guidance of Winfield Scott (1786–1866), the U.S. army commander, to defeat the Confederacy over time by cutting off supplies. But neither the public nor Lincoln wanted to wait for a supply shortage to bring about the South's collapse. In a rush to a decisive Union victory, Lincoln ordered an attack on the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia. There, at the **Battles of Bull Run**, the Union suffered a decisive defeat.

Although General **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885) saw many Union successes in the western states and territories, the battles in the East were often Union failures. The Union generals were not as aggressive as Lincoln knew they needed to be to win. The **Battle of Gettysburg** and the Battle of Vicksburg in 1863, however, marked turning points for the Union **Army**.

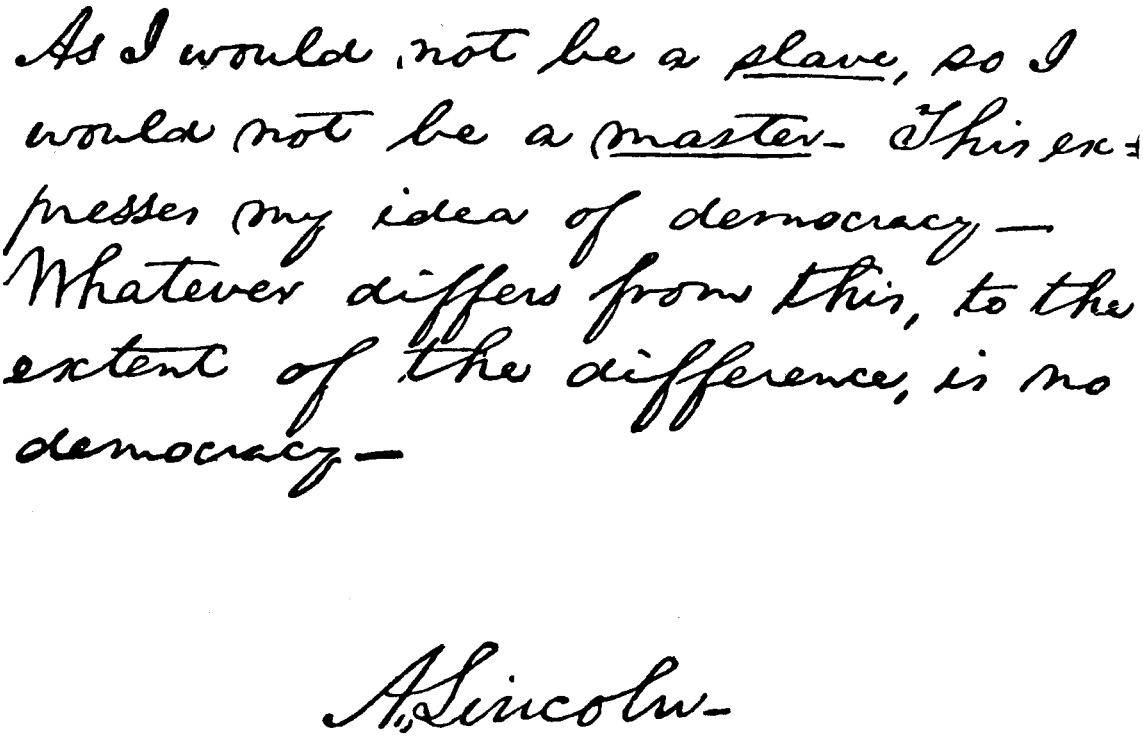
These successes were key to Lincoln's winning a second presidential election in 1864. Eventually, Lincoln assigned General Grant to command the Army of the Potomac, and General **William Sherman** (1820–1891) replaced Grant in the west. The forcefulness of these generals led to Union victory. Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) surrendered to Grant at **Appomattox Courthouse**, Virginia, on April 9, 1865, and the rest of the Confederate troops surrendered nine days later.

Ending slavery and honoring the dead

Slavery was a complex problem for Lincoln during the Civil War. Slavery allowed the South to establish factories and to maintain essential manpower in the economy behind battle lines without sacrificing soldier power. Although the Union Army could have been helped by slaves escaped from the South, by law slaves were considered property and had to be returned to their owners, who often came to find them.

Lincoln understood that he needed to allow escaped slaves to remain in the Union, but he also wanted to keep slave-holding border states such as Kentucky, Missouri, and **Maryland** in the Union. On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln signed the **Emancipation Proclamation**, which declared that all slaves within the rebellious Confederate states were forever free.

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An actual letter written by President Lincoln addressing his views against slavery.

Although it failed to eliminate slavery in the states that had remained loyal to the Union, the Emancipation Proclamation set the stage for the eventual passage of the **Thirteenth Amendment** of the U.S. Constitution. On January 31, 1865, the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment officially ended slavery in all areas of the United States and made emancipation permanent.

Lincoln delivered the **Gettysburg Address** at the dedication of a national cemetery in Gettysburg, **Pennsylvania**, in 1863. The address was only a few hundred words long, but Americans regard it as a great speech that honored the dead as well as the very ideals on which the United States was founded.

Lincoln's legacy

Though President Lincoln is remembered best for his leadership and devotion to preserving the Union of the United States, Lincoln's legacy

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includes other accomplishments, too. His work with a supportive Congress produced legislation that would have been impossible with divisive politics.

Together, Lincoln and Congress formed a new banking system and enacted the Legal Tender Act of 1862 to establish the first official currency of the United States. The **Homestead Act** and the Morrill Land-Grant College Act, both passed in 1862, were important laws that boosted the economy and helped speed the development of the western United States. Lincoln's actions, which were based on the belief that the president could create unity among independent states, dramatically strengthened federal power and minimized state power.

President Lincoln's service was abruptly ended on April 14, 1865. While he was watching a play at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C., he was shot and killed by a Southern sympathizer, John Wilkes Booth (1838–1865).

Lincoln-Douglas Debates

The **Republican Party**, a new contender in the turbulent years leading up to the American **Civil War** (1861–65), became nationally known during the debates in the **Illinois** senatorial campaign in 1858. In the debate, an Illinois lawyer named **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865) represented the Republicans, a party drawn together from older parties whose members wanted to limit the spread of **slavery**. U.S. senator Stephen A. Douglas (1813–1861) represented the **Democratic Party**, which had been the most powerful U.S. political party for forty years but was struggling to hold together its bitterly divided northern and southern members.

Founding of the Republican Party

Since 1832, American politics had been dominated by two national political parties—the Democrats and the **Whig Party**. Because each party included among its supporters both Northerners and Southerners, it was in the best interest of both parties to avoid exciting passions over the issue of slavery. In 1852, sectional allegiances within the Whig Party caused it to weaken. By 1856, following an unsuccessful run in the presidential election, the Whig Party dissolved. Other, smaller parties arose in its place, mainly the anti-immigrant **Know-Nothing Party** and the **Free Soil Party**, which fought against slavery in the new territories of the nation.

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By the 1850s, the bitter conflict over slavery was foremost in everyone's mind. The Union was held together only through awkward and complicated compromises that offered proslavery forces something for every antislavery act passed, and vice versa. In 1854, one of these compromises, the **Kansas-Nebraska Act**, pushed the wrong buttons. In order to persuade the proslavery forces to accept the act, Senator Douglas led a successful effort to repeal the **Missouri Compromise** of 1820, which had prohibited slavery in the unorganized Kansas-Nebraska territory. Douglas's compromise was to allow **Kansas** to choose whether or not it would be a slave state.

Northerners were furious at the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. To many, it seemed that the South could not be trusted to abide by any legislation. They cried out against the "slave-power conspiracy" that they felt controlled Congress. To halt this conspiracy, Free-Soilers, antislavery Whigs, and northern Democrats came together to found a new party, the Republicans. In the elections of 1854, the Republicans won many senate and congressional seats. In 1858, the Republicans of Illinois nominated Abraham Lincoln as their candidate to unseat Illinois senator Stephen Douglas.

Senatorial campaign election

Lincoln and Douglas traveled extensively throughout Illinois in 1858. As they traveled, both candidates made speeches and many unexpected appearances, mostly from the rear platforms of railroad cars. Their speeches attracted thousands of listeners and received wide newspaper coverage. Lincoln, little known before, was suddenly a person of national reputation.

Lincoln had delivered his famous "House Divided" speech in Springfield on June 16, 1858, at the Republican meeting endorsing him for the Senate. The speech expressed the northerners' belief that slavery was immoral and should be eliminated or restricted, and their fear, at the same time, that the issue would tear the Union apart. In Lincoln's words, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Douglas feared the rising power of the Republicans and responded in speeches that linked Lincoln to the abolitionists, antislavery activists who were considered very radical at the time. (See **Abolition Movement**.)

After these speeches, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates. The senator agreed to seven joint appearances.

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One of the Lincoln-Douglas debates during the 1858 campaign for Illinois senatorship. AP IMAGES

The debates

The debates formally began in Ottawa, Illinois, on August 21, 1858. The strategy of both men had been set before the first formal meeting. Lincoln concentrated on Douglas's authorship of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its repeal of the Missouri Compromise. He charged that Douglas was merely a puppet of the slave-power conspiracy, and that there was a national plot to legalize slavery in the free states. Douglas assailed Lincoln as an advocate of equality for blacks. He also accused Lincoln of having a hidden intention to interfere with the governments of individual states.

Lincoln was embarrassed by Douglas's effort to associate him with abolitionism. Like Douglas, Lincoln believed that black people were basically inferior to whites. But Lincoln, unlike Douglas, held that slavery was

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an immoral system inconsistent with the principles and practices of democratic government. Lincoln insisted that slavery must be kept out of the new territories. Douglas countered by insisting that the settlers be allowed to make this decision. At the conclusion of the debates, Lincoln said that the principles of equality set forth in the **Declaration of Independence** should be applied to the new territories. Douglas concluded with the statement that the nation could endure forever half-slave and half-free.

Impact

In the November election, Douglas was reelected in Illinois, but Lincoln's strong performance in the debates had helped publicize Republican ideas so much that Republicans nominated Lincoln as their presidential candidate in 1860. Ironically, part of Lincoln's appeal was his careful response to Douglas's charges that he supported black equality. Many northerners at that time, though they did not support slavery, were not comfortable with the idea of a mixed society of black and white equals, and probably would not have voted a true abolitionist into office.

Lincoln Memorial

The Lincoln Memorial stands at the west end of the National Mall in **Washington, D.C.**, as a monument to **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), the sixteenth president of the United States. A commission to build the monument was first proposed in 1867, about two years after Lincoln's assassination. Because of a lack of funding, the memorial was not built until U.S. Congress approved it in 1910. Construction began in 1914, and the monument was opened to the public in 1922.

Built from marble and limestone, the Lincoln Memorial was inspired by ancient Greek temples and designed by architect Henry Bacon (1866–1924). It stands 190 feet (58 meters) long, 119 feet (36 meters) wide, and nearly 100 feet (30 meters) high. Thirty-eight columns support the building. Thirty-six of



Construction on the Lincoln Memorial began in 1914, and the monument was opened to the public in 1922. AP IMAGES

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them represent the states in the Union at the time of Lincoln's death. The remaining two columns are strictly for structural support.

The central hall of the memorial features a marble figure of Lincoln sitting in thought. Sculptor Daniel Chester French (1850–1931) supervised the carving of the figure, which was done by the Piccirilli brothers. The figure is 119 feet (36 meters) high and weighs 175 tons. The chambers to the north and south of the monument contain inscriptions of Lincoln's second inaugural address and the **Gettysburg Address**. The inscription behind the statue reads, "As in the heart of the people for whom he saved the Union, This memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever."

Charles Lindbergh

Charles A. Lindbergh was the first person to fly across the Atlantic Ocean. He was born in Detroit, **Michigan**, on February 4, 1902. His father was a five-term U.S. congressman who represented **Minnesota**. Educated in public and private schools throughout **Washington, D.C.**, and Minnesota, Lindbergh entered the University of Wisconsin in 1920. He dropped out after two years and entered flying school in **Nebraska**. With fewer than eight hours of instruction, he began barnstorming (trick flying) with a stunt aviator and made his first parachute jump in 1922.

After serving in the U.S. **Army** Air Service Reserve, he began flying air mail service between Chicago, **Illinois**, and St. Louis, **Missouri**, in 1926. During one of these flights, Lindbergh decided he wanted to join a contest to be the first person to fly nonstop from New York to Paris, France. If he won, he would be awarded $25,000. Lindbergh approached a group of St. Louis businessmen to raise funds for a plane and to pay for expenses. In their honor, he named his plane *Spirit of St. Louis.*

Takes flight

As part of his preparation for the contest, Lindbergh went through sleep deprivation training. He would stay awake first for twenty-four hours at a time and gradually increased that time to forty hours.

Lindbergh flew to New York and took off for Paris at 7:52 AM on May 20, 1927. Nervousness had prevented him from sleeping the night before the flight, and as he flew over the North Atlantic Ocean, he was

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plagued with the need to sleep. At one point, he dozed off and awoke to find himself skimming the ocean waves. With no radio onboard, no one back on land knew if he was dead or alive. On May 21, he flew over the southern coast of Ireland and knew he was safe.

Sets a record

Lindbergh landed in Paris after a flight that lasted thirty-three hours, twenty-nine minutes, and thirty seconds. He had flown 3,610 miles (5,810 kilometers) without stopping and instantly became an international hero. He won many awards and was given a ticker-tape parade in New York and St. Louis. Lindbergh toured the United States, traveling to seventy-five cities and visiting with leaders and other important figureheads. On May 27, 1929, he married Ann Morrow. She flew with him to foreign countries to meet with royalty.



Charles Lindbergh was the first person to fly across the Atlantic Ocean. His name became even more recognizable to the public when his son was kidnapped and later found murdered.
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Lindbergh was a private man, who did not enjoy his fame. After marrying, he took a job as a technical adviser to an airline and bought property in **New Jersey**. He and his wife lived there peacefully and welcomed their first child, a son, into the family. In 1932, their world was shattered when baby Charles was kidnapped. The media was relentless in covering the story. The baby's body was found several months later, and an unemployed German immigrant, Bruno Hauptmann (1899–1936), was found guilty and executed.

Escapes to Europe

By 1935, the Lindberghs had other children, but the continuous press interference in their lives made them feel harassed. They moved to England that year in hopes of regaining their privacy. Once overseas, Lindbergh traveled. In 1938 and 1939, he visited Germany, where the Nazi government decorated him. He publicly praised the Nazis for building what he believed was an unbeatable military while criticizing the lack of military readiness by western democracies. When he and his family moved back to the United States in late 1939, he spoke out

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against America's stance of neutrality (taking no sides) in **World War II** (1939–45). His comments were perceived as un-American and stirred controversy with the American public as well as U.S. president **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), and he was forced to resign his Air Service Reserve commission.

After Japan attacked the United States in 1941, it became clear that America needed to boost industrial production as much as possible, as quickly as possible. Several automakers, including General Motors and Chrysler, agreed to help build military aircraft. Automaker Henry Ford (1863–1947) of Ford Motor Company became the leader in wartime aircraft production. He hired good friend Lindbergh in 1942 to serve as a technical advisor for aircraft operations in the South Pacific. Lindbergh's job was to troubleshoot technical problems arising with the production of the bombers, and he used his expertise to help redesign the nose and gun mount of the plane. Once the war was over, it was revealed that Lindbergh had been involved with the U.S. **Air Force** on secret projects and had flown on about fifty combat missions as a civilian. Beginning in 1947, he was officially welcomed back by the Air Force and served as a special advisor. This, combined with the popularity of several books written by his wife, restored Lindbergh's reputation with the American public.

Lindbergh's own book, *The Spirit of St. Louis,* won a Pulitzer Prize in 1953. He and his wife built a house on a quiet property on the island of Maui, **Hawaii**, and it was there he died on August 26, 1974.

Little Bighorn, Battle of

See **Custer's Last Stand**

Little Rock Central High School Desegregation

In September 1957, nine black teenagers broke the color line (the separation of black and white students) at a public high school in Little Rock, **Arkansas**. The youths had voluntarily transferred to the formerly all-white Central High School. Their transfer was part of a city plan to comply with a 1955 **Supreme Court** ruling that school boards desegregate (stop separating the races) as quickly as possible. (See **Desegregation of**

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Federal troops escorting four black students to Little Rock Central High School to protect them from other students and protestors and ensure their entry into the school. AP IMAGES

Public Schools.) These nine brave teenagers, who knew they would have to face an angry white crowd to get to their new school, were soon called the Little Rock Nine. The region's segregationists—people who aimed to keep the races separate in schools and other public places—led by Arkansas governor Orval E. Faubus (1910–1994), were preparing to stop them at any cost.

Governor defies federal courts

Governor Faubus had tried to get a federal court to delay school integration. He argued that the delay would avoid racial violence, but the courts did not support him. Faubus then ordered the Arkansas National Guard to bar black students from Central High. On September 4, 1957, the president of the state branch of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), Daisy Bates (1914–1999), led eight black students to the school, but they were turned away by guardsmen at bayonet point (a bayonet is a pointed blade fixed to the end of a rifle). The ninth student, fifteen-year-old Elizabeth Eckford

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(1941–), walked alone; a white mob jeered, cursed, and threatened her as she narrowly escaped injury. Ten days later, President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) invited Faubus to be his guest at his summer home in **Rhode Island** and urged the governor to stop disobeying court orders. A federal judge ordered the withdrawal of Arkansas guardsmen from Central High. Faubus, however, remained defiant.

Federal troops brought in

On September 23, the Little Rock Nine were escorted into Central High by the local police. A mob of several thousand white segregationists had gathered at the school to stop the children from entering. In a frightening scene, the police were forced to evacuate their charges from the school to protect them from the violence. The mob situation was so threatening the next day that the Little Rock mayor Woodrow Mann (1916–2002) sent President Eisenhower an urgent request for federal troops. Eisenhower did not support desegregation himself, but he reluctantly federalized the Arkansas National Guard (put them under the management of the federal, rather than the state, government) and dispatched U.S. **Army** troops to protect the students. The following morning, more than one thousand soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division accompanied the Little Rock Nine into Central High.

Army troops stayed in Little Rock for more than two months to keep mob violence in check, and the National Guard units remained until the school year ended in May 1958. Even so, the Little Rock Nine suffered constant harassment by angry segregationists inside and outside the school. One of the Little Rock Nine, Minnijean Brown (1941–), lost her temper after repeated verbal and physical provocations and was expelled in February 1958 for exchanging racial remarks with a white girl (who remained a student in good standing).

Continued defiance

One year later, in September 1958, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that school desegregation must proceed in Little Rock. Faubus responded by shutting down all of the city's public schools for the 1958–59 school year. The Little Rock Nine did not go to school that year. Only in August 1959, after the Supreme Court outlawed Faubus's scheme, did the public high schools reopen on an integrated basis.

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Painful victory

The prolonged ordeal of the Little Rock Nine did not bring immediate gains for the **civil rights movement**. President Eisenhower never endorsed the Supreme Court's call for school desegregation. In an opinion poll taken in late 1958, Americans selected Governor Faubus as one of their ten most admired men. That fall, he won reelection by a landslide, and he remained virtually unbeatable in Arkansas politics for nearly ten years. Faubus was just one of many white southern politicians of that era who rose to national prominence because of their defiant opposition to school desegregation.

By 1960, only 6.4 percent of southern black schoolchildren (and 0.2 percent of those in the Deep South) attended classes with whites. Still, the Little Rock Nine received international acclaim for their courage in seeking racial justice. Ernest Green (1941–) was the first black student to graduate from Central High in May 1958. Whatever the personal cost, he knew when he received his diploma that he had achieved a major victory in the movement for civil rights.

Los Angeles Riots (1992)

On March 3, 1991, four Los Angeles Police Department officers stopped motorist Rodney King (1965–) after a high-speed chase. A man nearby, who happened to have his video camera ready, photographed most of King's arrest, minus the first couple of minutes. The videotape showed King receiving scores of blows from the four officers' night sticks. The witness sold his videotape to a television station in Los Angeles, **California**, and soon the incident was being replayed on national news broadcasts. The television station, however, had edited the videotape that was seen by the nation. A thirteen-second segment, in which King charged at the police, was never shown. The public viewed what followed—four armed officers brutally clubbing an unarmed, restrained man.

In the resulting storm of protest, the four police officers were charged with using unnecessary force. Because the video had stirred such emotion among blacks in Los Angeles, the officers' defense attorneys got the trial moved from Los Angeles to nearby Simi Valley, a mostly white suburb. On April 29, 1992, the jury cleared the police officers of the charges.

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Rioting erupts

Resentment about police brutality had been festering among the African Americans and Hispanics of Los Angeles. The acquittal of the officers in the King beating was the last straw. Within hours of the verdict, a riot engulfed the city. Angry black and Hispanic youths began attacking white motorists, including a truck driver named Reginald Denny (1953–), who nearly died after being pulled from his truck and beaten with bricks and bats. A helicopter hovered above photographing the incident, which was later seen on news shows nationwide. Unarmed African Americans who lived nearby saw the footage on television and ran out to rescue the unconscious man. Soon after the Denny beating, Fidel Lopez, a Guatemalan immigrant, was severely beaten at the same intersection.

As the afternoon turned to evening, the violence spread from south central Los Angeles to other parts of the city. A mob lit a fire in city hall and damaged the criminal courts building. Arsonists and looters spread into Hollywood, Long Beach, Culver City, and even into the San Fernando Valley. The Los Angeles area became dotted with scores of fires. Surprisingly, the most brutal attacks were reserved for Asian businesses, especially those in poor neighborhoods.

After three days of violence and looting, the riot was finally stopped with the help of the National Guard and the **Marine Corps**. Between fifty and sixty people had died and two thousand more were injured. Damage estimates climbed to nearly $1 billion. While residents tried to rebuild their communities, federal authorities charged the four police officers in the King case with civil rights violations. Two of the officers were found guilty and sentenced to prison.

Lost Colony of Roanoke

See **Roanoke Colony**

Louisiana

Louisiana entered the Union on April 30, 1812, as the eighteenth state. It ranks thirty-first in size among the fifty states, with a total area of 47,751 square miles (123,675 square kilometers). Louisiana is in the western south central United States and is surrounded by **Texas**, **Arkansas**, **Mississippi**, and the Gulf of Mexico.

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Spanish explorers were probably the first Europeans to visit Louisiana, in 1541. The French claimed Louisiana in 1682 and named it after King Louis XIV (1638–1715). The economy failed to thrive under French rule, but settlers—whether from France or not—absorbed the French culture. In 1762, France ceded Louisiana to Spain. Under Spain's control, the colony prospered. By 1800, French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) had forced Spain to return Louisiana to France, and he sold the region to the United States three years later—in the **Louisiana Purchase**—to keep it from the control of Great Britain.

The acquisition of Louisiana—which at the time included portions of fifteen current states stretching from present-day Louisiana to **Montana**—more than doubled the size of the United States. From 1815 to 1861, Louisiana was one of the most prosperous of the southern states as it produced valuable **cotton** and sugar. Wealthy planters dominated the state; their slaves comprised nearly half of the population. Little change occurred after the American **Civil War** (1861–65) and the end of **slavery** as white landowners, bankers, businessmen, and politicians continued to dominate state government. With whites at the helm, there existed no chance for social or political reform.

Social climate

The social climate improved with the election of Governor Huey P. Long (1893–1935) in 1928. In the years before his assassination in 1935, Long initiated much-needed reform in Louisiana. His brother Earl Long (1895–1960) served as governor three times, and his son Russell (1918–2003) eventually became a powerful U.S. senator from Louisiana. Under Long leadership, Louisiana developed into a major petrochemical-manufacturing center. Where once it was a frugal state, it became more liberal in its funding of welfare and social programs, highway construction, and education.

Race relations remained a point of conflict despite progress in other aspects of Louisiana society, culture, and economy. Throughout the 1990s, Louisiana experienced an increase in the number of high-technology jobs, yet it had more people living in poverty than any other state. As the twenty-first century dawned, the state grappled with racism, high levels of toxic waste from the petrochemical industry, a depletion of its natural oil and gas resources, and state government.

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The twenty-first century

In August 2005, Hurricane Katrina destroyed the city of New Orleans and became one of the worst natural disasters in American history. Although the city had orders to evacuate, hundreds of thousands of residents were unable to leave before the hurricane hit. More than fourteen hundred people lost their lives in Louisiana, with 80 percent of them in New Orleans. Damages were estimated at $150 billion. Most of those who had been unable to leave were poor and of African American descent, a fact that brought to the fore once again the issue of race and class.

Louisiana in 2006 was home to nearly 4.3 million people, 32.5 percent of that population being African American. Many were descendants of families who lived there before the Civil War. Those of mixed blood are referred to locally as colored Creoles. Both Creoles and another cultural group, Cajuns, descend primarily from French immigrants. Only 2.6 percent of the state's population in 2006 was foreign born.

Louisiana is primarily an industrial state, but its industries are based on natural resources like oil, water, gas, and timber. Although education in the state lags behind much of the rest of the nation, Louisiana is rich in culture. New Orleans hosts an annual Mardi Gras, a popular carnival that traditionally lasts one month and includes parades and costumed balls. Thousands attend Mardi Gras each year. The celebration was scaled down after Hurricane Katrina destroyed much of the city. In addition to Mardi Gras, Louisiana is known for its Cajun cooking and is credited with making distinctive contributions to music in the form of **jazz** and Dixieland.

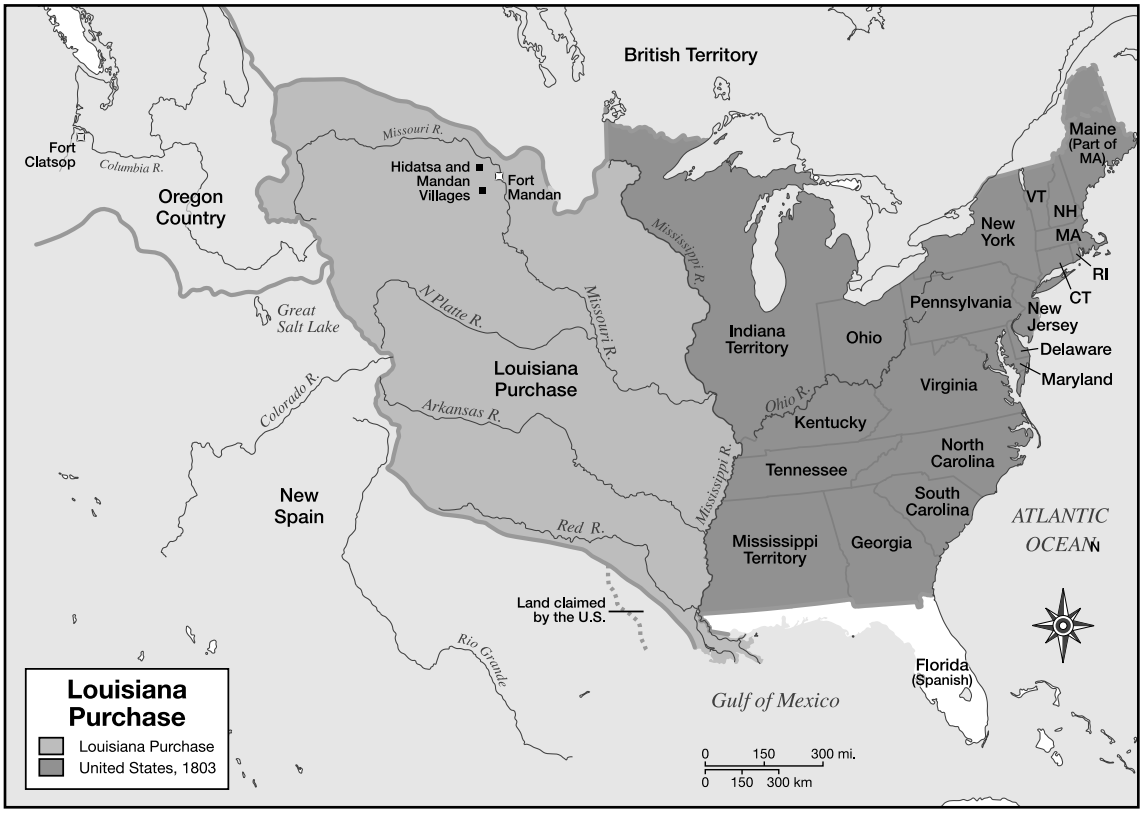
Louisiana Purchase

The Louisiana Purchase was an 1803 agreement in which France transferred to the United States a vast territory within its North American empire known as **Louisiana**, about 530 million acres lying between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. The United States paid France $15 million, or about 3 cents per acre. The lands transferred in the Louisiana Purchase comprise nearly one-quarter of the territory of the present-day United States.

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French Louisiana

When **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9) became president in 1801, Louisiana was a vast and vaguely defined territory. Notable mainly because it included the important port city of New Orleans, Louisiana had originally been part of French North America. In 1763, France had ceded Louisiana to Spain. In the spring of 1801, Jefferson received word of a series of secret agreements between French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) and Spain, in which Spain had restored the Louisiana region to France. Jefferson viewed this transfer with alarm because a powerful French colony in control of the mouth of the Mississippi River threatened American shipping and trade as well as **westward expansion**.



A map showing the Louisiana Purchase in relation to the other states in 1803. THE GALE GROUP

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When French officials took over Louisiana, they refused to allow U.S. goods to be stored at the port of New Orleans. To reach Atlantic markets, farmers and merchants in the Tennessee River and Ohio River valleys needed to ship their goods down the Mississippi. Some unhappy Americans supported war with France to gain this important port. Jefferson, hoping to avoid conflict, sent his minister to France, Robert Livingston (1746–1813), and later, **James Monroe** (1758–1831), to Paris. The president instructed them to seek France's guarantee that Americans could use the port at New Orleans and ship goods to the Atlantic from the Mississippi. Failing that, the ministers were instructed to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans and western **Florida** from France, limiting the amount they could spend to $9 million.

Napoleon had planned to create a large empire in North America, with its base on the French colonial island of Hispaniola (present-day Dominican Republic and Haiti). Just as the American ministers were preparing to negotiate over Louisiana in 1801, however, an incident in the Caribbean changed the French emperor's mind. In the sugar colony of Santo Domingo, on Hispaniola, an army of black slaves led by Toussaint-Louverture (c. 1743–1803) seized power, successfully overwhelming the French. The revolution on Hispaniola made Napoleon realize it was too costly and difficult to maintain distant French colonies in the Americas. He quite suddenly decided to unload all of the vast territory called Louisiana.

The purchase is signed

Livingston and Monroe did not hesitate in agreeing to purchase the entire region, despite the fact that their instructions called only for acquiring New Orleans and western Florida. The two men knew that the United States and its citizens desperately wanted land to expand the new country; this was an opportunity not to be missed. On April 30, 1803, Livingston, Monroe, and a French negotiator initialed agreements transferring the entire Louisiana region to the United States in exchange for $11.25 million. In addition, the United States assumed $3.75 million in claims of U.S. citizens against France. Yet the deal did not clearly define Louisiana, only describing it as the land that France had possessed before 1763. The French ministers were evasive about the region's limits.

Signing the agreement was not as easy for Jefferson. He understood that the acquisition of Louisiana had enormous implications for the

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nation's development, setting the stage for future increased trade and westward expansion. If Jefferson accepted the offer, the United States would double in area, and both banks of the Mississippi River would be under American control. But he had no clear constitutional authority to make such a purchase. Besides, there was opposition. New England Federalists feared that adding the huge region would tilt the balance of political power in the direction of western and southern states and were ready to debate the acquisition at length. Jefferson pondered a constitutional amendment to authorize the purchase. But given the dim prospects of approval and the unlikelihood that Napoleon's offer would wait, Jefferson decided to go ahead with the deal. Despite the questionable constitutionality of purchasing the region, Congress approved it as well.

U.S. Louisiana

In January 1803, three months before the deal was made, Jefferson had requested congressional funding for a cross-continental survey of the Louisiana region and beyond. The **Lewis and Clark Expedition** from 1804 to 1806, led by Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838), produced the first scientific and economic information about this land that had been purchased literally sight-unseen by the United States. The Lewis and Clark Expedition became the basis of a U.S. claim extending the limits of the Louisiana Territory as far west as the Columbia River region and as far south as western Florida and **Texas**. Spanish objections, first over the legality of France's sale of the territory and then over its boundaries, resulted in a dispute lasting until the signing of the Adams-Onis (or Transcontinental) Treaty in 1819, by which the United States gained all of Florida and a southern strip of **Alabama** and **Mississippi**, while Spain retained its claim to the Southwest, which was roughly the area of present-day Texas, **New Mexico**, **Colorado**, **Utah**, **Arizona**, **Nevada**, and **California**.

The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 virtually doubled the territorial extent of the United States. Out of the Louisiana Territory eventually emerged the states of Louisiana, **Arkansas**, **Iowa**, **Missouri**, **Nebraska**, **North Dakota**, **South Dakota**, **Oklahoma**, and parts of **Kansas**, **Minnesota**, Colorado, **Montana**, and **Wyoming**. Through this purchase, the United States became a continental power, controlled the continent's main navigation routes, and became the owner of vast new resources. These combined assets promised the young nation greater

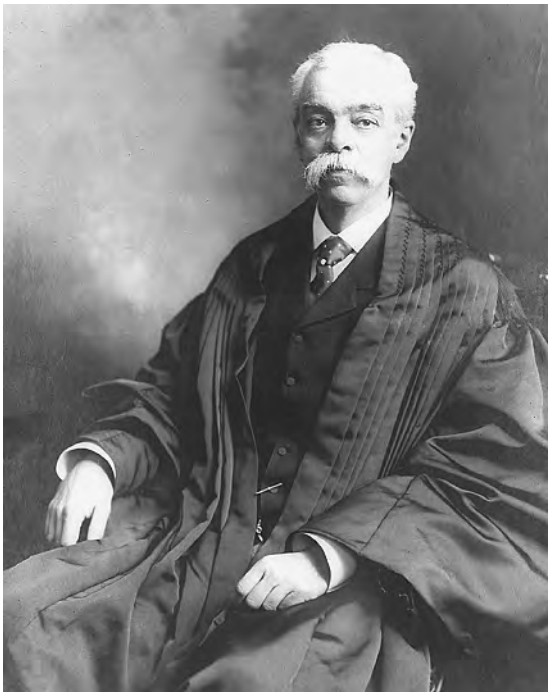
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economic independence from Europe and set a precedent for future territorial expansion all the way to the Pacific Ocean.

While the cost of the new territory amounted only to about 3 cents per acre, in the long run the United States paid a steep price. The question of whether or not to allow **slavery** in the new land was a major bone of contention between the North and South, necessitating the **Missouri Compromise** of 1820 and its eventual repeal in the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** of 1854. In this respect, the Louisiana Purchase can be understood to be one of the long-term causes of the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Lowell Mills

In 1815, most of the goods used by an American family were either made in the home or obtained from a local craftsperson. One of the first steps in the shift to the factory system was cottage labor, in which unfinished materials were distributed to workers (usually women) in their homes, to be completed and returned to the manufacturer. This method changed in the early nineteenth century, due in large part to the efforts of wealthy Boston businessman Francis Cabot Lowell (1775–1817).



Businessman Francis Lowell helped bring the efficient textile methods used in Britain to the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In 1810, Lowell had visited England's textile mills (cloth-making factories). He was impressed with British technology, particularly an automated weaving machine called the power loom (a frame or machine used to weave thread or yarn into cloth) that was not available in the United States. Back in **Massachusetts**, Lowell was able to create his own version of a working power loom with the help of a highly skilled mechanic. He then began to study other processes of textile production to determine how to carry out large-scale production at low cost. Textile mechanic Samuel Slater (1768–1835) had already successfully mechanized the spinning, or yarn-making, process, and other businesspeople had followed his example, creating the early factories in New England.

Knowing he would need large amounts of money to create a factory, in 1812 Lowell

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formed an association of wealthy investors, the Boston Associates. Two years later, the company had built the water-powered mill Lowell had envisioned. For the first time in the United States, raw bales of **cotton** could be transformed into bolts of cloth under one roof. The production process became known as the Waltham-Lowell system, named after the Massachusetts towns in which the four-story brick mills resided.

The Lowell Machines

The Boston Associates hired the best machinists they could find to build the advanced textile machinery that filled the company's mills. Waterwheels, wheels that rotate due to the force of moving water, powered the mills; the rotation of the wheel is then used to power a factory or machine. Belts ran up from the wheels to all floors to run the machines. Cotton, delivered to the mill in bales, traveled through the entire building, going through a different part of the manufacturing process in each room until exiting as finished cloth.

The machines in the Lowell textile mills only made one kind of cloth, and they were easy to operate without much training. The operators fed the threads into the machine and then allowed it to do the work, stopping the process only if threads broke or there was a malfunction. It was not easy to be a mill worker, though. For the total mill operation to run smoothly, all the machines had to be operating at the same time and at a steady speed. Factory work allowed for little independent action. Hours were long, and the work was repetitive.

The factory town

Lowell died in 1817, but the Boston Associates went on to build a complete factory town along the powerful Merrimack River in Massachusetts, naming it Lowell in his honor. They built more mills on the Merrimack in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Manchester, **New Hampshire**. Soon the largest waterwheel in the nation was built on the Merrimack, supplying power to a dozen large factories.

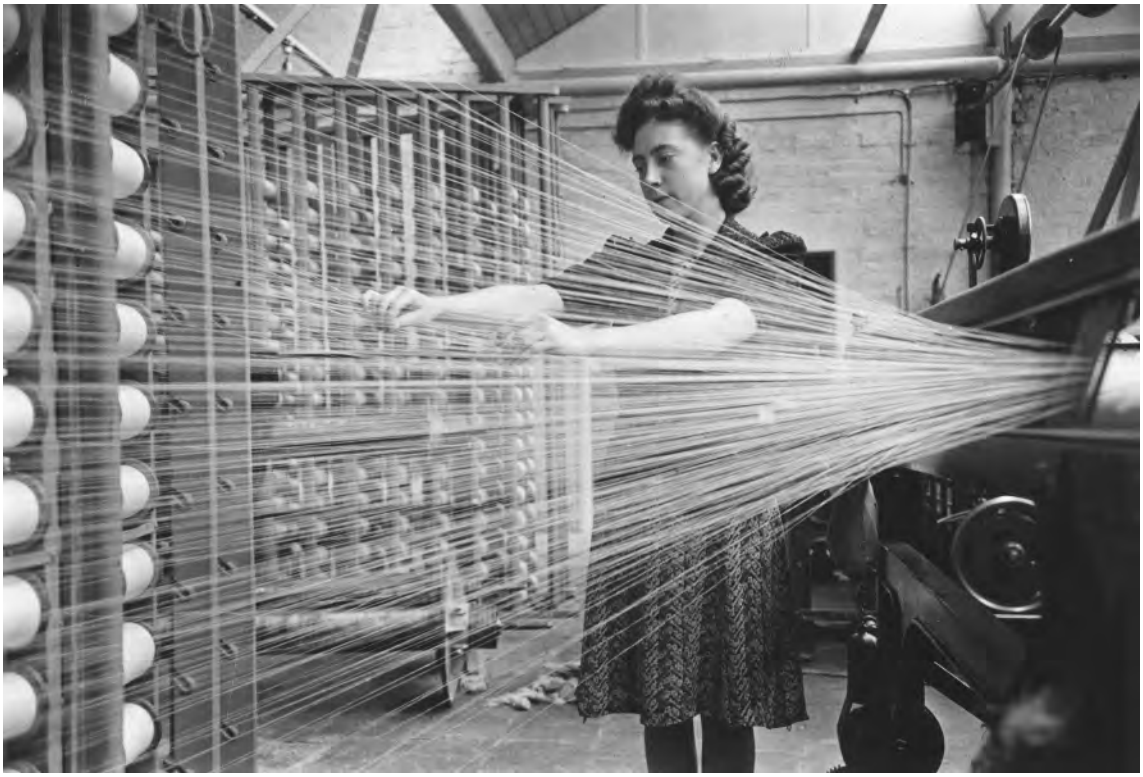
The new textile industry prospered. In 1832, 88 of the 106 largest American corporations were textile firms. By 1836, the Lowell mills employed six thousand workers. By 1848, the city of Lowell had a population of about twenty thousand and was the largest industrial center in America. Its mills produced fifty thousand miles of cotton cloth each year.

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The Lowell girls

Lowell had envisioned an ideal workforce for his mills—the unmarried daughters of New England farm families. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, many young women were eager to work in the mills, viewing it as a chance to be independent or to provide income for their families. The "Lowell girls," as they were called, usually ranged in age from about sixteen to thirty. Most worked two or three years at the mill before returning home to marry and start a family. By 1831, women made up almost forty thousand of the fifty-eight thousand factory workers in the textile industry.

The women who operated the machines in the Lowell mills earned $2.40 to $3.20 a week plus room and board. The Boston Associates tried to attract the young women to work for them by providing decent work



A worker in a textile mill's doubling room. The machines at the Lowell textile mills only made one kind of cloth and were easy to operate without much training. MERLYN SEVERN/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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and living conditions. They built factories that were clean and well lit. Understanding that single women living on their own feared for their safety and avoided circumstances that would stain their reputations, they established the country's first planned industrial communities, setting up rows of boardinghouses near the factories for their workers. The company paid responsible older women to run these boardinghouses and to enforce strict discipline on the residents, imposing curfews, requiring church attendance, and demanding chaperones for male visitors.

The Lowell mills demanded a twelve- to fourteen-hour workday. Factory bells announced times for leaving and entering the plant, and the employees were fined when they were late or broke other rules. The work did not demand great physical strength, but it did require constant attention.

The *Lowell Offering*

Many of the Lowell girls were eager to experience independence from family, and they made the most of their time away from home. It was common for young mill operators to spend their evening hours participating in reading groups, attending night school, going to lectures, or just reading on their own.

In October 1840, some of the women from the mills got together to produce and publish a sixteen-page journal called the *Lowell Offering,* the nation's first journal to be written solely by women. The *Offering,* which sold for about 6 cents a copy, published poems, articles, and stories contributed by mill women. In all, twenty-eight volumes of the journal were published, and it was hailed worldwide.

Workers rebel

The success of the Lowell mills encouraged other industrialists. Soon many new textile mills were producing cloth, and by the late 1830s the supply of cloth on the market had become greater than the demand for it. The Boston Associates made cost reductions at the expense of the workers, who were forced to tend more looms and spindles at once and to operate them at a faster speed. In 1836, with profits down, the Lowell managers actually reduced workers' wages and raised their boarding fees. Two thousand women walked off their jobs in protest. The company fired the leaders of the strike but called off the pay reductions.

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In 1837, the workers established the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association (LFLRA) and petitioned the Massachusetts state legislature to limit the workday to ten hours. No action was taken in response to their protest, but it signaled the end of the young women's work force at the mills. The Boston Associates soon started to replace them with poor immigrants who were willing to tolerate harsher conditions and lower pay. By 1860, one-half of Lowell's mill workers were impoverished Irish immigrants. (See **Irish Immigration**.)

Lusitania

On May 7, 1915, the British cruise ship *Lusitania* was sunk without warning by the German submarine U-20 off Kinsale, Ireland. All but 761 of the 1,959 passengers and crew were killed, including 128 Americans. The day the liner set sail just six days earlier, the German embassy in **Washington, D.C.**, published an advertisement in American newspapers warning travelers that they sailed British or Allied cruise ships at their own risk. For this reason, it was widely accepted as fact that the tragedy was premeditated.

This theory was brought into question years later when the log of the U-20 was published and showed that the submarine had sunk other ships and encountered the *Lusitania* by chance. Out of fear of being rammed, the submarine sank the cruise liner. Although an examination prior to sailing revealed no evidence that the liner was carrying ammunition, the ship was in fact loaded with 4,200 cases of small-arms ammunition as well as 1,250 shrapnel cases. This ammunition, when struck, could have contributed to the amazingly fast sinking of the ship. From the time of impact, just eighteen minutes passed before the liner was submersed.

Earlier that year, on February 10, 1915, the U.S. government had denied the legality of submarine warfare as practiced by Germany. It issued a warning that it would hold Germany accountable for the recognition of American rights on the high seas. Given that edict, the sinking of the *Lusitania* three months later incensed American diplomats and common citizens alike. President **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) demanded that Germany make amends for the crime and "disavow" it (claim it had no knowledge of it). The German government agreed to make reparations and eventually promised not to sink any more cruise liners without warning. But it refused to disavow the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

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Lynching

With the legalization of so-called **Jim Crow laws** in the American South that encouraged racism and **segregation** (separation of African Americans from whites), the year 1890 ushered in another violation of justice: the phenomenon of lynching (unlawful hanging by rope until death).

In the past, white supremacy groups (who believed other races to be inferior to whites) like the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK) sometimes used lynching as a way to try to control and threaten African American communities and populations. Mostly, the KKK tried to keep the African American race submissive by restricting their right and ability to vote. Even if the law permitted them to vote, the KKK terrorized African Americans into giving up that right in order to stay alive. Those who refused to be intimidated often were the victims of KKK violence and torture.

Lynching gained momentum beginning in 1890. Historians estimate that 233 lynchings took place between 1880 and 1884, and 381 from 1885 to 1889. From 1890 to 1894 lynchings hit an all-time high for the century of 611.

Antilynching campaign gains momentum

Local and state governments did nothing to deter the lynchings of the South. One brave woman, a teacher named Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862–1931), became known throughout the nation as leader of the antilynching campaign. Born in **Mississippi**, Wells-Barnett experienced the Jim Crow laws firsthand. When a conductor tried to force Wells-Barnett to give up her first-class accommodations and move to the Jim Crow car of the train, she refused. As the conductor tried to physically remove her, Wells-Barnett bit his hand and then was thrown off the train. Although she sued and won, the defendant eventually won in appeals court.

Wells-Barnett became co-owner of an African American newspaper in Memphis, **Tennessee**, called *The Free Speech & Headlight.* Her editorials and essays spoke out against racism and discrimination, and her writing got her fired from her teaching job. She turned to writing full time.

In 1892, three people, one a good friend of Wells-Barnett's, were lynched while defending their grocery store from white attackers who wanted to put the store out of business. In the scuffle, one of the own-

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ers shot one of the attackers. An outraged Wells-Barnett criticized the event in her newspaper and specifically discussed the evils of lynching. She encouraged African Americans to leave town. While out of town herself, a white mob ransacked and destroyed her newspaper office and warned her not to return. Wells-Barnett took her campaign to England, where she founded the National Afro-American Council and served as chairman of its Anti-Lynching Bureau. Wells-Barnett eventually helped establish the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP).

Lynching continued to be used as a terrorist weapon well into the twentieth century. Across the nation, nearly five thousand African Americans were lynched between the mid-1800s and 1955. Most of these victims were murdered because they were political activists or labor organizers. Others simply violated unspoken laws of how whites expected African Americans to behave.

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Douglas MacArthur

Douglas MacArthur is one of the most famous military generals in American history. He gained notoriety for his actions throughout **World War II** (1939–45) and during the first half of the **Cold War** (1945–91).

MacArthur was born into a military family on January 26, 1880, in **Arkansas**. A poor-to-average student, MacArthur claimed he could ride and shoot before he could read or write. He entered West Point military academy in 1899 and began to excel at his studies. MacArthur graduated at the top of his class in 1903 and boasted the highest scholastic average at the school in twenty-five years.

Rises through the ranks

After completing assignments in the Philippines and the Far East, during which he was promoted to first lieutenant, MacArthur returned to the states. He emerged as a remarkable talent and eccentric leader during **World War I** (1914–18), and his success earned him numerous military decorations. He became brigadier general and superintendent of West Point shortly after the war and held that position until 1922, the same year he married (he divorced seven years later). He held various positions until 1930, when President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33) appointed him chief of staff of the U.S. **Army**, a position he held until 1935.

In the 1920s and 1930s, many Americans were worried about the threat of communism. MacArthur shared the concern. Communism is an economic and political theory in which the government owns and con-

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General Douglas MacArthur gained notoriety for his actions throughout World War II and during the first half of the Cold War. AP IMAGES

trols the production and distribution of all goods and services. This concept was threatening to noncommunist countries because it ignored personal liberties and relied on harsh, often totalitarian, governments. The **Great Depression** (1929–41) had descended upon America in the 1930s. More than twenty thousand hungry war veterans and their families camped in shacks while waiting payment of their war services bonuses. Veterans of World War I were promised a monetary bonus that could initially be redeemed in 1945; because of economic hardships, some members of Congress recommended veterans be allowed to redeem them in 1933. The Depression was putting a serious strain on the nation's finances, however, so this matter was being furiously debated in the legislature. So these desperate veterans and their families decided to march on **Washington, D.C.**, to protest having to wait for their bonus money. When MacArthur learned of the protest, he led four troops of cavalry and numerous tanks and destroyed the makeshift camps that housed these peaceful protestors. No weapons were fired, but the cavalry used gas and swords, and blood was shed. A baby died from the gas attack, and before the event was over, fire broke out. No one was ever able to determine with absolute certainty how the fire started or which side was responsible. Although there was no basis for MacArthur's belief that this was a communist-led march, he claimed that by intervening, he had narrowly averted a communist revolution. MacArthur initially had approval to quell the protest from President Hoover. But when it became clear that the general was using such harsh measures on a peaceful crowd, Hoover twice ordered MacArthur not to pursue the marchers. MacArthur's reputation was hurt by his actions in what has become known as the Bonus March.

MacArthur returned to the Philippines in 1935 to develop a defensive strategy for the islands, which were under the control of America. He married again in 1937 and retired from the Army, although he continued his work with the government in the Philippines. MacArthur was recalled to active duty in 1941 as a lieutenant general and commander of U.S. forces in the Far East.

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The Japanese successfully invaded the Philippines in 1941 and defeated the Philippine army. It was a difficult defeat for the general since he supervised the creation and training of these troops, and he was ordered to withdraw and take command of Pacific operations during World War II.

Victory in the Pacific

MacArthur began the Pacific campaign with a shortage of both soldiers and supplies, but his forces soon achieved one victory after another. Thanks to a savvy press corps, MacArthur became a much-loved leader during the war, and he delivered more than one enthusiastic, if not melodramatic, speech that only further endeared him to the American public.

President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) appointed MacArthur supreme commander of the Allied Powers in Japan once the war was over. The commander used the next six years to reshape Japanese society, and he encouraged religious freedom, land reform, the emancipation of women, and other societal reforms.

The Korean War

In July 1950, President Truman appointed MacArthur commander of the United Nations (UN) forces in the **Korean War** (1950–53). Again, his brilliant leadership led to a major victory at the Battle of Inchon. MacArthur made an error, however, when he assured his troops that they would be home with their families in time for Christmas. He had not counted on the intervention of Chinese armies, who forced the UN troops to retreat in November 1950. President Truman, aware of MacArthur's tendencies to create conflict by taking matters into his own hands—as he had during the Great Depression—as well as by making inflammatory comments, had already warned him not to say things he should not. As a result of making promises to the troops that could not be kept, the president relieved MacArthur of his command in April 1951.

MacArthur returned to the states not with shame, but with pride. A supportive public greeted him and hailed him as a military hero. He eventually accepted a position as chairman of the board of the

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Remington Rand Corporation in August 1952. He died on April 5, 1964, at the age of eighty-four.

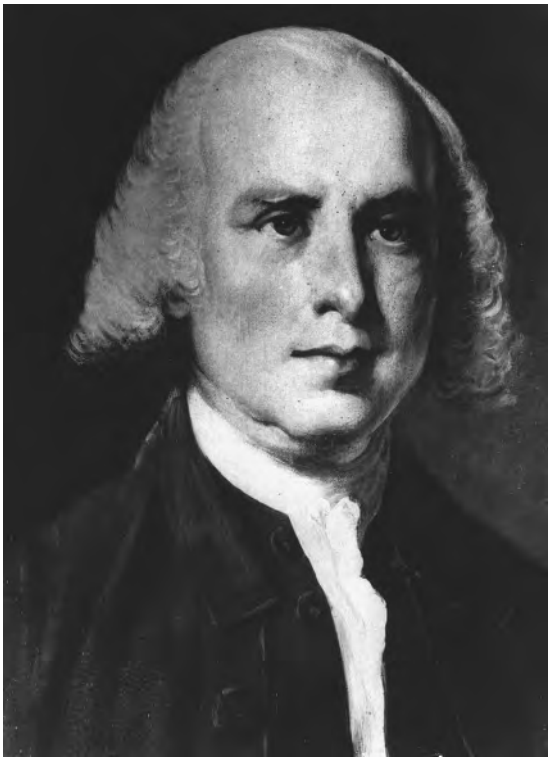
James Madison

James Madison played a major role in shaping the United States in its formative years and is probably more noted for his system of **checks and balances** in the central government and his part in framing the U.S. **Constitution** than for his presidency. His keen political insight and philosophy continue to guide American policies in present times.

Virginia background

Madison was born on March 16, 1751. He was raised in Orange County, **Virginia**, on a large, slave-owning plantation. He received a strong education and graduated from Princeton University (then called the College of New Jersey) in 1771. Since his teachers were clergymen, he was well versed in Christian thought, but he also took an avid interest in the European philosophers of the Enlightenment, an intellectual movement of the eighteenth century, who promoted human reason as the path to a better, more balanced society.

James Madison kept a complete record of the entire Constitutional Convention, during which he gave more than two hundred speeches. Madison later became president of the United States. AP IMAGES



American Revolution

In 1776, Madison participated in the Virginia convention that drew up a resolution for independence from Britain and drafted a new state constitution. In 1780, he was elected to represent Virginia in the new nation's Congress. At twenty-nine, he was Congress's youngest member.

The Congress Madison entered was not like Congress today. During the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the **Articles of Confederation** had been adopted to structure a union among the former colonies. The Articles provided the original thirteen states (**Connecticut**, **Delaware**, **Georgia**, **Maryland**, **Massachusetts**, **New Hampshire**, **New Jersey**,

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New York, **North Carolina**, **Pennsylvania**, **Rhode Island**, **South Carolina**, and Virginia) with far more power than the central government. Madison, along with statesmen **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804) and **George Washington** (1732–1799), believed that the regions of the United States would have to unite under a strong central government to maintain independence from Europe. Their position became known as **federalism**. Opponents of federalism feared that a strong national government would threaten the freedom of individuals.

Framing the Constitution

A convention to improve the Articles of Confederation was called in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1787. Madison submitted a plan to replace the Articles altogether. Known as the Virginia Plan, it called for three separate sections of government: the **executive branch**, the **legislative branch**, and the **judicial branch**. Each would have well-defined powers that would guard against any one branch becoming stronger than the others. The national government would possess broad general powers, while the states would possess local powers.

One of the first of many debates at the **Constitutional Convention** was over Madison's concept of a president as leader of the executive branch. Many Americans worried that with a powerful leader and a strong central government, they would return to the kind of tyranny they had experienced under the English king and parliament.

Another area of conflict was whether each state should have an equal vote in the central government or if each state should be represented according to its population. The small states feared that the large ones would unfairly outweigh them. Madison supported representation according to population. A compromise was proposed, creating a legislature consisting of two houses, one in which each state would be represented according to population (the House of Representatives), and one in which each state would have equal representation (the Senate). Both sides finally accepted this "Great Compromise," which became the basis for today's Congress.

For Madison, the Constitutional Convention represented a period of almost superhuman effort. He gave more than two hundred speeches and kept a complete record of the entire convention. Writing tirelessly, he took notes in shorthand all day long, then recopied them at night.

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Because of this achievement, history has a nearly perfect account of the shaping of the Constitution.

On September 17, 1787, the final draft of the Constitution was approved. It was ratified (approved by two-thirds of the states) the following year. Although the Constitution was the result of many compromises, its basis could be found in the checks and balances system of Madison's Virginia Plan.

Bill of Rights

Two years after the adoption of the Constitution, a movement began for a bill of rights, a list of the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution (such as freedom of speech, press, and religion, and the right to a fair trial). Madison assumed leadership of the movement, introducing the subject to the House of Representatives in June 1789. After lengthy debate, the House agreed to place the **Bill of Rights** in a series of amendments to the Constitution. In March 1792, Secretary of State **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826) announced that these ten amendments, now known as the Bill of Rights, were in effect.

Clash of the Federalists

During the ratification process of the Constitution, Madison cooperated with Hamilton and John Jay (1745–1829) on a series of essays called *The Federalist* (commonly known as the *Federalist Papers*) in 1787 and 1788, with the purpose of explaining and promoting the new Constitution. When Madison entered the House of Representatives in 1789, however, he soon found himself opposing Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury. Now on opposite sides, the two Federalists differed on how much power could appropriately be wielded by the new central government. Madison joined Jefferson in opposing Hamilton's proposal for federal assumption of state debts and a national bank, arguing that the president lacked the constitutional authority to initiate them. With Jefferson, he formed a party—the **Democratic-Republican Party**—to combat the power of Hamilton's **Federalist Party**.

Presidency and war

Madison served as secretary of state under President Jefferson and was then elected president (serving from 1809 to 1817). As Jefferson's secre-

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tary of state, Madison oversaw the **Louisiana Purchase**, a $15 million purchase from France that nearly doubled the size of the United States. During Jefferson's second term, a conflict between Britain and France began to involve neutral American ships. The British practice of **impressment**, whereby American sailors were kidnapped and forced to serve in the Royal Navy, aggravated relations. The troubles only grew in Madison's first years as president. In June 1812, he asked Congress to declare war on Britain. The ensuing conflict, the **War of 1812** (1812–15), lasted for two and a half years. At first, the U.S. military was inadequate to the task, and in August 1814 the British burned much of the new capital city, **Washington, D.C.** Finally, under General **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845), the United States defeated the British at New Orleans.

In his final two years as president, Madison proposed several innovative programs. The building of canals and roads and the establishment of a national university and a new national bank were among his most important recommendations. By the time his second term ended, the United States was stronger and Americans were reveling in war-inspired nationalism. His wife, Dolley Madison (1768–1849), was one of the most fashionable and popular presidents' wives in history.

Retirement

Madison retired to Virginia after his term in the White House, taking part in Virginia politics from time to time. He died on June 28, 1836, the last of the nation's founding fathers.

Magna Carta

The Magna Carta (a Latin phrase meaning "Great Paper" or "Great Charter") was originally an English document issued in 1215. An army led by English barons forced King John (1167–1216) to sign it. The purpose of the document was to clarify the king's power over the barons, the church, clergymen, and the free people of certain towns. King John repudiated part of the Magna Carta shortly after approving it, sparking a civil war, called the First Barons' War, in which the king died. Future kings reissued the document, or particular chapters or clauses (separate sections) from it, many times. All of these various documents are referred to together as the Magna Carta.

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A copy of the Magna Carta, signed by King John of England, clarifying the king's power over his people.
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The 1215 document was not the first to limit the power of the king. Nor did it have a tremendous impact on lives generally, as it applied only to barons, clergy, and certain free people, not to the masses or servants. English monarchs easily found ways to avoid restrictions in the document. Still, the Magna Carta was an important step in the history of taking power from the ruling class for the benefit of the governed.

Historians and scholars trace provisions of the U.S. **Constitution** and federal laws back to the Magna Carta. For example, clause twelve

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restricted the king to imposing taxes only "with the common council of the realm." This provision contributed to the American stance against taxation without representation in government. It also contributed to the elevation of property rights in the American system of government.

In another influential provision, clause thirty-nine of the charter states, "No freeman shall be arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freedom, or outlawed … unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." This served as a basis for the American rights of trial by jury and of due process of law in judicial proceedings.

The Magna Carta also contained a clause that mentioned the freedom of the church. At the time, this simply meant that the official, established church had a right to be free from royal abuse and corruption. It was far from a guarantee of religious freedom, which the American system first established with adoption of the **Bill of Rights** in 1791.

In 1787, the United States wrote a Constitution that state conventions approved in 1788. As a condition of approval, many convention delegates insisted that the federal government adopt a Bill of Rights to protect the rights and freedoms of American citizens. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights contain certain provisions that descend from provisions in the Magna Carta. Many Americans consider the Constitution and its amendments to continue a tradition of freedom begun by the Magna Carta. Other Americans believe that like the Magna Carta, the Constitution and Bill of Rights actually protect the interests of society's ruling classes more than the rights and freedoms of the citizens.

Maine

Maine entered the Union as the twenty-third state, on March 15, 1820. Located in the extreme northeastern corner of the United States, Maine is the most easterly state and ranks thirty-ninth in size among the fifty. It is bordered by Canada, **New Hampshire**, and the Atlantic Ocean.

As early as 1600, English expeditions began fishing the Gulf of Maine. Within thirty years, there were English settlements on several of the many islands off the coast, as well as along mainland Maine's coastline. The government of **Massachusetts Bay Colony** began taking over the small settlements in 1652, and Maine became a district of **Massachusetts** in 1691. For the first hundred years of Maine's settlement, its economy was based on fishing, farming, trading, and forestry.

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Textile mills and shoe factories were built in Maine between 1830 and 1860, but it was papermaking that brought lively new industry to the state after the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Until then, paper had been made from rags (cloth), but a new process replaced rags with wood pulp. By 1900, Maine was a leader in the paper-making industry, and continues into the twenty-first century.

Maine was home to more than 1.3 million people in 2006. The majority (96.6 percent) of the population was white. The next largest ethnic group was **Native Hawaiian**/Pacific Islander (0.8 percent), then African American (0.7 percent). Thirty percent of the population was between the ages of forty-five and sixty-four.

Maine was a state of Republicans for the first hundred years after its formation in the 1850s, but that changed as more French-Canadian voters migrated to the state. Twenty-first century Maine is largely a Democratic state.

The economy of Maine depends heavily upon its natural resources. The state's largest industry during the first decade of the twenty-first century was paper manufacturing, which relies on forests and water power. Other manufacturing includes wood products, footwear, shipbuilding, and electronic components. Although agriculture is not a leading industry in Maine, the state does produce more food crops for human consumption than any other state in New England.

There are no professional sports teams in Maine, but the state hosts millions of tourists each year, most of whom arrive in the months of July, August, and September. Visitors enjoy the area's beaches, and activities such as hunting, sailing, and skiing are popular.

Maine (U.S.S.), Sinking of

Spanish rule in Cuba was based on repression (the act of dominating and controlling people with force), and the Cubans revolted in 1895. Spain's response was to round up three hundred thousand Cubans and put them in camps where they could not help the rebels. Spain's behavior angered many Americans, who believed Cuba should be independent of Spanish rule.

Throughout 1897, President **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) tried to convince Spain to give Cuba its independence. In November of that year, Spain gave Cuba limited independence

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and closed the camps. (Limited independence meant that regarding political matters within Cuba, it could govern itself; international matters would still be governed by Spain.) The peace was short lived; in January 1898, pro-Spanish demonstrators rioted on the streets of Havana, Cuba. McKinley sent the U.S. battleship *Maine* to the Havana harbor to protect American citizens who had arrived to help Cuba and to let Spain know that America still valued its relationship with Cuba.

The Spanish minister to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme (1851–1904), wrote a private letter to a friend back in Spain that was intercepted by the Cubans. The Cubans, in turn, leaked the letter to the U.S. media. The letter described McKinley as weak and indicated that the Spanish were not negotiating in good faith with the United States. Published in the *New York Journal,* the letter infuriated Americans, who saw it as an attack on the honor of both their president and their nation.

The situation worsened when the *Maine* exploded and sank on February 15, 1898. The explosion killed 266 crewmembers. A U.S. **Navy** investigation concluded that the explosion had been caused by an outside source, presumably a Spanish mine. (More recent scholarship has speculated, however, that the explosion probably occurred because of internal problems with the ship itself.) McKinley did not want to go to war, but he saw no alternative at this point. He ordered U.S. ships to block Cuba's ports; America and its president wanted an end to the Cuban crisis. On April 23, 1898, Spain declared war on the United States. Two days later, America declared war on Spain. The **Spanish-American War** lasted just over three months. Fewer than four hundred American soldiers died in battle; many more died from disease. Cuba remained independent, but Spain ceded Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States for $20 million.

Malcolm X

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, **Nebraska**, one of eight children in his family. His father, Earl Little, was a Baptist preacher who was deeply influenced by the black nationalism (racial separatism) promoted by the leader of the Back to Africa movement of the 1920s, Marcus Garvey (1887–1940).

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Malcolm X was instrumental in organizing mosques throughout the country and attracting young people to the Nation of Islam. AP IMAGES

Childhood

During Malcolm X's early childhood, Earl Little's outspoken preaching and civil rights activism caught the attention of a white supremacist group (an organized group that believes white people should rule over those of other races). The Littles received several death threats and were forced to move several times, but they failed to escape from the white supremacists. Their house was burned down in 1929. In 1931, Earl Little was found dead on some streetcar tracks. Though the police called it an accident or suicide, his family knew it was the work of the white supremacists. In the difficult years that followed, Malcolm X's mother, Louise, had an emotional breakdown. She was committed to a mental hospital in 1939. Her children, including Malcolm, were sent to live in foster homes in western **Michigan**.

After living with several foster families, Malcolm X moved to Boston, **Massachusetts**, to live with his sister Ella. Although he had been an exceptional student through middle school, he dropped out of high school. He became a petty crook involved in gambling, prostitution, drug peddling, and theft. In 1946, he was arrested for robbery, for which he served six and a half years in prison.

Joins Nation of Islam

While Malcolm X was in jail, he learned about the Nation of Islam, an African American religious and political movement based on the Muslim faith. The Nation of Islam advocated strict moral purity and self-help for its members. Like Garvey's followers in the 1920s, Black Muslims (members of the Nation of Islam) denounced whites, opposed integration (becoming a part of a mixed society), and called for black pride, independent black institutions, and ultimately a separate black nation. The Nation of Islam's leader at that time, Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975), advised Malcolm X through letters to give up his vices and educate himself. Malcolm X began an intense period of self-education, making good use of the prison library, and joined the Nation of Islam.

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After his release from prison, Malcolm X rose swiftly in the Nation of Islam. He was instrumental in organizing mosques (Muslim places of worship) throughout the country and attracting young people to the organization. His skills as an organizer were surpassed only by his public speaking ability, which he had developed while in prison. In 1953, Malcolm discarded his surname, Little, because it had been handed down to his family from a slave master. He took on the "X" to stand for the African tribal name he would never know. A year later, Malcolm X was named minister of New York Mosque No. 7, which soon became the largest group of Muslims in the country.

Going against the tide

In the 1950s, Malcolm X did not directly participate in the **civil rights movement** that had recently been launched by the **Supreme Court** decision in ***Brown v. Board of Education*** (1954), which called for the **desegregation of public schools** (the elimination of the separation of the races). He did not agree with the civil rights movement's quest for desegregation. He believed that African Americans should remain separate from the white population because, in his view, American society was racist and always would be. He forced African Americans to seriously question the value of integration into a society that had exploited them, discriminated against them, deprived them of basic rights, and separated them from the mainstream.

In 1963, television news across the country showed police brutally mistreating nonviolent black civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama (see **Birmingham protests**). When the federal government failed to respond to the abuse immediately, Malcolm X severely criticized President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–63; served 1961–63) for his administration's inaction. He ridiculed the **March on Washington** for Jobs and Freedom later that year, characterizing it as a media event rather than a militant protest for civil rights. The racist violence against African Americans in the South, ranging from church bombings to the open assassination of civil rights activists, convinced him that the civil rights movement could not change deep-seated racial hatred and decades-long patterns of discrimination in America.

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Beyond the Nation of Islam

By the early 1960s, Malcolm X had become a vital voice in the country. He appeared regularly in the media, usually surrounded by intimidating bodyguards, speaking with determined confidence, and jabbing his finger in the air to underscore his points. Many black Americans admired him and many whites feared him. Black and white civil rights leaders committed to nonviolence and integration publicly rejected his separatist message and his advocacy of armed self-defense.

By 1963, Malcolm X had become discontented with the Nation of Islam. He was convinced that Elijah Muhammad was not sincere, and it was clear to observers that Muhammad was jealous of Malcolm X's influ-



By the early 1960s, Malcolm X had become a vital voice in the country, appearing regularly in the media and speaking to groups around the country. AP IMAGES

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ence in African American communities nationwide. In 1963, as the American public mourned the death of President Kennedy, Malcolm X publicly stated that the assassination amounted to "chickens coming home to roost" (meaning Kennedy's death was punishment for something he had done earlier in his life). Muhammad suspended him from the Nation of Islam.

A religious conversion

During this suspension, Malcolm X traveled to Mecca (the holy city of Islam, in Saudi Arabia) and then throughout North Africa, where he discovered Orthodox Islam (the main, or traditional, teachings of Islam). His new embrace of Islam greatly changed his views. When he returned to the United States in 1964, Malcolm X rejected racism of all kinds, spoke of a common bond linking humanity, and conceded that some whites did want to end racism. He formally broke with the Nation of Islam and changed his name to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. In June 1964, Malcolm X founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). His political leanings moved toward socialism, a social and economic system that strives for the equal distribution of wealth by getting rid of private property and abolishing ruling classes.

After leaving the Nation of Islam, Malcolm did not abandon all of his black nationalist convictions; he still talked of black-sponsored business ventures, black-run schools, and a cultural revitalization of African American communities. However, he did move closer to some of the more traditional civil rights leaders. By mid-1964, Malcolm X supported a number of nonviolent civil rights tactics, including rent strikes, boycotts, and cooperation with sympathetic whites. He incorporated some of the goals of **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968)—whom he met only once, in March 1964—into the OAAU.

His death

On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was giving a talk in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City when three members of the Nation of Islam shot and killed him.

Malcolm X once predicted that he would become more important in death than life. His influence was strong in the late 1960s after his death. His powerful image continued to shape the direction of the

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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the **Black Power movement**, and the **Black Panther Party**. The anger that Malcolm sought to channel into political action exploded in the 1965 Watts (Los Angeles) riot and the string of rebellions in Newark, **New Jersey**, and Detroit, Michigan, in 1967. By the 1990s, Malcolm X had become a folk hero to a large population of African Americans. Rap artists chanted his words; murals, hats, T-shirts, and posters displayed his piercing gaze; and his life was memorialized in a 1992 feature film.

Manhattan Project

The Manhattan Project is the name of the program that developed the **atomic bomb** in the 1940s. The United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in 1945 to end **World War II** (1939–45). Ever since then, the world has wrestled with the problem of how to prevent a nuclear war.

Nuclear potential

The atomic bomb is a military weapon based on the science of splitting the nuclei within certain elements. (The nucleus is the center of an atom, the smallest part of a chemical element.) The splitting process is called nuclear fission, and the elements that are used in the process are uranium and plutonium.

Nuclear fission was discovered by scientists in Germany in late 1938. Physicists throughout the world quickly recognized the possibility of using the enormous energy released in this reaction to build weapons. There were, however, many questions to answer about the new science and challenges to overcome before a bomb could be built.

Both Germany and England investigated the possibility of a nuclear weapon early in World War II, but the war quickly demanded their full attention. Only the United States had sufficient resources and the scientific manpower to undertake the project at the time.

The development of a nuclear weapon

The United States was fearful that Germany, led by Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), might develop an atomic bomb. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) initiated secret

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research to produce the first weapon. The project became known as the Manhattan Project.

In 1939, funding was increased to allow theoretical and experimental research to move more quickly. In 1942, the Office of Scientific Research and Development began overseeing feasibility studies in laboratories. By mid-1942, it was obvious that new factories would have to be built. Congress approved a special fund for the president to use for secret projects, and in December 1942 Roosevelt approved $400 million for the project. By the end of the war, funding for the project totaled an enormous and unforeseen $2 billion.

With such immense funding and pressure to produce a weapon to use during the war, General Leslie Groves (1896–1970), who was in charge of the project, initiated research in as many areas as possible at the same time. No approach was to be disregarded until proven unsatisfactory. In December 1942, physicist Enrico Fermi (1901–1954) succeeded in producing and controlling a chain reaction of fission in a reactor built at the University of Chicago.

To support further research, top-secret plants were constructed. A plutonium-generating reactor was built in Hanford, **Washington**. A gas-diffusion facility was built in Oak Ridge, **Tennessee**, and a physics research lab was constructed in Los Alamos, **New Mexico**.

Scientists at Los Alamos worked to overcome the technical problem of how to amass fissionable material and shape it into a bomb. Uranium and a newly created element, plutonium, were at the center of the research. Eventually, two types of bombs were developed at Los Alamos. The first bomb was tested successfully in a southern New Mexican desert at Alamogordo on July 16, 1945. The explosion shook the earth with the power of twenty thousand tons of dynamite, and it was the beginning of the atomic age.

The end of World War II

By summer 1945, Germany and Italy had surrendered to the United States and its **Allies**. Japan, however, was not willing to surrender, despite aggressive attacks from the United States. President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53), after issuing several warnings and demands for surrender, gave orders to use the atomic bomb as a military weapon.

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On August 6, 1945, the bomber ***Enola Gay*** dropped a uranium bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. It totally destroyed four square miles of the city and killed more than fifty thousand people. Then on August 9, 1945, a bomber approached Japan. This time it headed for the city of Nagasaki and dropped a plutonium bomb. It destroyed one-third of the city and killed more than forty thousand people. The Japanese surrendered days later.

Manifest Destiny and Expansionism

Today it is taken for granted that the United States spans from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Coast and has defined borders with Mexico and Canada. When the country was founded in the late eighteenth century, however, the future size of the nation was by no means apparent. In 1790, 95 percent of Americans lived east of the Appalachian Mountains, which served as the western border of the original **thirteen colonies**. The United States held less than 900,000 square miles of territory on the eastern seaboard—far less than the 3.5 million square miles the country occupies today. Lands west of the Appalachians were claimed by native peoples and various European nations.

As soon as the nation won its independence, the American people began looking for new places to settle. Eager to spread "American ideals," expansionists, people who wanted to see the nation expand its borders, looked to the vast regions west and south of the original thirteen states. Two vast regions had been added to the United States by the early nineteenth century: the Northwest Territory (present-day **Illinois**, **Indiana**, **Michigan**, **Ohio**, **Wisconsin**, and part of **Minnesota**) and the Louisiana Territory (present-day **Arkansas**, **Iowa**, **Louisiana**, **Missouri**, **Nebraska**, **North Dakota**, **Oklahoma**, **South Dakota**, and parts of **Colorado**, **Kansas**, Minnesota, **Montana**, and **Wyoming**).

American expansionism was fueled by the young nation's population growth. Pioneer settlement in the Northwest Territory resulted in an increase in farmland and overall crop production. A continuous influx of immigrants from Europe supplied more farmers and farm workers, as well as laborers for the factories that had opened across New England and the Mid-Atlantic. The population grew rapidly. In the two decades between 1840 and 1860 alone, the U.S. population more than doubled,

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A wagon train makes its way westward to new settlements. Manifest Destiny promoted expansion but ignored the rights of Native Americans who were already residing on the land. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

increasing from about 17 million to more than 38 million. As the eastern seaboard cities grew, a system of new canals, steamboats, roads, and railroads also opened up the interior to increased settlement. By 1850, almost half the population lived outside the original thirteen states.

An American destiny

The idea of Manifest Destiny had emerged around the 1820s. Speaking for millions of Americans, President **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–29) maintained that it was God's will that a large and powerful United States would encompass the entire North American continent. This emerging concept included a sense of moral virtue—that Americans had the God-given mission to expand and develop the continent. He also expressed that it was a natural right to grow and to prosper while doing so—that this was nothing short of the "pursuit of happiness" promised in the **Declaration of Independence.**

Journalist John L. O'Sullivan (1813–1895) first coined the term "Manifest Destiny" in 1845 in an article he wrote for the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review.* He described Manifest Destiny as the nation's divine and historical destiny "to overspread the continent allotted by Providence [God's design] for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions" (as quoted in Reginald C. Stuart's book *United*

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States Expansionism and British North America, 1775–1871). Behind O'Sullivan's noble description of Manifest Destiny lay more basic human motivations: the hungering for riches, the longing to possess land, and the search for a good life—the dream of the West's common man. Expansionists argued that American democracy itself depended on widespread landownership.

Whose natural rights?

The expansion advocated by the doctrine of Manifest Destiny came at the expense of other people, especially Native Americans and Mexicans in the Southwest, whose destinies and natural rights were often overlooked by the American public. Manifest Destiny was often used as a rationalization, or excuse, for trampling upon the rights—as well as the lands and resources—of others. One pro-expansion faction, led by U.S. senator Thomas Hart Benton (1782–1858) of Missouri, voiced a decidedly racist justification for taking the land. "It would seem that the White race alone received the divine command to subdue and replenish the earth," Benton wrote in 1846, as quoted by Page Stegner in *Winning the Wild West: The Epic Saga of the American Frontier, 1800–1899*. He said that unless Native Americans could adapt to the civilization brought by U.S. settlers, they faced certain destruction.

The concept of expanding the country's borders to include such a large amount of territory was by no means shared by all. The **Whig Party** believed that trying to govern too much territory might, in the long run, destroy the new government. Many believed that trying to reach the western shores of the continent by land was hopelessly dangerous. To settle those uncivilized lands by bringing women and children to them was considered savage.

Realizing the ideal

The fervor of Manifest Destiny was perhaps best illustrated by the U.S. expansion into **Oregon** and **California**. In the 1830s, other nations ruled the two sparsely populated areas: Oregon by England and California by Mexico. Expansionists advertised the areas as heavenly, ideal places, spawning in many people an urgent desire, or "fever," to migrate, despite the many hardships of traveling through the wilderness and settling beyond the reaches of American civilization. During the 1840s, the United States gained control of both regions.

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Between 1845 and 1848, with the annexation (addition) of the independent Republic of **Texas** and the acquisition of the vast Southwest Territory after the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), the United States acquired more than one million square miles of land. In 1853, southern **Arizona** was acquired from Mexico, completing the acquisition of the territory that would eventually become the contiguous United States (all but **Alaska** and **Hawaii**).

Marbury v. Madison

The U.S. **Supreme Court** case of *Marbury v. Madison* was decided on February 24, 1803. At issue was a simple dispute around the political appointment of William Marbury to justice of the peace in **Washington, D.C.** The issues surrounding the appointment, however, were complex. The conflict really involved the distribution of governmental power among the three sections of government: the **legislative branch**, the **executive branch**, and the **judicial branche**.

Political positioning

The election of 1800 signaled an important change in the political climate of the nation. Through presidents **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) and **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801), the **Federalist Party** had enjoyed a period of great influence, defining the powers of the new American government under the **Constitution** of 1787. The election of 1800 put **Democratic-Republican Party** candidate **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9) in the White House and gave that party control of Congress beginning in its 1801 term. This threatened certain governmental policies the Federalists had implemented during their control of the federal government.

Before Adams left office and Congress shifted to the Democratic-Republicans, both worked to strengthen Federalist control of the judiciary. Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801. Under it, the number of justices on the Supreme Court was reduced from six to five, sixteen circuit courts were established (with judges appointed by the president), and several other minor judicial posts were created.

Reducing the number of Supreme Court justices would prevent Jefferson from naming a replacement the next time a justice died or left

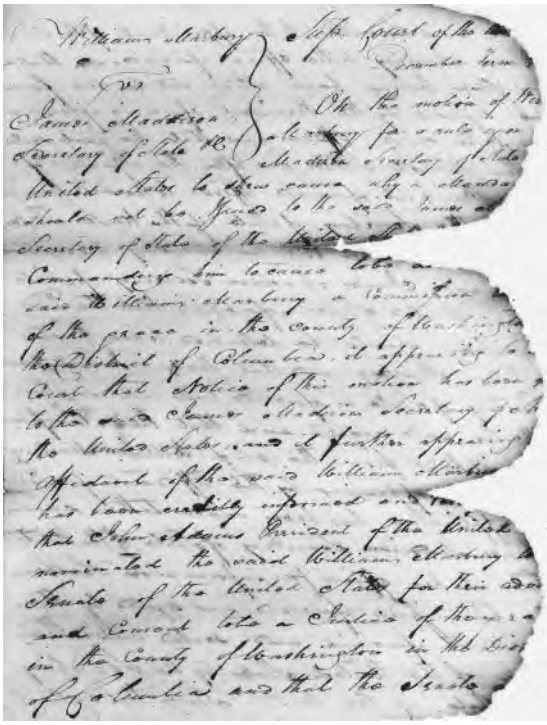
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office. Additionally, Adams appointed his secretary of state, John Marshall (1755–1835), to an existing vacancy for chief justice of the Supreme Court. This placed the Supreme Court securely under Federalist control.

Creating circuit courts and minor courts allowed Adams to appoint Federalists to new judicial positions as the Democratic-Republicans were taking power. Adams managed to get his appointments through Congress for approval during the last days of his administration. Adams and Secretary of State Marshall, however, failed to have all the commissions delivered to the appointees by the time Adams's term ended on March 4, 1801. One of the commissions that had not been delivered was for Marbury's justice of the peace post.

The case

Jefferson was well aware of Adams's plan to pack the judiciary with Federalists. When Jefferson took office, he and his secretary of state, **James Madison** (1751–1836), refused to deliver the remaining commissions to the waiting appointees. As a result, Marbury filed a lawsuit against Madison directly in the U.S. Supreme Court, where Marshall now sat as the chief justice.



The show-cause order issued to James Madison in 1803 as part of the **Marbury v. Madison** *case. The result of the case expanded judicial power tremendously.* NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

According to section thirteen of the Judiciary Act of 1789, the Supreme Court had the power to issue a court order demanding that official acts be carried out. Such an order is called a writ of mandamus. Marbury asked the Court to issue a writ of mandamus to force Madison to perform his duty of delivering the undelivered commissions.

Jefferson and his administration effectively ignored the Court case. The president resented judicial interference in what he considered to be an executive function.

The Supreme Court decided the case by a unanimous vote of five to zero. Chief Justice Marshall, who had failed to deliver Marbury's commission by the end of Adams's term, wrote the opinion for the Court. Marshall rebuked President Jefferson, declaring that Marbury had

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a right to receive the commission. The Court, however, lacked the power to issue a writ of mandamus, according to Marshall. Congress, said the Court, had acted beyond its own power under the U.S. Constitution when it passed section thirteen of the Judiciary Act to give the Supreme Court the power to hear cases for writs of mandamus. Therefore, the Court decided, that section of the Judiciary Act was unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court could not exercise power under it.

Marshall's opinion was a political masterpiece, according to many legal scholars. Marshall avoided direct conflict with Jefferson by saying the Court lacked the power to issue the writ of mandamus. The result, however, expanded judicial power tremendously. It said the federal judiciary has power to decide when a law passed by Congress violates the U.S. Constitution. This power, called judicial review, is controversial. Scholars, historians, and other Americans disagree sharply about whether judicial review is an important part of the system of **checks and balances** or whether it gives the judiciary too much power over laws passed by the people's representatives in Congress.

March on Washington (1963)

The 1963 March on Washington, in which a quarter million people demonstrated for civil rights on the grounds of the **Lincoln Memorial** in **Washington, D.C.**, was the largest demonstration for human rights the country had ever seen. Officially known as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, the march was the idea of A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979), the founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union, who had been a labor and civil rights activist for nearly four decades.

The 1941 proposed march

Randolph had proposed the first March on Washington in 1941 during **World War II** (1939–45), when, despite the accelerating war economy, African Americans were barred from jobs in the war industry. When President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) failed to act to remedy this situation, Randolph called for fifty thousand African Americans to descend on Washington, D.C., in protest. President Roosevelt turned to moderate civil rights leaders, such as Walter White (1893–1955), the executive director of the **National**

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Hundreds of thousands of people assembled in Washington, D.C., in 1963 for the March on Washington for jobs and freedom, the largest demonstration for human rights the country had ever seen. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to help him ease the tensions, but Randolph refused to back down. African American newspapers publicized the proposed march, and the estimated number of potential protesters grew. Facing the prospects of an embarrassing march, in June 1941 President Roosevelt issued an executive order calling for an end to discrimination in defense industries.

After 1941, the March on Washington group continued to meet annually to discuss African American demands for economic equality. As the African American **civil rights movement** emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, black leaders began to discuss and plan a new march. Their goal was to prompt the federal government to act on pending civil rights legislation that was lagging in Congress. Chaired by Randolph and organized by fellow civil rights activist Bayard Rustin (1912–1987), the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom sought to bring more than one hundred thousand people to the nation's capital. Two top civil rights

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organizations, the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC) and the NAACP, put aside their historic differences to support the event.

Reluctant support

Randolph and Rustin set the date for the march for August 28, 1963. The goals of the march were to call attention to the need for the passage of President **John F. Kennedy**'s (1917–1963; served 1961–63) civil rights bill; job training and placement for African Americans and an end to job segregation; and **desegregation of public schools** by the end of the year. The Kennedy administration urged the march's leaders to reconsider, arguing that the civil rights bill would have a better chance of passing if blacks waited quietly. But when President Kennedy was told that the march would go on as planned, he gave his reluctant support.

"I Have a Dream"

News of the planned march spread across the country. As the day drew near, buses and trains arrived in Washington, pouring forth 250,000 demonstrators, nearly a quarter of them white. The attendance went far beyond the organizers' expectations. While the crowd waited for the rally's speakers, attendees listened to musicians, including folk poet **Bob Dylan** (1941–), gospel singer Mahalia Jackson (1911–1972), and popular folk trio Peter, Paul and Mary. Several speakers gave stirring addresses. The featured speaker of the march, the Rev. **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968), electrified the audience with his "I Have a Dream" speech, which has become one of the most famous speeches in American history. In one of its many stirring moments, King prayed for the day "when all God's children … will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!'"

A model of peaceful protest

The successful 1963 March on Washington represented the high point of the first phase of the modern civil rights movement and expressed the ideals and aspirations of nonviolent direct action. (See also **Civil Disobedience**.) Following the march, Congress finally passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and, later, the **Voting Rights Act** of 1965. Since then, numerous groups of varying political stripes, including poor peo-

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ple, women, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, black men, Christian men, and cancer patients, have attempted to use the March on Washington as a model for delivering demands to the federal government. While none have achieved the success of the 1963 event, the March on Washington continues to symbolize the hopeful possibilities of nonviolent, mass-based protest in the United States.

Marine Corps

On November 10, 1775, the Second Continental Congress (see **Continental Congress, Second**) passed a resolution calling for the formation of two battalions that would serve on land and sea: the Continental Navy and the Continental Marines. This date marks the birth of what would become the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC). The two battalions were disbanded after the end of the **American Revolution** (1775–83). However, on July 11, 1798, Congress, preparing for a naval war with France, reestablished the U.S. **Navy** and Marine Corps. The Marines also fought in wars against the Barbary pirates in the early 1800s. In 1834, Congress passed legislation making the Marine Corps a part of the Department of the Navy to serve as a partner to the U.S. Navy.

The Marines have fought in every war in American history, including the **War of 1812** (1812–15), the **Mexican American War** (1846–48), and the American **Civil War** (1961–65). USMC soldiers saw action in both world wars, and it was just before **World War I** (1914–18) that the organization first developed an aviation branch. During this war, more than 309,000 Marines served in France.

During **World War II** (1939–45), Allied forces, or **Allies**, were bolstered by the Marine Corps, whose six divisions, five air wings, and supporting troops totaled about 485,000 Marines. In that conflict, almost 87,000 suffered wounds or died in battle; 82 of them earned the Medal of Honor.

One of the fiercest battles of the Pacific Campaign of World War II was the **Battle of Iwo Jima**. Allied forces had a mission to capture the airfields on the Japanese island of Iwo Jima. Of the 21,000 Japanese soldiers who attempted to protect the island, more than 20,000 were killed and another 216 taken prisoner. On the fifth day of that thirty-five-day battle, Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal (1911–2006) man-

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aged to snap a photo of five Marines and a Navy corpsman raising the **American flag** on Mount Suribachi. The photo became famous and has become a symbol of Allied victory in World War II.

More than 25,000 Marines were killed or wounded during the **Korean War** (1950–53), a conflict they fought mostly on the water. By that time, the Marine Corps was struggling just to stay intact. The post–World War II federal budget was inadequate for maintaining manpower, training, and equipment, and membership in the USMC fell to a low of 74,000 in the spring of 1950. As the Korean War progressed, more civilians signed up, and by June 1953 the Marine Corps had grown to include 250,000 soldiers.

The years 1956 to 1960 brought budget cuts that resulted in reduced strength and manpower in the USMC. By 1960, there were just 170,000 soldiers in the Marine Corps. **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) won the presidential election that year, and with him came an increase in budget as well as improvements in manpower and equipment. The Marines fought in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) from the spring of 1965 until June 1971. In 1968, more than 85,000 soldiers were involved, which was nearly one-third of the entire manpower of the USMC.

The 1970s were relatively quiet in terms of conflict, but the 1980s saw an increase in the number of terrorist attacks on U.S. embassies around the world. Marines landed in Beirut, Lebanon, in August 1982 and remained on a peacekeeping mission there for nineteen months. In October 1983, they helped other U.S. armed forces invade the island nation of Grenada after the murder of its prime minister, who had been illegally removed from office. The invasion ended in December of that year. U.S. forces lost nineteen lives.

In August 1990, Iraq invaded the small neighboring oil-rich country of Kuwait. Between August and January 1991, more than 92,000 Marines deployed to the Persian Gulf in a campaign known as Operation Desert Shield. On February 24, 1991, the First and Second Marine Divisions entered Kuwait. Four days later, just one hundred hours after the ground war had begun, the Iraqi army was defeated.

Marines spent the rest of the decade on peacekeeping missions in various parts of the world. The **September 11, 2001**, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon brought about a response from President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) that the admin-

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istration called the War on Terrorism. On October 7, 2001, Bush declared war on Afghanistan for three stated purposes: 1) to capture Osama bin Laden (1957–), a militant Islamist and reported founder of the terrorist organization known as **al-Qaeda**; 2) to end the rule of the Taliban, which supported al-Qaeda and gave it a base of operations; and 3) to destroy al-Qaeda. Bin Laden took responsibility for the terrorist attacks on American soil that killed nearly three thousand people. As of 2008, the Afghanistan War—known as Operation Enduring Freedom—was still in progress. The Taliban regime was driven from power, but bin Laden's whereabouts were unknown.

On March 20, 2003, the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, and other countries officially invaded Iraq. The **Iraq invasion** launched a war that was still being fought in 2008. President Bush's stated reason for the invasion was that, according to intelligence reports, Iraq was hiding **weapons of mass destruction** that posed a threat to world peace. No such weapons had been found within the first forty-five months of fighting.

Along with the other branches of the U.S. armed forces, the marines were deployed overseas to fight these wars. As of May 2008, the Department of Defense reported that 4,076 members of the armed forces had died in the Iraq War, while 492 had died in and around Afghanistan.

USMC headquarters operate out of Camp Pendleton, **California**; Camp Lejeune, **North Carolina**; and Okinawa, Japan.

Thurgood Marshall

The first African American to serve on the U.S. **Supreme Court**, Thurgood Marshall is also remembered as the greatest civil rights lawyer of his time. During the 1940s and 1950s, he won almost every civil rights case he argued before the Supreme Court in his fight for justice and equality for African Americans.

Marshall was born on July 2, 1908. He grew up in a middle-class neighborhood. Both parents worked, his mother as a teacher and his father at a variety of jobs. Marshall was a poor student who frequently misbehaved in class. After high school, Marshall attended Lincoln University, hoping to become a dentist. His study habits did not improve in college. He failed a class and was expelled twice.

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In 1929, Marshall's life turned around. He married Vivian Burey and returned to Lincoln to graduate with honors in 1930. Marshall then went to law school at Howard University. Howard was a major center for black scholars, and Marshall studied with the best teachers. Three years later, he graduated at the top of his class.



Thurgood Marshall was the first African American to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.
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Becomes lawyer for the NAACP

In 1933, Marshall opened up his own law office in Baltimore, **Maryland**. In the fall of 1934, the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), the major national civil rights organization, had begun a legal battle to attack racial **segregation** (the separation of people of different races). Marshall offered at once to help the organization, and he took on a major civil rights case within a few months. In *Murray v. Pearson* (1935), Marshall argued before a Maryland court that the University of Maryland Law School could not prevent a black student from enrolling. The court agreed. Over the next few years, Marshall became known as a lawyer who studied carefully for his cases and argued them with common sense.

In 1936, Marshall joined the NAACP's legal office in New York. Two years later, at age thirty, he was named the organization's chief counsel, or top lawyer. In his new position, Marshall had to travel around the country arguing cases. This was especially dangerous in the South, where Marshall's life was threatened many times because he tried to end discrimination. Of the thirty-two cases he argued for the NAACP before the Supreme Court, he won twenty-nine.

Fights for equal education

The NAACP's main goal was to end racial segregation in public schools. (See **Desegregation of Public Schools**.) In 1896, the Supreme Court had decided in ***Plessy v. Ferguson*** that "separate but equal" public schools for blacks and whites were legal under the U.S. **Constitution**. In

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practice, however, the separate schools maintained for blacks and whites were rarely equal. Black children often received a poorer education, especially in the South. Marshall and the NAACP fought against this inequality. In the early 1950s, Marshall won a number of cases that ended racial discrimination in colleges and universities. But his greatest victory came in 1954 when he argued ***Brown v. Board of Education*** before the Supreme Court. The court ruled that separate public schools were harmful to black children and that this violated the constitutional rights of black children.

Mr. Civil Rights

Marshall became known as "Mr. Civil Rights" for his heroic court battles against racism and segregation. But he did not agree with the methods of the new **civil rights movement** that emerged in the mid-1950s. African Americans had become tired of waiting for the courts to rule, and they had seen that the courts did not have the power to enforce their rulings. Civil rights leaders began to take their struggle to the streets, using methods of **civil disobedience** and nonviolent protest. Marshall feared that the new methods would result in white violence and the oppression of blacks. He believed firmly that the law could bring about racial integration (mixing of the races), and he continued to press case after case through the courts toward that goal.

Becomes a Supreme Court justice

In 1961, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) selected Marshall to serve as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, an important court just below the Supreme Court. There was a great stir over the appointment of an African American to the federal appeals bench. Southern Democrats in Congress fought against Marshall's appointment, but after nearly a year of delay and attacks he was confirmed. He held this post until 1965.

President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) then named him solicitor general (assistant to the attorney general, the chief lawyer for the federal government). He was the first African American to be placed in this position. Two years later, Johnson nominated Marshall to become a justice on the U.S. Supreme Court.

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Marshall served honorably on the high court for almost twenty-four years. He believed that a task of judges was to try to ensure that all persons have the possibility of living in a "just and humane society." He believed that all persons have the right to be free of discrimination and that everyone should have access to decent education, housing, and jobs. He also believed that, in order to maintain and protect these valued liberties, the courts had to be available to all persons, regardless of their financial status. He was very critical in cases in which he felt the Supreme Court ignored the circumstances of the impoverished.

Marshall retired in June 1991 at the age of eighty-two. He died on January 24, 1993, in Bethesda, Maryland.

Marshall Plan

In 1947, Europe was still devastated from the ravages of **World War II** (1939–45). In addition, the previous winter had been one of the worst in European history. Eighteen million soldiers and an even larger number of civilians had been murdered or died, and life for the survivors was one of starvation and desperation.

As part of a graduation speech at Harvard University in June 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall (1880–1959) outlined what became known as the Marshall Plan, or the European Recovery Plan. It was one of the most generous financial aid programs in world history. The United States was prepared to offer the equivalent of $109 billion in aid if the European nations could develop a plan on how the money would be used.

The Marshall Plan forced the European nations to act as a single economic unit for the first time ever. Marshall even offered aid to the Soviet Union (modern-day Russia), but dictator Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) refused to accept the offer, calling it a trick. In hindsight, it was probably Stalin's refusal that allowed for the passage of the Marshall Plan. The United States and the Soviet Union were competing superpowers; they looked upon one another as the enemy. Had the Soviet Union participated in the program, it is likely that Congress would not have passed the plan.

A conference was held in Paris in 1947, and sixteen European nations agreed to participate in the four-year program. In April 1948, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) signed the

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first check, written for more than $5 billion. By the end of the plan in 1951, industrial production in western Europe had increased by an amazing 30 percent since the beginning of World War II.

The Marshall Plan benefited the economy of the United States as well. All the goods bought by Europe with the donated money came from America and had to be shipped overseas on American merchant vessels.

Although the Marshall Plan was actually President Truman's idea, Truman's popularity among the public was so low (mostly related to the war) by 1947 that he knew no program with his name on it would ever get the support of Congress. Marshall had a solid reputation as a war general and a diplomat with integrity and honor. So while Marshall is the man who gets most of the credit for the program, Truman was the silent partner who came up with the original idea.

Maryland

Maryland officially joined the Union on April 28, 1788, as the seventh state. Located on the eastern seaboard in the South Atlantic region, it is bordered by **Virginia**, **West Virginia**, **Pennsylvania**, **Delaware**, and the Atlantic Ocean. Maryland is the eighth-smallest state in the United States, with a total area of 10,460 square miles (27,092 square kilometers).

Maryland was home to several Native American tribes, including the Accomac, Susquehannock, and Piscataway. The first European visitors to the region came from Italy and Spain in the early sixteenth century. Captain **John Smith** (c. 1580–1631) was the first English explorer of Chesapeake Bay (1608).

In 1689, the British took control of the region that would become Maryland, Delaware, and a large part of Pennsylvania. Approximately twenty thousand Maryland soldiers fought in the **American Revolution** (1775–83). During the **War of 1812** (1812–15), Fort McHenry in Baltimore was bombarded. During the attack, Francis Scott Key (1779–1843) found himself stuck on a British frigate, and there he composed the poem that later became the national anthem, the **"Star-Spangled Banner."**

Marylanders fought on both sides during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). One of the major battles—the **Battle of Antietam** in

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1862—took place in Maryland. After the war, the state played an important part in rebuilding the South. Shipbuilding, steelmaking, and the manufacture of clothing and shoes turned the agrarian economy into an industrial one.

Maryland's population in 2006 was more than 5.6 million. Whites comprised 61.5 percent of the population, African Americans another 28.7 percent. Although Annapolis is the capital city, Baltimore is by far the most densely populated city in the state. Nearly one-third of all African Americans in the state reside in Baltimore.

In recent years, most of the growth in the state's economy has been in government, construction, trade, and services. Maryland's employees are the best educated in the nation, with more than one-third of residents over the age of twenty-five possessing a bachelor's degree at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Industry, fishing, dairy, and poultry farming are important to the state's economy. **Tobacco** used to be the state's only cash crop, but now soybeans, wheat, barley, and various fruits and vegetables add to the state's gross national product.

Baltimore is home to Johns Hopkins University, which includes a highly regarded medical school, and Annapolis boasts the U.S. Naval Academy.

Massachusetts

Massachusetts was admitted into the Union on February 6, 1788, as the sixth state. It is located in the northeastern United States and is bordered by **Rhode Island**, **Connecticut**, **New York**, **Vermont**, **New Hampshire**, and the Atlantic Ocean. It ranks forty-fifth in size among the fifty states.

Permanent English settlement of Massachusetts began in 1620, but five main Algonquian tribes lived there before then: the Nauset, Wampanoag, Nipmuc, Massachusetts, and Pocumtuc. When the first group of **Puritans** left England in the ***Mayflower***, they were actually headed to **Virginia**. A storm blew them off course, and they landed on Cape Cod before settling the village they called Plymouth. Ten years later, a larger band of Puritans settled the **Massachusetts Bay Colony**. From 1630 to 1640, approximately twenty thousand English (primarily Puritans) settled in Massachusetts. Farming became the cornerstone of their economy.

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Massachusetts emerged from the American **Civil War** (1861–65) as an industrial state, and its population grew quickly. The second half of the twentieth century saw the development of high-tech manufacturing in the suburbs of Boston, the capital city. White-collar employment and middle-class suburbs thrived. By the 1970s and early 1980s, developments in information technology and increased defense spending created a high-tech boom centering on new manufacturing firms just outside Boston.

Massachusetts in the twenty-first century is home to more than 6.4 million residents, primarily whites (83.4 percent). Boston's population, however, was 25 percent African American in 2006. A relatively wealthy state, Massachusetts had the thirteenth-highest gross state product in 2005. At a time when the three-year average median household income was $44,473 nationally, it was $52,354 in Massachusetts.

Since 1928, Massachusetts has been a Democratic state. In 1960, its popular U.S. senator, **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63), became the first Roman Catholic president in U.S. history.

The economy of Massachusetts focuses on manufacturing. The state is a leader in the production of computers, optical equipment, and industrial machinery. The site of some of the earliest unionization efforts, Massachusetts remains the headquarters for several labor unions.

For centuries, education has been important to Massachusetts, which is home to several of the nation's most highly regarded schools, including Harvard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Tufts University, and Amherst College.

Massachusetts Bay Colony

In 1629, the English Crown granted a royal charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company giving the company rights to colonize and trade in the area of New England between the Merrimack and Charles Rivers. The charter was unusual in that it gave the company power to establish whatever government it chose for its colony, subject only to the authority of the king. The charter also was different from others because it did not require that business sessions be held in England. This allowed the company to move entirely to New England and to establish the company government as the colonial government. As a result, the stockholders, or

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owners, of the company had a rare opportunity to define membership in the colony.

At the time it granted the charter, England was experiencing a religious upheaval. Many of the stockholders in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were **Puritans** who had been working for reform of the Church of England. It seemed increasingly hopeless that reform would happen under the leadership of King Charles I (1600–49). The charter, therefore, changed quickly from a trade investment into an opportunity to establish a community founded on faith.

By 1630, nearly one thousand people had settled in New England at the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The company established a theocratic, or religiously oriented, government. A governor, assistants, and a general court of the stockholders oversaw the laws of the colony. By using the power of the general court to admit new members, the stockholders managed to limit voting rights in the colony to those of their own religious faith. With expansion of the colony, this system evolved into a government of deputies representing the various towns in a bicameral court in 1644. Voting rights and positions in government, however, remained privileges for church members only.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony grew quickly. A great movement of Puritans from Europe, known as the Great Migration, brought thousands of people to the New World to live in communities of faith. By 1650, the colony had nearly forty towns. Each town was required to have its own church, and a rigorous standard of membership was defined. Much of town politics revolved around the organization and membership of the church. Most towns operated fairly

Great Migration

Soon after the successful establishment of colonies in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, a flood of immigrants from England began arriving in the New World. Between 1630 and 1640, forty to sixty thousand people emigrated to colonies in New England and **Virginia**. This flow of newcomers is called the Great Migration.

There were several motives for emigrating to the New World between 1630 and 1640. Most of the newcomers were Puritans who, in England, sought to purify the practices of the Church of England, or Anglican Church. When it became evident that neither the English Crown nor the Church was going to make efforts towards reform, many chose to leave England. Most of the early arrivals in the Great Migration were attracted to settling in New England among other Puritans.

Many later emigrants were motivated by the economic opportunities in the New World. With a depression in agriculture and the cloth trade in England, many settled in the colonies of Virginia. The planters in Virginia were always in need of laborers, and many paid for settlers' ship passage in exchange for their promises to work for a certain number of years.

In 1642, the English Civil War began, pitting Parliament and the Puritans against the king and the Church of England, and migration to New England nearly ended. Parliamentary actions eased pressure on the Puritans, and religiously motivated emigration nearly stopped. Though the Great Migration ended in 1642, thousands of people were still attracted each year to the promise of a new life in the colonies.

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independently of, but were united by, a central government for the colony.

The colony's growing independence caused tension with the English Crown. In 1664 and again in 1676, royal commissions investigated the colony and submitted negative reports of their independent behavior. The charter for the colony was officially withdrawn in 1684, and the Massachusetts Bay Company was dissolved.

The colony continued to function without legal status until another charter was issued in 1691. The new charter destroyed the close union of church and state by redefining the requirements for suffrage, or voting rights. Instead of meeting a religious requirement, the freemen of the colony gained the right to vote by meeting certain property standards. The charter of 1691 also merged the Plymouth Colony and **Maine** with the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Cotton Mather

Cotton Mather was a **Puritan** clergyman in Boston, **Massachusetts**, in the colonial period. Born into the third generation of a New England founding family, he was educated at Harvard College and had a lifelong interest in science. He played a controversial role during the **Salem witch trials**, holding personal opinions against the trials but receiving public blame for them.

Early life

Cotton Mather was born in March 1663 in Boston, the leading town in the **Massachusetts Bay Colony**. Mather's parents were Increase and Maria Mather. Increase was the Puritan minister of the Second Church in Boston as well as an agent of the colony in its affairs with England and, from 1865 to 1701, president of Harvard College. He used science in his sermons to fight superstition concerning comets and other natural phenomenon.

Mather was an intelligent child who learned Latin and Greek. At age twelve, he entered Harvard College, where he studied Hebrew, philosophy, and science. He received a bachelor's degree at age sixteen and, after studying medicine, a master's degree at age nineteen. In 1865, Mather became assistant minister at the Second Church under his father.

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Marriage

Mather married three times. His first wife, Abigail Phillips, died in 1702; they had nine children. His second wife, Elizabeth Hubbard, died in 1713; they had six children. His last wife, Lydia George, whom he married in 1715, eventually became insane. Only six of Mather's fifteen children lived to maturity, and only two of them outlived him.



Puritan clergyman Cotton Mather did not approve of the procedures used during the Salem witch trials but did not publicly speak out against them. Many blamed him for the panic that led to the trials.
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Politics

In 1688, Increase Mather sailed to England to try to have the charter restored for the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In Increase's absence, Cotton was in charge of the Second Church. He also led local opposition to King James II (1633–1701) and the king's representative in Boston, Governor Edmund Andros (1637–1714). James II was removed from power in England, and Increase returned to Boston in 1692 with a new charter and a new governor, Sir William Phips (1651–1695).

One of Phips's first acts as governor was to hold witch trials, after which nineteen people were hanged for the crime of witchcraft. The judges at these trials used controversial procedures and evidence, including spectral evidence. Spectral evidence was testimony by a person who said he or she could see the ghostly apparition of the tormenting witch.

Mather personally disapproved of the procedures used at the witch trials. His father signed a letter by ministers urging courts not to convict on the basis of spectral evidence alone. Mather, however, did not speak out against the trials as they occurred. Because of his position in the community and his published writings on witchcraft, many blamed him for the panic that led to the witchcraft trials.

Later years

Mather was an avid writer, writing over four hundred books. He wrote about witchcraft, history, biography, theology, science, and poetry.

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Mather also had a strong interest in science. During a smallpox epidemic in Boston, he urged the community to use inoculation, a technique one of his slaves brought from Africa. Many religious people believed that preventing disease with inoculation interfered with God's plan for life and death. Mather's belief in the technique demonstrates how he blended religious faith with scientific knowledge.

Increase Mather died in 1723, which elevated Mather to minister of the Second Church. Mather lived only another five years, dying in Boston in February 1728 at the age of sixty-four.

Louis B. Mayer

Louis B. Mayer was a cofounder of the Hollywood movie studio Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. For thirty years, he was the most powerful man in the motion picture industry.



Louis B. Mayer was a cofounder of the Hollywood movie studio Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM). For thirty years, he was the most powerful man in the motion picture industry. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Escapes Russia

Born Eliezer Meir to a Jewish family in Minsk, Russia, in 1885, Mayer emigrated to Canada as a young boy and attended school there. He changed his first name to Louis. In 1904, Mayer moved to Boston, **Massachusetts**, where he discovered nickelodeons, early movie theaters that charged five cents for admission. There he developed his love for moving pictures.

Recognizing a smart business investment when he saw one, Mayer opened his first movie theater on November 28, 1907, in Haverhill, Massachusetts. Within three years, he had the largest theater chain in New England. In 1916, with a business partner, he created Metro Pictures Corporation, a talent booking agency, in New York City. Two years later, he moved to Los Angeles, **California**, and founded a production company, Louis B. Mayer Pictures Corporation. In 1920, Marcus Loew (1870–1927), of the Loew's theater chain, bought Metro Pictures and Goldwyn Pictures (founded by Samuel Goldwyn

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[1882–1974]). In 1924, a merger of those two companies with Mayer's resulted in Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) Studios.

Studio of stars

MGM became the number one studio of its time. Actors who wanted to become stars knew they had to find their way into MGM. The studio worked on an exclusive contract basis. This meant that an actor agreed to work only on MGM films for a specific number of years. The studio was responsible for marketing its stable of actors, and they were expected to behave according to Mayer's personal values and beliefs. He became known as the father of MGM, and he personally took care of many of the actors' needs as long as he felt they deserved the help.

MGM's slogan was "More stars than there are in heaven," and in fact the list of names he made famous backs up that claim. Elizabeth Taylor (1932–), Clark Gable (1901–1960), Judy Garland (1922–1969), and many others were "owned" by MGM, and they became household names because of it.

Power in different forms

In 1929, President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33) tempted Mayer with an ambassadorship to Turkey, but Mayer declined so that he could oversee the studio's transition from silent films to "talkies." He and Hoover had developed a strong friendship over the years, and throughout Hoover's presidency Mayer would phone the White House with suggestions on how to manage the government.

In keeping with Mayer's vision, MGM produced **movies** that celebrated the American dream: family, wholesome values, hope. He expected his employees to lead lives that upheld the values of the movies in which they starred. When Mickey Rooney (1920–), the star of MGM's successful Andy Hardy series of movies, made the front pages for his partying and womanizing, Mayer took Rooney to task. According to *Time* magazine, Mayer was overheard screaming at the actor, "You're Andy Hardy! You're the United States! You're Stars and Stripes! You're a symbol! Behave yourself!"

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Trouble brewing

As studio profits skyrocketed, tensions increased between Mayer and his production chief, Irving Thalberg (1899–1936). Thalberg had produced some of MGM's box-office giants, including *The Wizard of Oz* and *Ben Hur*. By 1936, Mayer was the highest-paid executive in America, making more than $1 million annually. Thalberg felt he ought to receive an equal amount because it was his perfectionism and dedication to each movie that made money for the studio.

Mayer resented the fact that many people considered Thalberg the mastermind behind MGM's achievements. The studio itself was divided between Mayer and Thalberg supporters. Thalberg, who had suffered from heart problems, died at the age of thirty-seven. Despite the rift that had grown between them, Mayer mourned his colleague.

Fifteen years under Mayer's direction had earned MGM the nickname of Film Factory No. 1. However, its popularity began to ebb as America entered the post–**World War II** (1939–45) years. The moviegoing public no longer wanted sentimentality and romance. Mayer seemed unable, and perhaps unwilling, to move the studio in a different direction.

A new era

Stars and directors began to demand their share of profits for each film—a benefit MGM had never allowed. Dore Schary (1905–1980), a writer and producer hired by Mayer to fill Thalberg's spot, found Mayer to be overbearing and outdated in his ideas. A fierce argument between the two men forced president Nicholas Schenck (1881–1969) to choose between them. Schenck chose Schary; after twenty-seven years, Mayer was out at MGM.

Angry and disillusioned, Mayer retired from public life. He died in 1957.

Mayflower

In the early 1600s, a new religious movement was gaining momentum in England. Challenging the traditions of the Anglican Church, or Church of England, members of the movement sought to simplify and purify the Protestant Christian churches. (See **Protestantism**.) Called

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Pilgrim leader William Bradford reading the Mayflower Compact onboard the **Mayflower** *in 1620.* HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Puritans, they were harassed by English authorities because their movement threatened the power of the Anglican Church.

Seeking religious freedom, many Puritans left England to settle new religious communities in other countries, including America. The first 102 of these emigrants to America are called **Pilgrims**, from a Latin word that means "wanderer in foreign lands." The Pilgrims left for America in 1620 aboard the *Mayflower*.

The *Mayflower* was a three-mast merchant ship with a normal speed of two and a half miles per hour. It was chartered along with the vessel *Speedwell* to carry the Pilgrims to America. The *Speedwell* proved unseaworthy and, after a few attempts to fix it, was abandoned in England.

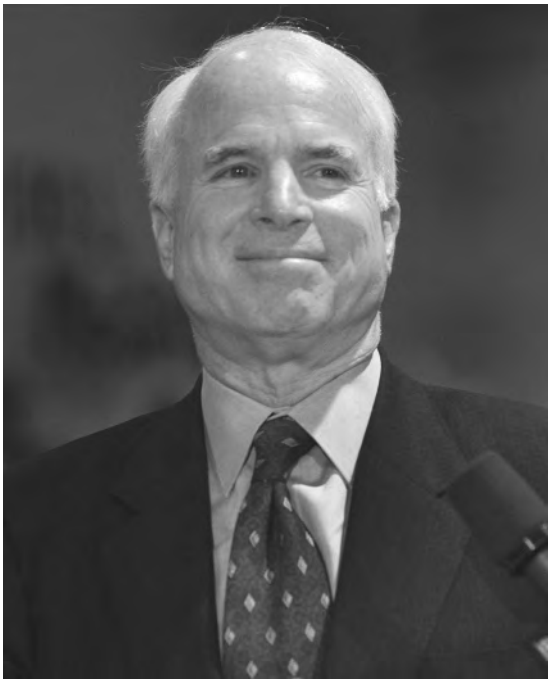
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On September 16, 1620, the *Mayflower* set sail with its passengers and crew. Landing in **Massachusetts** on November 21, it remained in the service of the Pilgrims and other settlers until housing could be built on the mainland. It sailed for its return to England on April 5, 1621. Although it is known to have reached England safely, its fate afterward is lost to history. The confusion arises in part because several other ships of the time also were called *Mayflower.*

John McCain

John McCain lost the **Republican Party** nomination for president in the 2000 election but won the nomination in the 2008 election.

McCain was born into a military family in 1936 and grew up on naval bases in the United States and overseas. After graduating from high school in 1954, McCain attended the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, **Maryland**, where he studied electrical engineering. He struggled as a good student, and he graduated almost at the bottom of his class in 1958. In spite his less-than-remarkable standing, McCain was accepted into aviator training.



U.S. senator and former navy pilot John McCain won the Republican nomination for president in 2008.
AP IMAGES

McCain married his first wife, Carol Shepp, in 1965, and they had three children. The couple divorced in 1980. That same year, McCain married his second wife, Cindy Hensley, and they had four children together.

During the **Vietnam War** (1954–75), McCain was flying a mission over Hanoi, Vietnam, in 1967 when an antiaircraft missile sliced off his airplane's right wing and forced him to eject. He survived but broke both arms, shattered a knee, and broke a shoulder. He was found and beaten by a crowd of Vietnamese and stabbed with a bayonet. McCain became a prisoner of war (POW) when North Vietnamese captors took him into custody; he was refused medical treatment for nine days. He was finally admitted to a hospital and nursed back to health. Although the North Vietnamese offered him an early release because his father was a

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high-ranking U.S. military official, he refused unless POWs captured before him were released also.

Following his snubbing of the early-release offer, McCain was tortured almost constantly by his Vietnamese captors for a solid week. After suffering further beatings and malnutrition, he was placed in a facility with fifty other POWs in 1971. In total, McCain experienced physical and psychological torment for a total of five-and-a-half years before he was released in 1973.

Although he weighed just 100 pounds at the time of his release, McCain recovered. His injuries left him unable to bend his knee, raise his right arm all the way, or hold his arms out straight. He would suffer from arthritis for the rest of his life. Yet McCain was emotionally stable. He received the Silver Star, Bronze Star, Legion of Merit, Purple Heart, and Distinguished Flying Cross. In 1977, the pilot was promoted to captain.

Also in 1977, McCain became the U.S. **Navy** liaison to the U.S. Senate. He retired from the Navy in 1981 and won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives representing **Arizona**. McCain voted in support of prayer in public schools, subsidies for tobacco companies, and the reintroduction of certain handgun sales. He voted against the Equal Rights Amendment that would give women equal rights with men in the workplace.

McCain won a seat in the U.S. Senate in 1986 and was appointed to several committees. He was involved in a campaign finance scandal in 1989 along with four other senators. Although an investigation found him guilty of poor judgment, McCain was found innocent of any wrongdoing. His reputation suffered briefly, but he managed to get reelected to the Senate in 1992.

In 1995, Senator McCain angered his fellow Republicans when he supported campaign finance reform. McCain's own bad experience caused him to join forces with members of the **Democratic Party** in an effort to limit private donations to public offices. It took years, but in 2002, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act was signed into law.

McCain announced his plans to run for U.S. president in 1999. Although he won some of the primaries in early 2000, his opponent, **Texas** governor **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) won the nomination and ultimately became president. After losing the nomination, McCain remained active in the Senate.

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In April 2007, McCain launched his second presidential campaign. It was a troubled campaign, marred by poor fundraising and decisions that raised the ire of McCain's fellow Republicans. For example, McCain supported immigration reform, which would allow some illegal immigrants to seek citizenship, and most Republicans did not. By 2007, surveys showed that a large percentage of Americans were eager to see an end to the war in Iraq, which had begun in 2003 with the vocal support of McCain. Because of his war stance and because McCain sometimes opted not to support traditional conservative policies, many observers doubted his ability to win support from conservative Republicans.

Despite early campaign setbacks, McCain's wartime experience helped him stay in the race against his primary rivals, former **Massachusetts** governor Mitt Romney (1947–) and former **Arkansas** governor Mike Huckabee (1955–). After Romney dropped out of the race in February 2008, McCain received an endorsement from former president **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93), and on March 4, McCain clinched the Republican nomination when he won primaries in Texas, **Ohio**, **Vermont**, and **Rhode Island**. The following day, he received an endorsement from his one-time political opponent, President George W. Bush.

While McCain had wrapped up his nomination, the Democratic Party had yet to arrive at its own nominee. U.S. senator **Barack Obama** (1961–) of **Illinois** and U.S. senator **Hillary Rodham Clinton** (1947–) of **New York** were still battling it out by mid-spring, with Obama eventually winning out by late spring. McCain, meanwhile, was preparing himself for two months of campaigning against his Democratic opponent.

Joseph McCarthy

Joseph McCarthy rose to fame as a product of the second great **Red scare**, a period of extreme fear of **communism** in the United States. Because of his aggressive pursuit of communists, McCarthy came to symbolize the political extremism of the era.

McCarthy was born in a log cabin in northeastern **Wisconsin**, on November 14, 1908. He left school and the family farm at age fourteen to set up his own chicken farm, which he operated for five years. When it failed, he managed a grocery store. At the age of twenty, McCarthy went back to high school and then worked his way through college.

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First elected office

After earning a law degree in 1935, McCarthy began practicing law. A member of the **Democratic Party** and a strong supporter of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), McCarthy became an outspoken champion of the **New Deal**, a set of programs and policies to promote economic recovery and social reform after the economic downturn of the **Great Depression** (1929–41). Having caught the fever of politics, McCarthy decided to run for the office of district attorney. He lost the election, but three years later he ran in an election



McCarthy points at a map of supposed communism during testimony on June 9, 1954. From April to June 1954, the Senate's "Army-McCarthy hearings" were held to investigate charges against the public and countercharges against McCarthy by the government. AP IMAGES

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for circuit judge and won. He was still serving as judge when the United States became involved in **World War II** (1939–45).

World War II service

In 1941, McCarthy enlisted in the **Marine Corps**. He was commissioned a lieutenant and assigned to an intelligence unit. He returned to the United States with a Distinguished Flying Medal and an Air Medal. He would later use his war effort in politics, campaigning as "Tail Gunner Joe" and referring to a leg injury from a shipboard fall as a "war wound."

Back home, McCarthy changed his political affiliation to the **Republican Party** and ran for the U.S. Senate. He lost the 1944 election but immediately prepared for the 1946 Senate race, which he won in an unexpected victory. He took his place in the Senate in 1947.

McCarthy's first few years in the Senate were distinguished mainly by his sharp and often personal attacks on other senators. By 1949, he had the reputation of an upstart and a troublemaker and had made many enemies in the Senate.

Communists in the government

In 1949, McCarthy suddenly developed a concern about communist elements inside the United States. Communism is an economic or social system in which work and property are shared by the whole society, and the state usually controls the economy. Americans at that time associated communism with the Soviet Union and China, both of which had authoritarian governments that repressed free expression and other civil liberties Americans valued.

In later years, McCarthy claimed that in late 1949, three men came to him with a document from the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) describing Soviet espionage activities in the United States. They told him that the State Department had ignored the report; they hoped McCarthy would take the report to the public.

Speech in Wheeling

On February 9, 1950, in a speech to a group of Republican women in Wheeling, **West Virginia**, McCarthy charged that 205 communists were working in the State Department, shaping American foreign policy. He

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Senator Joseph McCarthy speaks at the Senate Foreign Subcommittee loyalty hearings in 1950. He was obsessed with communism and charged that 205 communists were working in the State Department, shaping American foreign policy. MICHAEL ROUGUER/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

claimed to have documentation to prove these charges. His speech immediately became front-page news. In a speech to the Senate on February 20, McCarthy said that there were eighty-one communists employed at the State Department.

A congressional investigation found no evidence to support McCarthy's accusations. Oddly, though the hearings discredited him, they attracted widespread publicity and served to rally support for McCarthy.

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A celebrity

In the 1950s, the **Cold War** was heating up. The Cold War was a period of noncombative conflict from the 1940s to the 1990s, between the communist East (mainly the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China) and the capitalist West (mainly the United States and Western Europe). In the United States, many came to view communism itself as the ultimate enemy. Fear of communist agents working in the United States grew into a Red scare, a term that borrowed from the color often used by communist nations on their flags.

McCarthy exploited these fears with his rash and unsupported allegations of communist spies in the government. In 1951, he suggested that Secretary of State Dean Acheson (1893–1971), whom he felt was soft on communism, move to the Soviet Union. He charged that celebrated general George Marshall (1880–1959) had knowingly promoted the communist takeover of Eastern Europe and China. Although widely criticized for these remarks, McCarthy remained popular with many voters and won reelection to the Senate in 1952.

The Government Operations Committee

After reelection, McCarthy was assigned to the Government Operations Committee. The committee had the authority to review government activities at all levels. Its chief counsel was Roy Cohn (1927–1986), an arrogant young lawyer who was almost universally disliked, but whose intelligence and knowledge were very important to McCarthy. With Cohn supporting him, McCarthy launched a series of investigations aimed at finding traitorous government employees and security risks everywhere. Soon he was accusing President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) and his administration of communist links. Many of McCarthy's investigations were viewed by his colleagues in Congress and the White House as irresponsible witch-hunts. But, because a significant portion of the American public believed in him, he maintained his power in the Senate.

The Army-McCarthy hearings

In October 1953, McCarthy launched an investigation of the U.S. **Army** that would eventually bring him trouble. It began with a probe into the Army Signal Corps station at Fort Monmouth, **New Jersey**, where radar

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systems and guided missile controls were being developed. McCarthy claimed that a communist spy ring was in operation there. By this point, McCarthy and his crusade had aggravated senators and the president. Many were seeking a way to expose him as a sensationalist and a liar to the public.

From April to June 1954, the Senate's "Army-McCarthy hearings" were held to investigate charges against the public and countercharges against McCarthy by the government. At President Eisenhower's request, the hearings were conducted before a television audience. Twenty million viewers—two-thirds of American televisions—watched the spectacle. McCarthy spent the hearings bullying and badgering witnesses, interrupting, making vicious personal attacks, and making long, ranting speeches. At last, McCarthy's bad temper and irrational behavior were fully exposed to a disgusted nation. He promptly fell from favor.

Censure

On September 15, 1954, a Senate committee recommended that McCarthy be censured (officially reprimanded) for showing contempt to and insulting members of the Senate. Three and a half months later, the Senate approved a resolution of censure by a vote of 67–22. McCarthy continued to serve as a senator but had lost his power. In his last years, he was often absent from Senate sessions.

McCarthy was out of the spotlight, but the Cold War and the Red scare were not over. In 1954, Congress passed the Communist Control Act. The act, designed to outlaw the American Communist Party, went far beyond anything McCarthy had ever proposed. The Eisenhower administration had already begun to steal McCarthy's thunder in conducting witch -hunts of a political nature. Thousands of Americans were accused of being communists, resulting in ruined lives and careers. Civil liberties, such as free speech and freedom to assemble, that were protected under the U.S. **Constitution** could no longer be taken for granted. Even after McCarthy had stopped taking part in the process, the rampant anti-communist suspicions came to be called "McCarthyism."

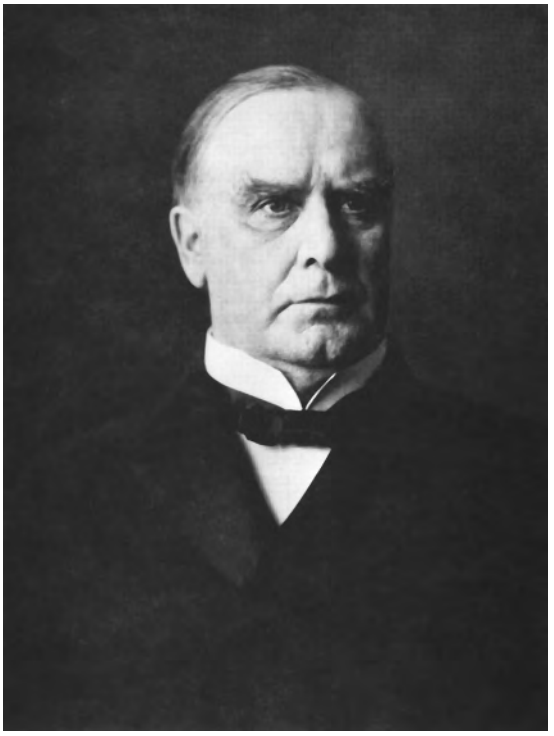
Meanwhile, McCarthy's health was declining. A heavy drinker, he ignored his doctor's orders to stop drinking and died of a liver infection in 1957.

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William McKinley

Historians generally view William McKinley as a president who tried to avoid war but who remained firm in his commitment once it was made. As the last president of the **Gilded Age** (approximately the end of the 1870s through the 1890s), McKinley paved the way for the twentieth-century leaders who would guide America through the constantly changing times of the **Progressive Era** (the first two decades of the twentieth century).

McKinley was born on January 29, 1843, the seventh of eight children. He spent the first ten years of his life in the small town of Niles, **Ohio**, where his father, William, owned an iron foundry. When he was ten, McKinley and his family moved to the nearby town of Poland. From his mother, he learned the value of honesty, while his father instilled in him a strong work ethic.



Republican William McKinley was the twenty-fifth president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

After finishing his basic education, McKinley attended Allegheny College in Meadville, **Pennsylvania**. He never graduated, though, because of financial hardships and illness. McKinley fought in the American **Civil War** (1861–65). As a second lieutenant, McKinley served under future U.S. president **Rutherford B. Hayes** (1822–1893; served 1877–81). After the war, McKinley studied law at Albany Law School in **New York**.

After passing the bar exam in 1867, McKinley opened his legal firm in Canton, Ohio. In 1869, he met Ida Saxton (1847–1907). The two married in January 1871 and had two daughters, Katherine and Ida. Katherine, born on Christmas Day 1871, lived only until 1875. Her sister, born in 1873, died at the age of four months.

Enters politics

McKinley earned a living as a lawyer, but he was passionate about politics. He won a Republican seat in Congress in 1876, where he served until 1891. McKinley was appointed chair of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee in

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1889. He helped pass the McKinley Tariff (tax) of 1890. The bill increased the cost of imported goods by almost 49.5 percent, which angered consumers who saw prices go up. The tariff was a key reason McKinley was defeated in the 1890 election.

McKinley was elected governor of Ohio in 1891. He spent his first term trying to improve relations between management and labor in industry. He developed an arbitration (negotiation) program and convinced the state's Republicans to support it. Traditionally, Republicans refused to recognize the rights of labor, but McKinley changed their position.

Although McKinley publicly acknowledged the rights of workers, he refused to honor their demands if he believed their requests were not rational. In 1894, he called in the National Guard to break up a United Mine Workers strike (a formal protest of workers who refuse to work until negotiations are made).

America suffered an economic depression (a time of high unemployment, minimal investment and spending, and low prices) in 1893, one of the worst in American history. The unemployment rate (the percentage of the total working population that was out of a job) exceeded 10 percent for half a decade, something that had never happened before and would not happen again until the **Great Depression** of the 1930s. No city or region was left unscarred.

McKinley himself suffered financial hardship through the depression. He had cosigned a loan for a friend who subsequently went bankrupt, leaving McKinley to pay off the debt. That he suffered along with millions of other Americans only increased his popularity, and he was reelected for another term.

Election of 1896

The presidential campaign and election of 1896 was one of the most complicated and interesting in history. In addition to the **Democratic Party** and **Republican Party**, the Populist Party, formed in 1892, had a large following. It consisted of displeased farmers and laborers who believed the other two parties did not adequately represent their interests and concerns. Unlike the two major political parties, the Populist Party represented the working class and tried to give these voters a voice.

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McKinley was the Republican candidate. The Democrats opted against renominating incumbent president **Grover Cleveland** (1837–1908; served 1885–89 and 1893–97) due to his unpopularity following his lack of response to a severe downturn in the economy known as the **Panic of 1893**. Instead, the party chose former U.S. representative William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925) of **Nebraska**.

Early in the election, the Populists realized they were not powerful enough to compete against the other two parties. They chose to support Bryan because he supported a monetary program that could help ease the financial burden of farmers and workers and bring them out of the economic depression of the past three years.

The Republicans raised $4 million for their campaign, an unheard-of amount in 1896. Most of that money came from big business and bankers, all of whom wanted to keep tariffs high. Republican campaigners used the money to print and distribute 200 million pamphlets. McKinley delivered 350 speeches from his front porch in Canton. Campaigners traveled the nation rallying support for their candidate.

Bryan was much more active in his campaigning. He traveled 18,000 miles in three months. An engaging speaker, Bryan painted McKinley as a puppet of big business. His speeches were moralistic in tone, almost as if he were a church preacher. This turned some of his more progressive supporters against him.

McKinley beat Bryan. His victory marked the beginning of what would be a Republican White House until Democrat **Woodrow Wilson**'s (1856–1924; served 1913–21) inauguration in 1913.

First years in office

McKinley remained in favor of high tariffs; he believed in limiting imports to help ensure a healthy marketplace for the American production of goods. One of the first acts he took as president was to call a special session of Congress to pass the Dingley Tariff Act in 1897. The act raised tariff rates to an average of nearly 49 percent.

An important entity in business was the trust—a group of companies that band together to form an organization that limits the competition by controlling the production and distribution of a product or service. (See **Monopolies and Trusts**.) McKinley believed trusts were useful in terms of international competition to help Americans compete

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against foreign businesses. He considered them less desirable within the American market, however, where they curbed competition between American businesses. He limited his support of legal suits against trusts that hurt interstate (within the nation) commerce only.

McKinley was a supporter of the **labor movement**, and his time in the White House increased his popularity among workers throughout the nation. He endorsed the Erdman Act of 1898, which developed a means for negotiating wage disputes involving international railroad companies. McKinley also favored the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited Chinese immigrants from settling in America and taking jobs that Americans could fill. (See **Asian Immigration**.) The president had strong professional relationships with a number of leaders in the labor movement as well. Despite his support of America's workers, McKinley sent in federal troops to keep order at a mining strike in Coeur d'Alene, **Idaho**, in 1899. The incident ended in the arrest of about five hundred miners, who were kept in a large pen from the time of their arrest in April until September. This five-month detention was the one incident during his presidency in which McKinley angered the organized-labor voting population.

McKinley put little effort into improving race relations while in office. He spoke against **lynching** (illegal hanging) in his first presidential address in 1897 but did not condemn the practice formally with legislation or any other efforts. Nor did he take measures to limit the racial violence in the South.

In 1897, McKinley negotiated a treaty with **Hawaii** that would annex it (make it a U.S. territory). He not only recognized the island's value as a military strategic point but also realized other world powers would want to lay claim to the land if the United States did not. Anti-imperialists (those against the idea of expanding America's territory) and Democrats were against the annexation and delayed it until 1900. At that point, Congress successfully petitioned McKinley to pass the resolution for annexation with a simple majority (more than 50 percent) vote, rather than the usual two-thirds majority vote. Much later, in 1959, Hawaii became the fiftieth state admitted to the Union.

America at war In 1898, America declared war on Spain in an effort to help Cuba win its independence. The **Spanish-American War** was a four-month conflict that ended with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty

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on December 10, 1898. The treaty gave Guam and Puerto Rico to the United States and allowed America to buy the Philippine Islands for $20 million. Spain gave up its hold on Cuba, which would be a protectorate (under the protection and partial control) of the United States until 1934. The United States, under McKinley's leadership, had become one of the world's great colonial powers.

That same year, McKinley sent troops to the Philippines because he believed the islands were incapable of governing themselves. He sent twenty thousand troops overseas to show the Filipinos how to run their islands, but the Filipinos revolted. Although McKinley predicted the conflict would be short and bloodless, it lasted until 1902 and cost more than five thousand American lives and two hundred thousand Filipino lives.

McKinley turned his sights next to China. The country was important to American international commerce, and the president wanted to protect that relationship by limiting the influence of other powerful countries. To this end, he initiated the **Open Door Policy**, which put China on the same level as the United States in terms of trade and business. There would be no restrictions or tariffs, and the United States would support an independent China.

In June 1900, a group of Chinese rebels known as Boxers killed a number of western missionaries and Chinese converts to Christianity. The Boxers did not want foreign influences in their country or on their national identity. The group also invaded foreign populations in the city of Beijing (then called Peking). McKinley sent over twenty-five hundred troops and several gunboats to China without first getting congressional approval. In addition to U.S. military support, Russia, Great Britain, Germany, and Japan assisted China. The allied (combined) troops put down the Boxer Rebellion by August. China was forced to pay reparations (costs of war) of more than $300 million, $25 million of which went to the United States.

An early death

McKinley won reelection in the 1900 presidential race with **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919) as his vice presidential running mate. The Democratic candidate was again William Jennings Bryan.

On September 5, 1901, McKinley delivered a speech at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. At its conclusion, he

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attended a reception where he greeted the public. Just after 4 PM, a twenty-eight-year-old Polish immigrant named Leon Czolgosz (1873–1901) shot McKinley. The bullet hit the president in the chest and knocked him to the ground. He was rushed to a hospital, where doctors expected him to recover. Gangrene (the decay of skin tissue due to blood loss) set in around his wounds, however, and the president died on September 14, 1901, just six months after his second term had begun. His assassin died in the electric chair on October 29, 1901.

Meat Inspection Act/Pure Food and Drug Act

In 1906, Upton Sinclair (1878–1968) wrote a novel titled *The Jungle.* The book was the result of the author's investigation into the lives and working conditions of stockyard workers in Chicago, **Illinois**. These employees worked in enclosed yards where food animals were temporarily housed before being slaughtered.

The novel was filled with details of the horrific working conditions employees experienced on a daily basis. Aside from discomfort and filth, the meatpacking industry was filled with serious health hazards. Although Sinclair's objective was to educate the American public about the injustices of a capitalistic society, readers focused mainly on the health and hygiene aspects of the work.

One reader who was particularly disturbed by what he read was President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9). With his encouragement and support, two highly important bills were passed into law on June 30, 1906. These were the first federal laws regulating the food and drug industries.

The Pure Food and Drug Act required that all food and drugs meant for human consumption pass strict testing to assure safety and cleanliness. The Food and Drug Administration would be established to carry out the enforcement of these new laws. In addition, drugs that were habit-forming as well as some that required a doctor's prescription would carry warning labels.

The other law passed that summer day was the Meat Inspection Act. This required certified, trained officials to inspect all animals before slaughter to ensure their health. Any found diseased would not be fit for

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eating. Once the healthy animals were slaughtered, they would again have to pass inspection because some disease was not evident until the animals were cut open. Furthermore, slaughterhouses and stockyards were to maintain specific health standards and would be subject to regular inspections by officials from the Department of Agriculture. The Meat Inspection Act enforced much-needed regulations in an industry that was revealed to be have widespread sanitation and health issues. Many laws passed since that time have further regulated the meat industry to help assure consumer health and protection.

Media

See **News Media**

Medicaid/Medicare

Medicaid is a social welfare program operated by both federal and state governments. It was created in 1965 with an amendment to the **Social Security Act** of 1935. That act gave low-income persons access to medical care they otherwise could not afford.

Before Medicaid, health care for the poor was limited and came from a variety of sources, including hospitals, local governments, and charities. Under Medicaid, the federal government gives money to each state. The state adds its own funds to the amount and administers medical programs. These programs must comply with federally established standards.

As health care costs have increased, limits on care have been imposed on Medicaid recipients. For example, they once were able to choose their own doctors. Medicaid patients now must see only approved health care providers. In 2007, hundreds of thousands of Medicaid recipients lost their coverage when they were unable to present proof of their identity and U.S. citizenship. The Deficit Reduction Act of 2005 included a law requiring this proof so as to keep undocumented immigrants from receiving federal assistance. Most of those who lost coverage were children, and most were legal citizens of the United States.

Medicare, also a government health care program, provides health and hospital insurance to disabled individuals and people age sixty-five and older. Although President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served

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1945–53) proposed the program, it was not enacted as policy until 1965, under President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69).

Originally, Medicare was managed by the Social Security Administration. In 1977, its operations were transferred to the Health Care Financing Administration and remain under the auspices of that department. Although Medicare can be used in conjunction with Medicaid, it differs in that the only requirements are disability and/or age.

Recipients of Medicare pay a small monthly premium and deductible for medical costs in exchange for having the majority of their medical bills paid. Most doctors and all hospitals accept Medicare. The program has become controversial because improved health care and increased life expectancy mean the federal government is paying for individuals' health care for more years than was planned.

In 2003, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a major revision of the program when it added prescription drug benefits to its list of services covered. The law also increased private sector competition. The reform was highly controversial. Opponents claimed it would encourage private insurance companies to compete with Medicare by offering financially more attractive coverage. Private insurers would thus attract the healthiest senior citizens, leaving only those most in need of medical care to remain on an overburdened Medicare system, which as of the end of 2007 was spending $427 billion annually.

Under the reform, pharmaceutical and equipment companies charge Medicare more than they do individuals. Because Medicare is partially funded with taxpayers' money, this means that every American taxpayer is paying more than is necessary for the health coverage of the nation's senior citizens and disabled. Critics of the program point out that companies that overcharge Medicare realize major profits. As the first decade of the twenty-first century passed, industry experts and reformers recognized that further reform and deeper analysis of Medicare were necessary to keep it useful and cost effective.

James Meredith

James H. Meredith, the first African American to attend a public college in **Mississippi**, was born on June 25, 1933. He grew up in a poor family on a central Mississippi farm. In 1950, upon graduating from high

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school, he volunteered for service in the U.S. **Air Force**. During his nine years in the Air Force, he achieved the rank of sergeant. He also pursued a college education through correspondence courses.

Confronting the system

In 1960, Meredith returned home, hoping to continue his education in Mississippi. Well aware that no African American had ever been admitted to Mississippi's only university, "Ole Miss" (the University of Mississippi) in Oxford, Meredith made it his mission to be first. After **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) was elected president in November 1960, Meredith believed the time was right to bring the **civil rights movement** to Mississippi.

The university repeatedly denied Meredith admission, citing various technicalities of school policy. Meredith, who was unquestionably qualified to enroll, sought the help of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) to fight the university in federal court.

Feds vs. Mississippi

After more than a year of trials and appeals, U.S. Supreme Court justice Hugo Black (1886–1971) ordered the University of Mississippi to desegregate by admitting Meredith as a transfer student. Mississippi governor Ross Barnett (1898–1987) vowed to block Meredith's admission by any means necessary, thus setting up a showdown between the federal government and the state of Mississippi in September 1962. The Kennedy administration tried to promote civil rights while keeping peace in the South. Threatening Barnett in public while carefully negotiating with him in secret, the administration convinced the governor to back down and allow Meredith to enter the university peacefully.

On September 30, 1962, in an international media spectacle, federal marshals escorted Meredith from Memphis, **Tennessee**, to Oxford. Upon his arrival on campus, two thousand white protesters greeted Meredith, calling him names, throwing rocks, and ultimately pointing firearms. A riot broke out in which two people were killed and nearly four hundred were injured. President Kennedy ordered more than twenty thousand federal troops to Oxford to quell the riot. Meredith, who was unharmed, attended classes under armed guard. On August 18,

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1963, after less than one year of study, he graduated with a bachelor's degree from the University of Mississippi.

Mississippi progress

Meredith had been victorious, but the costs were great. More than twenty-five thousand federal troops had been needed to allow his enrollment. Five hundred troops were maintained at the university to ensure his safety throughout his year there. Two lives had been lost in the rioting, and the federal government had spent nearly $5 million. In the aftermath of the riot, forty professors resigned, and many students left Ole Miss to pursue degrees elsewhere.

The fall of 1964, however, saw two black students enroll at the University of Mississippi with little fanfare. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** further encouraged integration by denying federal aid to any public institution discriminating against students on the basis of race. By January 1966, all but one of the public institutions of higher learning in Mississippi had signed an agreement to comply with the act.

After the victory

James Meredith continued his struggle to achieve equal opportunity for blacks. While traveling into Mississippi to lead a civil rights march in June 1967, he was shot twice in the back. He survived.

Meredith ceased being a civil rights activist in the late 1960s and alienated many African Americans with his frequent criticism of civil rights leaders. He ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1968. He has authored several books and started a publishing company in 1991. From 1989 to 1991, Meredith worked for ultraconservative U.S. senator Jesse Helms (1921–2008) of **North Carolina**. He also supported former **Ku Klux Klan** leader David Duke's (1950–) unsuccessful run for governor of **Louisiana** in 1991. Meredith ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate.

Mexican-American War

The Mexican-American War (1846–48) achieved U.S. expansionist goals by adding more than one million square miles to the United States—the present-day states of **New Mexico**, **Arizona**, and **California** and portions of **Colorado**, **Nevada**, **Wyoming**, and **Utah**. Mexico's defeat

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plunged the nation into political and economic upheaval for many of the remaining years of the nineteenth century.

The annexation (adding to the nation) of **Texas** to the United States in 1845 was the main cause of the Mexican-American War. Texas had won its independence from Mexico in the Texas Revolution (1835–36). During this conflict, Texas received aid and soldiers from the United States. Mexican officials blamed their own defeat on this U.S. assistance to Texas. Mexico refused to recognize its independence, believing that someday Texas would return to the Mexican nation—but only if the United States did not annex it. In 1843, President Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876) of Mexico warned that a U.S. annexation of Texas would be the same as declaring war against Mexico.

Annexation of Texas

The United States recognized Texan independence in 1837. Texas sought annexation by the United States, and many Americans wanted to annex the territory, even if it meant war. Until 1845, the annexation had been successfully blocked by antislavery forces who feared the addition of another slave state to the Union.

In 1844, Texas Republic president **Sam Houston** (1793–1863) negotiated with the U.S. government about the annexation. A treaty was proposed to the Senate, but it was rejected. Meanwhile, the **Democratic Party** convention nominated an ardent expansionist, **James K. Polk** (1795–1849; served 1845–49), for president. In its campaign platform, the Democratic Party advocated the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of Oregon. When Polk won the election, outgoing president **John Tyler** (1790–1862; served 1841–45) and Congress passed a resolution offering to annex Texas, which was signed three days before Polk took office. Mexico promptly broke off diplomatic relations with the United States.

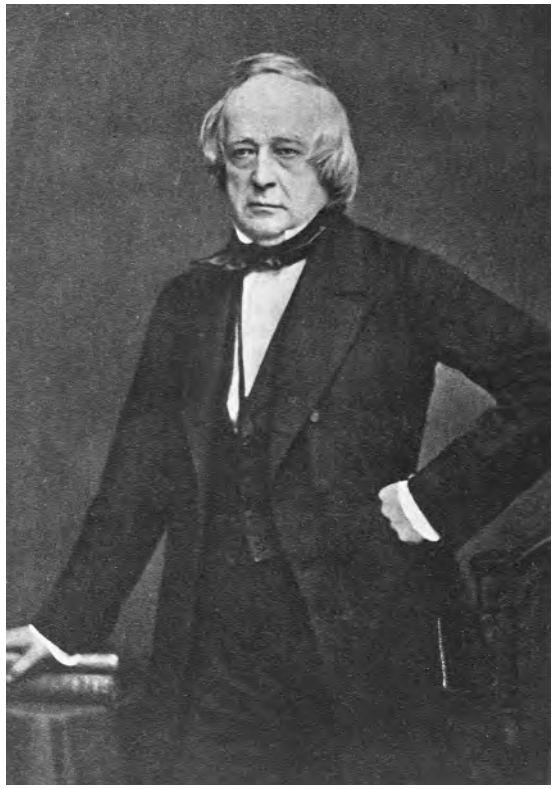
Texas formally entered the Union in December 1845, but an explosive question remained to be settled with Mexico about Texas's boundary. President Polk supported Texas's questionable claim that the Rio Grande River was its southwestern frontier; Mexico claimed the border was at the Nueces River farther north. In June, Polk ordered Brigadier General **Zachary Taylor** (1784–1850) to move his forces into the disputed area.

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In the borderlands

By July 1845, Taylor had established a base on the south bank of the Nueces near Corpus Christi. In November, upon learning that the Mexican government was prepared to discuss the boundary issue, Polk sent **Louisiana** politician John Slidell (1793–1871) to Mexico with instructions to discuss the border with Texas and two other outstanding issues: the purchase of California and the purchase of New Mexico Territory (made up of parts of present-day New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Nevada). Slidell was authorized to offer $25 million for California and $5 million for New Mexico.

Slidell reached Mexico City on December 6, 1845. The Mexican government, in response to growing Mexican opposition to negotiations with the Americans, refused to receive him. On January 13, 1846, Polk ordered Taylor to advance through the disputed territory, from the Nueces River down to the Rio Grande. Meanwhile, a new Mexican government came into power that reaffirmed Mexico's claim to Texas and refused to receive Slidell.



Louisiana politician John Slidell, above, was sent by President James K. Polk to Mexico to discuss the Texas border. The Mexican government, however, refused to talk to Slidell. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The battle begins

As Polk and Congress prepared to make a formal declaration of war against Mexico, news arrived from Taylor that a large Mexican force had crossed the Rio Grande and surrounded a small unit of U.S. soldiers; eleven Americans were killed and the rest were wounded or captured. A declaration of war was issued on May 13, 1846. Already, Taylor had fought and won the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and on May 18 he occupied the Mexican town of Matamoros.

The U.S. declaration of war authorized a call-up of 50,000 volunteers and more than doubled the strength of the regular army from 7,200 to 15,540. The undisciplined volunteers were at times troublesome and did not always represent the United States well. A small portion of the young men murdered, robbed, and raped the Mexican people throughout the war in Mexico.

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Full-scale war

Polk's initial strategy was to occupy Mexico's northern provinces, blockade Mexican ports, and conquer New Mexico and California. By September, Taylor's army had taken Monterrey in northern Mexico, and by January 1847 American forces in the West had secured New Mexico and California. Although successful militarily, the strategy failed to bring Mexico to terms; in order to do so, Polk decided to shift the major military effort from the north to the heart of the country. The plan called for Major General Winfield Scott (1786–1866) to take Veracruz, a state in eastern Mexico. From there, he could march through the mountains and capture Mexico's capital, Mexico City.

American forces entered Veracruz on March 29, 1847, following a week-long land and naval bombardment (constant shooting with large guns and cannons). On April 8, Scott's army set out along the National Road for the Valley of Mexico, in central Mexico. Mexico once again had a new government and General Santa Anna had once again taken over the presidency. In September, he had taken an army north to oppose Taylor but had been defeated at Buena Vista in February 1847. Having returned to central Mexico, he now prepared to drive back Scott's invasion.



After president and general Antonio López de Santa Anna fled Mexico, the new president agreed to negotiate a peace treaty with the U.S. government, bringing an end to the Mexican-American War. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

On April 18, Scott defeated Santa Anna at Cerro Gordo, a mountain pass near Veracruz, and on May 15 he reached the city of Puebla, only seventy-five miles from Mexico City. After a delay, Scott resumed the advance, again defeating Santa Anna's forces at Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. He entered the capital in mid-September. Santa Anna fled the country, and the new Mexican president informed Polk that he was prepared to negotiate.

The results of the war

The U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on March 10, 1848, bringing an official end to the war. According to the

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treaty, Mexico relinquished New Mexico and California, an addition of 500,000 square miles to U.S. territory. The U.S.-Mexico boundary was established in the middle of the Rio Grande. In return, the United States paid Mexico $15 million. During negotiations, U.S. leaders assumed an attitude of moral superiority. They viewed the forcible incorporation of almost one-half of Mexico's national territory as their divine right, fulfilling the **Manifest Destiny**, or divine right to expand, of the United States.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo looms large in the history of Mexico. After the war, Mexico experienced decades of political turmoil. Partly because of the loss of valuable territory, the treaty ensured that Mexico would remain an underdeveloped country well into the twentieth century. Mexican historians and politicians view this treaty as a bitter lesson in U.S. aggression.

The war with Mexico was one of the deadliest conflicts in U.S. history in terms of deaths per thousands of men who served. Of more than one hundred thousand U.S. soldiers, sailors, and marines who fought in the war, about fifteen hundred were killed in action, and another eleven thousand died from diseases and wounds.

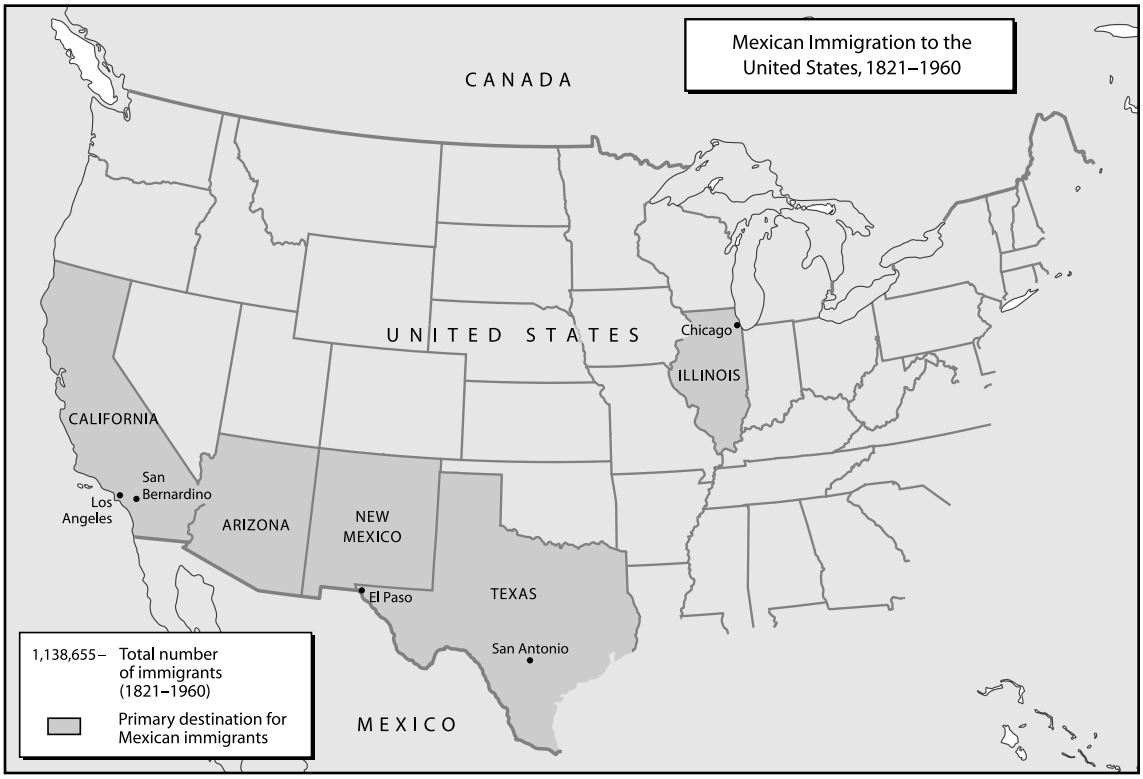
Mexican Immigration

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, there were 20.6 million Mexican Americans, making up 7.3 percent of the national population. In the early twenty-first century, Mexican Americans were the fastest-growing ethnic group in the nation.

Immigrating without moving

In 1846, the United States and Mexico fought the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), a conflict over the United States's annexation of the former Mexican province of **Texas**. The United States defeated Mexico, and under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), the border of Texas was set at the Rio Grande River. In addition, the United States purchased a vast area of Mexico, including present-day **New Mexico**, **Arizona**, **California**, and parts of **Nevada**, **Utah**, and **Colorado**, for $15 million.

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A map showing the primary destinations for Mexican immigrants from 1821 to 1960. In the early twenty-first century, Mexican Americans were the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States. THE GALE GROUP

Under the terms of the treaty, Mexicans in the ceded area were given one year to make a decision. If they chose to remain Mexican citizens, they would have to relocate south of the border. If they chose to stay where they were, they would become U.S. citizens. About 80 percent, or seventy-five thousand Mexican people, remained in the United States and became American citizens.

Early Mexican immigration

Before the Mexican-American War, Mexicans had moved freely back and forth between the Mexican states of Chihuahua, Sonora, and Baja California in the south and New Mexico, Arizona, and California to the north. After the northern area became part of the United States, many

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Mexicans maintained family and business networks on both sides of the border; most ignored the new borders. Those who moved from the south to the north to find work or follow their families became the first Mexican immigrants to the United States.

Political instability in Mexico beginning in the late 1800s, and later the Mexican revolution of 1910, prompted hundreds of thousands of Mexicans to emigrate. Most of the immigrants were poor and illiterate people seeking jobs on farms, in mines, or as railroad laborers.

Call for workers

Since the turn of the twentieth century, the United States has alternately encouraged and discouraged immigration from Mexico, largely depending on the state of the economy and the nation's labor needs. This trend emerged during **World War I** (1914–18), when the U.S. economy was booming and a large number of young men were suddenly called to war. U.S. industry needed labor, but immigration restrictions made it difficult for most Mexican workers to enter the country. American employers found illegal ways to smuggle Mexican workers into the country. The undocumented workers were often exploited (unfairly used for someone else's profit), mainly because they could not complain about abuses for fear of being deported.

Throughout the 1920s, economic opportunities in the United States continued to draw immigrants from Mexico. As many as six hundred thousand immigrated legally; untold numbers came without documents. They often resided in American cities and towns with people from their own region of Mexico. Most Mexican immigrants had come to the United States looking for temporary work and intended to return to Mexico.

In 1929, the stock market crashed and the **Great Depression** (1929–41) began. During this economic crisis, the country struggled with high unemployment and the collapse of businesses. Americans began to view Mexican workers as competition for jobs. Tens of thousands of Mexican workers left the country as soon as the market collapsed. Hundreds of thousands who remained were driven out of the country by hostile Americans and strict government programs during the 1930s.

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Bracero program

When the United States entered **World War II** (1939–45) in 1941, another labor shortage ensued. Looking once again to Mexico for workers, the United States negotiated with the Mexican government, creating the *bracero* program. Braceros, or temporary Mexican workers, were hired under contracts. The government assured them adequate housing, living expenses, transportation costs, and "prevailing wage," meaning they were to be paid the same amount as other local workers.

Despite the government's pledge to protect them, many of the temporary workers were exploited. They lived and worked in miserable conditions and were not paid fair wages. In many cases, the braceros took jobs that would otherwise have been done by Mexican Americans already living in the United States; employers chose them because they were willing to work for less money. The bracero system was designed for wartime, but in fact the program lasted for nearly two decades after the war because businesses continued to press for the inexpensive labor. In all, about five million Mexican workers came to the United States between 1942 and 1964 as seasonal workers.



A group of illegal immigrants leaping the border fence to enter the United States near Tijuana, Mexico. AP IMAGES

Illegal immigration

The bracero program did not stop illegal immigration. Between 1942 and 1951, some five hundred thousand undocumented immigrants (people who came to the United States without the proper papers allowing them to work here) were deported. As competition for jobs became tighter, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) created a special force to locate undocumented workers and make them return to Mexico. These efforts became known as Operation Wetback. (Undocumented Mexican workers were called wetbacks because they often swam across the Rio Grande River to enter the United States.) In 1954 alone, Operation Wetback was responsible for the deportation of more than one million people of Mexican

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descent, and these numbers increased yearly. Very few of those deported were allowed deportation hearings.

In 1986, Congress tried to find a way to allow the undocumented Mexican workers already in the country to remain here legally, while maintaining control over the border. It passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which allowed undocumented foreigners who had been in the country since 1982 to apply to legalize their status. The act imposed penalties, or fines, on employers who had a pattern of illegally employing foreigners.

In 1994, Mexico's economy plummeted and over a million Mexicans lost their jobs. Unauthorized immigration from Mexico to the United States soared. At that time, the U.S. government established Operation Gatekeeper, an extensive border patrol system at the California-Mexico border. The number of border agents increased, and new, high-tech equipment was put to use. In 1997, the U.S. Border Patrol initiated Operation Rio Grande, strengthening the Texas-Mexico border.

Because of the border security measures, immigrants began trying to cross the border in remote areas where the climate was severe and the crossing dangerous. Hundreds died trying to cross. The danger only increased when outlaws preyed upon them at the border. Coyotes, or people smugglers, often robbed the immigrants of their money and in some cases murdered them.

Mexican workers continued to pour into the United States in search of work well into the twenty-first century. In 2003, an estimated seven million Mexicans lived illegally in the United States. Many businesses came to rely on the labor of illegal immigrants, and welcomed—or even recruited—the undocumented workers. On the other hand, many Americans strongly oppose the presence of illegal immigrants, fearing competition for jobs and a drain on social services such as health care and education. Immigration from Mexico became a highly emotional political issue.

Mexican American life

Mexican Americans as a whole have experienced severe discrimination in the United States. Until 1965, public schools for Mexican American children were frequently separate from schools for other children, and they were not as good. During the 1960s, Mexican Americans reacted against policies that ignored their culture and their native language,

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fighting for bilingual and bicultural school programs for their children. In 1974, Congress passed the Equal Education Opportunity Act, which sought to assure equality in public schools by making education in the Spanish language available to students with limited abilities in the English language. In the 1990s, however, California and several other states voted against bilingual programs.

Mexican Americans faced discrimination in the workplace as well. Around the turn of the twenty-first century, Latinos on average earned only about one-third of what non-Latino whites earned in the United States. Among Latino groups, Mexican Americans were the most likely to live in poverty. In the 1990s and 2000s, however, a rising middle class among Mexican Americans was improving the statistics.

Michigan

Michigan, the Wolverine State, entered the Union on January 26, 1837. It was the twenty-sixth state to join. Its total area measures 58,527 square miles (151,585 square kilometers), which makes it the twenty-third largest of the fifty states. Michigan is located in the eastern northcentral United States and is bordered by **Ohio**, **Indiana**, **Illinois**, **Wisconsin**, and Canada. Michigan is unique in that its boundaries are adjacent to four of the five Great Lakes: Superior, Huron, Michigan, and Erie. It also has two peninsulas, the Upper Peninsula and the Lower Peninsula; they are connected by the Mackinac Bridge, which crosses the Straits of Mackinac, the area where Lakes Michigan and Huron meet.

When European exploration began in the early 1600s, Michigan's Lower Peninsula was almost completely uninhabited. The Ojibwa and Menomini tribes lived in regions of the Upper Peninsula, and they were joined eventually by the Winnebago, Sioux, and Huron. These Native American tribes remained a vital force in the region's development for two centuries after Europeans first arrived. They enjoyed an active fur-trading business with the settlers until the end of the **War of 1812** (1812–15). At that point, the tribes became less valuable to the settlers, and by 1842 most tribal lands in the state had been taken by the federal government.

Toward the end of the 1800s, Michigan became an industrial state with a focus on the **automobile industry**, especially in Detroit. Before this, the state depended upon mining and lumber for its livelihood. The

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Great Depression (1929–41) of the 1930s caused the unemployment of half of Michigan's industrial workers, and the automobile market collapsed.

Although the market resumed in later decades, the nationwide recession of the early 1980s hurt those automobile manufacturers that did not foresee the decline in popularity of large luxury cars. Increasingly, Japanese cars were dominating the market. Hundreds of thousands of auto workers lost their jobs, and tens of thousands of them left Michigan to find work elsewhere.

Because Michigan's economy has been focused on just one market, automobile manufacturing, whenever the national economy experiences downturns, Michigan is harder hit than most other states. Agriculture is important to the rural areas of southern Michigan, and forestry and mining continue in the northern region of the state, but on a smaller scale than in years past.

More than ten million people lived in Michigan in 2006; of these, 80 percent of them were white and 14 percent African American. The **Republican Party** dominated politics in the state until the Great Depression, when the **Democratic Party** gained ground. In the twenty-first century, Michigan is a strong two-party state with great support for and participation in labor unions.

Midway, Battle of

See **Battle of Midway**

Military Draft

In 1940, President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) signed the Selective Training and Service Act, which created America's first peacetime draft and established the Selective Service System as an independent federal agency. The military draft is a form of conscription, or the involuntary requirement, of all males to serve in the armed forces. Although there are some restrictions such as age and medical and mental conditions, men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five are required to register with the Selective Service so that they can be more easily located in time of need.

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The draft was first used during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). It was met with widespread resistance, however, and men who could afford to hire substitutes to fight in their place were allowed to do so.

Conscription was again used after America entered **World War I** (1914–18) in 1917. Initially, the required length of service time was twelve months. This was expanded to eighteen months in 1941. Those men drafted during **World War II** (1939–45) were required to serve until six months after the war's end. Because of the need for additional soldiers during this war, the minimum age for the draft was lowered to seventeen.

The wartime draft expired in 1947 but was reinstated the following year. The draft was used again to supply American soldiers to fight the **Korean War** (1950–53). From the mid-1950s and throughout the 1960s, the draft continued, though on a much smaller basis. There simply was not a need to force men into military service during this relatively uneventful period in history. Although it is widely believed that the draft was heavily used throughout the **Vietnam War** (1954–75), draftees were actually in the minority during the early years of the conflict. The reason for the misperception is because most draftees were conscripted into the U.S. **Army** and formed the majority of infantry riflemen. By 1969, 88 percent of Army riflemen had been drafted, and they were the soldiers who were most often killed in action. But by the end of the war, when all the numbers were totaled, two-thirds of those Americans who served in the Vietnam War were volunteers. Even celebrities were drafted, including **Elvis Presley** (1935–1977) and baseball hero Willie Mays (1931–).

Vietnam and the conscientious objector

During the Vietnam War, even before troops were sent overseas, the American public was divided about the draft. Because some college students were exempt from being drafted, there was much resentment among the working class and the poor who could not afford to attend college. Although the guidelines for determining who was exempt from the draft were not completely clear and not strictly enforced, some of those who were exempt or could defer (postpone) their service included students studying for the ministry and those who were mid-year in their studies. Some men were exempt from service because of the importance of their occupation. Police officers fell into this category. Other young

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men—students or not—came from influential families whose doctors would declare them physically unable to serve. By 1969, the government realized the draft as it was set up was not working, and it implemented a lottery system. While there was still room for exemptions and deferments, the rules were more clear.

Although young men still had to register for the draft, they could do so as conscientious objectors (COs). A CO opposes serving in the armed forces due to religious or moral principles. These men would still have to serve, but they would be more likely to be given a job that did not involve direct battle.

Millions of Americans protested against the Vietnam War because they did not believe their country should be involved. The **antiwar movement** included many types of protests; one of the most frequent forms was the burning of draft registration cards. This was a crime and punishable by a fine and/or jail time. Thousands of young men who did not want to serve in the Vietnam War went to Canada, a country that did not support the war.

End of the draft

The draft formally ended in 1973; young men no longer had to register with the Selective Service System. In 1980, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and American president **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) reinstated the registration requirement. All males between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five who were born on or after January 1, 1960, were required to register. This law remained in place into the twenty-first century. Because prosecuting those who fail to register is cost prohibitive and counterproductive for the government, many young men fail to register on their eighteenth birthday or do not register at all.

If America instituted a draft in current society, it would be handled differently than it was in the past. Reforms have made the draft more equitable, and it is much harder to be excused from service. Students would no longer be exempt from service. College students could only postpone their induction into the military until the end of the current semester, and seniors could only postpone until the end of the academic year.

Men used to be drafted according to their age, with the oldest being chosen first. Now the rules state that men be drafted by a lottery system. Under this system, a man would spend one year in first priority for the

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draft. Each year that follows, his name is placed in a lower-priority group. This way, the probability of being drafted lessens as the years pass.

When America attacked Iraq in 2003, several congressmen introduced legislation to reinstate the draft for both men and women. The bill did not receive much support. An attempt to reinstate the draft was made again in 2006, and again it failed.

Minnesota

Minnesota, the North Star State, was the thirty-second to join the Union on May 11, 1858. It is the largest midwestern state and is bordered by Canada, **Wisconsin**, **Iowa**, **North Dakota**, and **South Dakota**.

When the first Europeans set foot in Minnesota in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Dakota and Ojibwa nations resided there. Eastern Minnesota eventually fell under British control, then was ceded to the United States after the **American Revolution** (1775–83). In 1803, as part of the **Louisiana Purchase**, the United States purchased from France the area of Minnesota west of the Mississippi River. After the **War of 1812** (1812–15), the United States passed a law forbidding the British from participating in the fur trade.

Beginning in 1837, a series of treaties with the Ojibwa and Dakota tribes transferred vast areas of tribal lands to the federal government. This opened the land for lumbering, farming, and settlement, but broke up the relationship between fur traders and Native Americans. Chief Little Crow (c. 1810–1863) led the Dakotas in an uprising in 1862 in which more than three hundred whites and untold numbers of Native Americans were killed. Thirty-eight Dakota captives were hanged, and the rest moved to reservations in **Nebraska**. That same year, the state's first railroad joined two major cities—St. Anthony (Minneapolis) and St. Paul—with 10 miles (16 kilometers) of track.

Further construction of railroads brought about an era of large-scale commercial farming in Minnesota. By 1880, the mills in Minneapolis alone were producing more than two million barrels of flour every year. Around that same time, iron ore was discovered in the northeast, attracting thousands of immigrants to the region. By the beginning of **World War I** (1914–18), Minnesota had become the nation's iron-mining center.

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More than five million people resided in Minnesota in 2006. Eighty-eight percent were white, another 4 percent African American. Their leading sources of income were manufacturing, finance, real estate, and insurance. Agriculture, too, plays an important role in the state's economy. Minnesota is first in the nation in the production of sugar beets. It also produces sweet corn, green peas, wheat, alfalfa hay, oats, soybeans, and other crops. One-fourth of the state's labor force was employed in agriculture or agriculture-related industries, especially food processing.

Minnesota is a state of two political parties: the **Republican Party** and the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party. In 1998, the state's voters surprised the nation when they elected Reform Party candidate Jesse Ventura (1951–) as governor. Ventura, a famous professional wrestler, was new to politics; he served just one term.

Tourism is a thriving industry in Minnesota, as visitors come from all over to enjoy the state's lakes and parks, ski trails, campgrounds, and historical and cultural attractions. The state also is home to the Mall of America, the nation's largest retail and entertainment complex.

Mississippi

On December 10, 1817, Mississippi became the twentieth state admitted into the Union. Located in the eastern southcentral United States, the state is bordered by **Alabama**, **Louisiana**, **Arkansas**, and **Tennessee**. It is the thirty-second largest state with a total area of 47,689 square miles (123,514 square kilometers).

The first Spanish explorers arrived in what is present-day Mississippi in the early sixteenth century and found approximately thirty thousand Native Americans divided into fifteen tribes. By the time the French settled in 1699, only three large tribes remained: Natchez, Chickasaw, and Choctaw.

The Mississippi Territory was organized in 1798. It was large enough that Congress decided to organize the eastern half as the Alabama Territory in 1817. The western half became the state of Mississippi.

Mississippi was the second Southern state to secede from the Union after **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) was elected president. (See **Secession**.) Nearly thirty thousand of the seventy-eight thou-

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sand Mississippians who fought in the American **Civil War** (1861–65) died.

Although the Civil War brought freedom to the state's slaves, white Mississippians continued to discriminate against African Americans through **segregation** laws and customs. The state's agricultural economy was dominated by **cotton** and tenant farming, and there was little opportunity for landless African American farm workers. Between 1883 and 1959, 538 African Americans were **lynched** (tortured and hanged) in Mississippi, more than in any other state.

The **Great Depression** (1929–41) hit the state hard; cotton sank to five cents per pound in 1932, and one-fourth of the state's farmland was taken for nonpayment of taxes. **World War II** (1939–45) stimulated industrial growth, and by the early 1980s, Mississippi's economy had become one of industry.

Mississippi was one of the main sites of social turmoil throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, due primarily to the **civil rights movement**. By end of the 1960s, manufacturing surpassed farming as a way of life. This occured because residents accepted low wages and did little to organize formal labor unions. The garment, textile, and wood-products industries were traditionally low paying anyway. Despite the introduction of casino gambling in 1992, Mississippi remains a poor state. In 2004, it ranked fifty-first among the fifty states and the District of Columbia with a per person income of $24,518. The national average at that time was $33,050.

Mississippi was home to 2.9 million people in 2006. The population was 60.8 percent white, 36.5 percent African American. The capital city of Jackson had an estimated population in 2005 of 177,977, which was larger than any other city in the state. Of the state's population, 27 percent of residents are between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four; 26 percent are under the age of eighteen.

Missouri

Missouri became the twenty-fourth state to join the Union on August 10, 1821. The Show-Me State, located in the Midwest, is surrounded by **Iowa**, **Illinois**, **Kentucky**, **Tennessee**, **Arkansas**, **Oklahoma**, **Kansas**, and **Nebraska**. It is the nineteenth-largest state in America. Its capital is Jefferson City.

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As white settlers flooded into Missouri after 1803, the Native American tribes living there were forced into Kansas and present-day Oklahoma. Over the next three decades, treaties were negotiated and land was surrendered, leaving few tribes in the area.

The first white explorers to pass through Missouri were French priest Jacques Marquette (1637–1675) and French-Canadian explorer Louis Jolliet (1645–1700), who paddled past the mouth of the Mississippi River in 1673. Nine years later, the entire Mississippi Valley, including Missouri, was claimed for France, which called the area the **Louisiana** Territory. In 1762, Spain gained possession of the Louisiana Territory. The Spanish did not try to settle Missouri, but they did allow Americans to move into the territory. Spanish rule lasted until 1800, when Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) demanded that the Louisiana Territory be returned to France's control. In 1803, the United States acquired the territory, including Missouri, in the **Louisiana Purchase**.

Thanks largely to its river access and the advent of steamboat travel, Missouri's population exceeded one million by 1860. Although it was a proslavery state, Missouri remained loyal to the Union throughout the American **Civil War** (1861–65). In January 1865, it became the first state to free its slaves.

Missouri became known as the Robber State in the 1870s as outlaw brothers Jesse James (1847–1882) and Frank James (1843–1915) terrorized residents. As railroad construction increased, the percentage of "wild" land shrank, until finally the Missouri frontier closed altogether. The economy shifted from agriculture to industry, and lead mining was an economic mainstay. By 1970, the state was second only to **Michigan** in automobile manufacturing.

Along with the rest of the country, Missouri enjoyed prosperity in the years following **World War II** (1939–45). It did not last long, however, and by the 1960s several of the state's cities were suffering from serious deterioration. St. Louis alone lost 47 percent of its population between 1950 and 1980. Federal, state, and private funding amounting to millions of dollars was used to rebuild and repair housing throughout the early 1980s.

Missouri's total population in 2006 was just over 5.8 million. More than half of all residents lived in cities, primarily Kansas City and St. Louis. Of the 5.8 million, 84.5 percent were white, 11.2 percent were African American, and 2.6 percent were Hispanic.

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Tourism is a booming industry in Missouri, with more than half of visitors coming from out of state. The most popular attractions include the St. Louis Gateway Arch (the tallest manmade national monument in the country), the town of Branson (often called the "Live Music Show Capital of the World"), and the city of Hannibal, which, in the novels of native son **Samuel Clemens** (1835–1910), known as Mark Twain, became St. Petersburg, the hometown of Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn, and Becky Thatcher.

Missouri Compromise

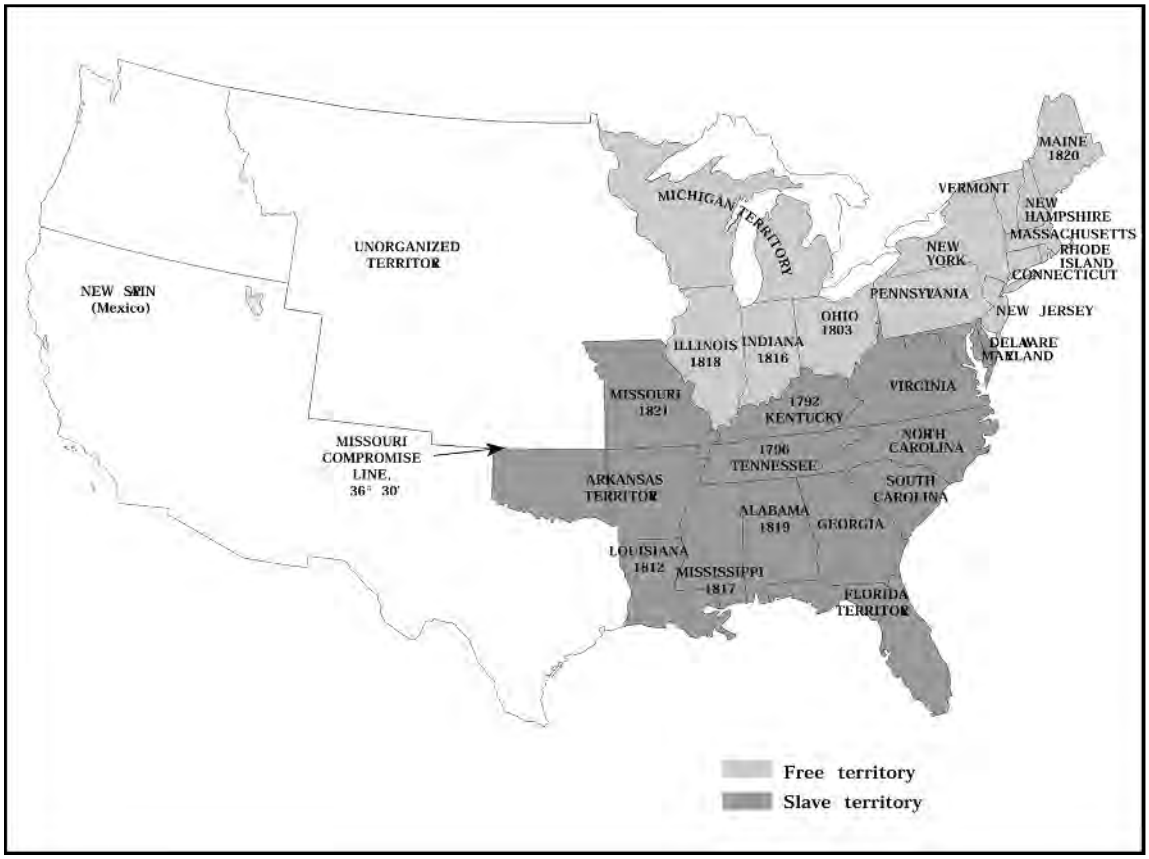
By the early nineteenth century, the United States was increasingly divided by the issue of **slavery**. Increasing numbers of Northerners wanted the government to limit slavery to the states in which it already existed, while most Southerners viewed slave labor as essential to their economic prosperity and resented governmental interference. In 1819, the nation held a delicate balance. There were eleven free (nonslave) states and eleven slave states, giving both sides equal representation in the U.S. Senate. (The free states had larger populations and therefore dominated the U.S. House of Representatives.) When the territory of **Missouri** applied for admission to the Union as a slave state early in 1819, it threatened to tip the scale. This set off a full-fledged congressional debate. It was the first time in the nation's history that the institution of slavery had advanced to the center of the political stage.

Tallmadge Amendment

In February 1819, U.S. representative James Tallmadge Jr. (1778–1853) of **New York** proposed an amendment to the congressional bill admitting Missouri to the Union. Taking into account that slavery was already commonly practiced in the Missouri Territory, his amendment prohibited the further introduction of slavery into the territory and provided for the gradual emancipation of slaves already there.

The South was just beginning to expand westward with its slave-labor plantation system. For those engaged in the production of **cotton** and other Southern staples, the economic future had looked bright. By limiting slavery, the Tallmadge Amendment threatened that future. It also challenged the doctrine of states' rights, the belief that state governments should have more authority over local affairs than the federal gov-

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This map shows slave territory and free territory as well as the Missouri Compromise line. THE GALE GROUP

ernment, which had become accepted doctrine throughout much of the South. Southerners believed that Tallmadge and his supporters were launching a moral attack on the Southern way of life. Many Southern congressmen who had earlier expressed uneasiness about slavery became decisively proslavery in response to the amendment.

Ending the standoff

The Tallmadge Amendment did not make it through the Senate. At a loss, from December 1819 through March 1820 Congress debated how to admit Missouri to the Union without infuriating either the North or the South. The significance of the debate lay mainly in the stance taken by Southerners in defending slavery. All the arguments that Southerners

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would use during the next thirty years to justify the institution of slavery were first aired during the Missouri debates.

Finally, Congress passed a bill that provided for Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state, but for **Maine** to be admitted as a free state, thus keeping the prior balance between slave and free states. It also declared that territories north of latitude 36°30' north of the **Louisiana Purchase** (the present-day southern border of Missouri), with the exception of the state of Missouri, were to be admitted only as free states.

When Missouri submitted its state constitution to Congress, the debate was renewed. In the proposed constitution, the Missouri Assembly was ordered to pass laws prohibiting free blacks or mulattoes (people of mixed racial backgrounds) from entering the state. This prohibition violated the federal **Constitution**'s guarantee that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States." The status of free blacks in the North was at stake. Free blacks were considered citizens in the state of **Massachusetts**. Could Missouri then deny them their rights?

Under the leadership of Speaker of the House **Henry Clay** (1777–1852) of **Kentucky**, nicknamed "the Great Compromiser," Congress passed a resolution admitting Missouri on the condition that the legislature of that state abstain from passing any laws that abrogated (voided) the privileges and immunities clause of the U.S. Constitution. Nonetheless, in 1825 and 1847 Missouri passed laws designed to prohibit the immigration of free Negroes and mulattoes into the state.

The start of a long conflict

The congressional struggle that finally produced the Missouri Compromise transformed the South into a self-conscious political section of the nation. In the decades that followed, sectional controversy and North-South conflict became the norm.

The balance attained by the Missouri Compromise would not hold up under the conflict. In 1854, **Kansas** Territory applied to be admitted to the Union. In another compromise, the territory was carved up to form two states, Kansas and **Nebraska**, and the slavery status of each was to be decided by popular sovereignty (the voters in each state). Thus, the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** repealed the antislavery clause of the Missouri Compromise, which had pronounced that the Northern territories of the Louisiana Purchase were to be free. Leaving the decisions about slavery up

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to the new states did not help. Violence ensued in Kansas between antislavery and proslavery adherents. In 1857, Dred Scott (c. 1795–1858), a slave from Missouri, sued for his freedom on the basis of having traveled and lived with his owner in the free territory. The U.S. **Supreme Court** decided against Scott; in the course of the ***Dred Scott*** case trial, the Court declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.

Monopolies and Trusts

By the late nineteenth century, big businesses and giant corporations had taken over the American economy. Consumers were forced to pay high prices for things they needed on a regular basis, and it became clear that reform of regulations in industry was required. The loudest outcry was against trusts and monopolies. Trusts are the organization of several businesses in the same industry and by joining forces, the trust controls production and distribution of a product or service, thereby limiting competition. Monopolies are businesses that have total control over a sector of the economy, including prices.

Trusts are problematic for several reasons. Monopolies develop from trusts and give total control of a specific industry to one group of companies. Owners and top-level executives of monopolies profit greatly, but smaller businesses and companies have no chance to make money at all. Trusts also upset the idea of capitalism, the economic theory upon which the American economy is built. In a capitalist society, all businesses have an equal opportunity to thrive based on competition. When monopolies and trusts exist, competition cannot.

The first trust

John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937) formed the first trust in 1882 with the establishment of the Standard Oil Company. Rockefeller knew America depended on oil for its daily existence. Families and businesses used it to heat their homes and buildings; factories needed it to run their machines. By establishing his trust, Rockefeller forced consumers to pay whatever price he wanted to charge for his oil. America was growing weary of this situation.

In response to public unrest, President **Benjamin Harrison** (1833–1901; served 1889–93) passed the **Sherman Antitrust Act** in 1890. Named after the U.S. senator John Sherman (1823–1900) of

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Ohio, this new law made trusts and monopolies illegal both within individual states and when dealing with foreign trade.

Although the law was a step in the right direction, it was not enough to stop the wealthiest men in America—like Rockefeller—from ending their unethical business practices. And because these wealthy men contributed large sums of money to political campaigns, the government was reluctant to enforce the Sherman Antitrust Act.

Railroads formed another major monopoly. (See **Railroad Industry**.) Individual railroad companies knew that industry and farmers alike depended upon them to transport their products across the country. When it became clear that undercutting each other by lowering shipping rates was only hurting themselves, the companies joined forces and formed a monopoly called the South Improvement Company. The railroad companies set a fixed shipping price for those businesses doing more shipping, and such businesses paid a lower rate as a sort of reward. This policy made shipping goods by railroad too expensive for small businesses and farmers, yet their alternatives were limited.



A political cartoon critiquing the abundance of trusts throughout the country. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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The trust-busting president

It was not until **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) became president that the Sherman Act was enforced with any regularity. Roosevelt was a president of the people, and he strongly believed in the government regulation of business so that healthy competition could take place. He was so determined that he became known as the "trust-busting" president.

Roosevelt's administration began more than forty lawsuits against companies, but the truth was, he was more in favor of regulating trusts than he was of dissolving them. He believed the Sherman Antitrust Act was foolish because in his mind, there were good trusts and bad trusts, and he believed they should be dealt with on an individual basis. But when Congress refused to enact his suggestions for the federal licensing and regulation of interstate companies, he had no choice but to enforce the act.

In 1914, President **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) established the Federal Trade Commission, a government department designed solely to protect the public from unfair business practices.

From 1902 to 1904, journalist Ida M. Tarbell (1857–1944) exposed Rockefeller's unethical business practices and his entanglement with the railroad monopoly in a nineteen-part series published in *McClure's* magazine. Tarbell's work gave the American public the evidence it needed to demand that action be taken against Rockefeller. On May 15, 1911, the government ordered Standard Oil to separate into thirty-four smaller companies, each with its own board of directors. The first American trust was broken.

Modern trusts

Antitrust laws are still aggressively pursued in America's modern economy. In May 1998, the United States filed a suit against Microsoft Corporation. The United States charged that the computer software company abused monopoly legislation in the way it handled its operating system and Web browser sales. After two years of litigation, Microsoft was found guilty of violating the Sherman Antitrust Act. The judge ordered Microsoft to divide itself into two units: one to produce the operating system, the other to produce software.

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Microsoft appealed the verdict, and in November 2001 it reached a settlement with the U.S. **Department of Justice**. Instead of dividing the company into two separate units of operation, Microsoft was ordered to share its application programming interfaces with third-party companies. It would also be required to appoint a panel of three people who would have unlimited access to Microsoft's systems, records, and source code for five years in order to ensure that the company complied (acted in agreement) with the settlement. Nine states and **Washington, D.C.**, fought against this settlement, claiming that it did not go far enough to fight the Microsoft monopoly. But on June 30, 2004, the U.S. Court of Appeals approved the settlement. The case has been publicly criticized for not imposing harsher consequences. Others criticized the government for even pursuing Microsoft on terms of business monopoly. They claimed the suit was the result of government joining with smaller competitors against Microsoft to obstruct the bigger company's ability to profit. These critics believe antitrust laws go against the concept of a free marketplace, where all businesses share an equal chance to succeed.

Another prominent case involved telecommunications company AT&T. For much of its history, AT&T and its Bell System (named after inventor and scientist **Alexander Graham Bell** [1847–1922]) operated as a legally sanctioned monopoly. The logic behind such a monopoly was that the technology would operate more efficiently as one system, rather than have numerous systems pieced together across the country. In addition to **telephones**, the company also controlled the **telegraph** system.

An antitrust lawsuit was filed against AT&T in 1949 that resulted in a 1956 decision limiting the company's activities to the regulated national telephone system and government work. As technology improved, the government allowed other, smaller companies to compete in the area of long-distance telephone service. By the mid 1970s, consumers had several choices when looking for long-distance telephone carriers.

The federal government decided this limited competition was not enough, and it filed an antitrust lawsuit against AT&T in 1974. In January 1982, the company agreed to rid itself of the Bell operating companies that provided local telephone service. The change took place in January 1984, at which time the Bell system became AT&T, with seven regionally controlled and operated Bell companies. The company

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went from $149.5 billion in assets to $34 billion, and from more than one million employees to 373,000.

In 2000, AT&T announced it would restructure into separate companies: AT&T, AT&T Wireless, and AT&T Broadband. The following year, AT&T Broadband merged with Comcast and became the Comcast Corporation. In January 2005, AT&T merged with SBC Communications to become the industry's premier networking and communications company.

James Monroe

James Monroe was the fifth president of the United States. He took office on March 4, 1817, and served two terms as a very popular president. Overseeing the "Era of Good feelings," Monroe's presidency was marked by a period of peace, national expansion, and the absence of party politics.



James Monroe was the fifth president of the United States. His presidency was marked by a period of peace and national expansion. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Early years

James Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, **Virginia**, on April 28, 1758. His parents, Spence and Elizabeth Jones Monroe, had a six-hundred acre plantation. Upon his father's death in 1774, Monroe and his younger siblings fell under the guardianship of his mother's brother, Joseph Jones (1727–1805). Jones was one of the most influential leaders in Virginia at the time and introduced Monroe to the world of politics.

Encouraged by his uncle, Monroe left home to attend William and Mary College in the colonial capital of Williamsburg, Virginia, in June 1774. While there, Monroe quickly became distracted by political activity. The long conflict between the king of England and the American colonists was reaching its climax. Inspired by the revolutionary cause, Monroe left college in the spring of 1776 and enlisted in the Third Virginia Infantry.

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Within months of his enlistment, Monroe became a lieutenant and was fighting with **George Washington** (1732–1799), commander of the Continental armies, in **New York**. During his two and a half years of military service, Monroe participated in some of the **American Revolution**'s (1775–83) most historic events. He won fame and promotion to major for his heroism in aiding Washington's advance at Trenton, one of the most pivotal moments in the revolution, which turned the tide in favor of the American patriots. Though he became an aid to one of Washington's generals, Monroe preferred to be in the field, so he left his position and sought to raise his own regiment in Virginia in 1779.

Unable to raise his own regiment, Monroe returned home, where his uncle introduced him to the governor of Virginia, **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826). The meeting was the start of a long friendship for the two men, a friendship that inspired Monroe's lifelong career in politics. At Jefferson's encouragement, Monroe returned to William and Mary in 1780 and began to study law. When the capital of Virginia was moved later that year, Monroe left school again to follow his mentor Jefferson to Richmond, Virginia.

Entering politics

After two years of studying law under Jefferson's guidance, Monroe turned to politics. In 1782, he won an election to the Virginia legislature, the **House of Burgesses**. The following year, Monroe became a delegate to the Continental Congress, the forerunner of today's U.S. Congress, where he served until 1786. (See **Continental Congress, First** and **Continental Congress, Second**.)

While in New York at the Continental Congress, Monroe met his wife, Elizabeth Kortright (1768–1830). They were married on February 16, 1786, and lived briefly in New York. When Monroe's congressional term ended in October, they returned to Virginia where they soon had their first child, Eliza. It would be more than a decade before they had two more children, a son who died as an infant and another daughter, Maria. The family eventually settled on an estate in Virginia near what became **Washington, D.C.** At home in Virginia, Monroe combined an active law practice with management of his plantation and part-time membership in the state legislature.

After four years in private life, Monroe was called back into active politics with his election to the U.S. Senate in 1790. Monroe had voiced

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concerns in the state legislature about the government set forth by the U.S. **Constitution**. He objected to what he considered to be excessive power granted to the Senate and the president. He became a leader in the Senate and a founding member of the newly developing **Democratic-Republican Party**, which acted to balance the **Federalist Party** (the majority party at the time, which favored a strong federal government) in Congress and the overly powerful executive branch. He served in this capacity until 1794.

Over the next twenty years, Monroe would hold a number of political appointments interspersed with returns to private life on his plantation. From 1794 to 1796, he served as ambassador to France under President Washington. He went on to serve three successful terms as governor of Virginia from 1799 to 1802.

At the end of Monroe's last term as governor, President Jefferson sent Monroe to France as a special envoy. The treaty that Monroe negotiated with French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) gave the **Louisiana** Territory, more than 800,000 square miles of land extending from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, to the United States. Upon completing that mission, Monroe was appointed ambassador to England, a post he held from July 1803 until his return to private life in the United States in December 1807.

The commercial treaty that Monroe negotiated with Britain in 1806, which did little to resolve the problem of **impressment**, the British practice of seizing U.S. sailors and forcing them to serve in the British navy, caused a temporary strain in his friendships with Jefferson and Secretary of State **James Madison** (1751–1836). The break did not last long, however, and Madison, now president, appointed Monroe to be secretary of state in 1811. Monroe served in that capacity until 1817, when he became president.

Presidency

James Monroe easily won the 1816 election for president. The Federalist Party was fading, and no new party had yet risen. Those who challenged his nomination were from the same political party and far less experienced. Monroe was reelected in 1820 in an election in which he was unopposed.

Monroe's two terms of service have been called the "Era of Good Feelings" due to the general peace and stability that the nation enjoyed.

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Without competition from another party in the political system, Monroe's administration was able to accomplish much. Monroe and Congress spent much of their time on issues involving the admittance of new sates, territorial expansion, and the role of the federal government in establishing these new areas.

Monroe's presidency was marked by two major issues. The first involved the role of slavery in the nation. Expansion of the United States sparked a crisis between the northern and southern states that nearly caused some states to leave the Union. The debate centered on the expansion of slavery into new territories. "The Missouri Compromise" was reached after two years of debate, providing what would be a temporary solution. It established a boundary separating slave and free territories in the new parts of the country.

An international crisis was the second major issue of Monroe's presidency. Seminole Indians staged raids against the United States from the Spanish territory of **Florida**. In pursuing the aggressors, U.S. general **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845) invaded and seized Spanish forts. Monroe quickly returned the properties to avoid war with Spain. The events triggered negotiations that resulted in the United States's acquisition of Florida.

Monroe is perhaps best remembered for establishing a model of foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere for the United States. Called the **Monroe Doctrine**, it set forth three basic principles as guidelines for American involvement in foreign affairs. First, Monroe announced to Europe that the United States would oppose further **colonization** in the New World. Second, he promised that the United States would not intervene in European quarrels unless a nation's rights were endangered. Third, Monroe insisted that Europe must not interfere with the independent republics that had been established in the Western Hemisphere. While the United States lacked the power to enforce the Monroe Doctrine, it has since evolved into a guiding force in U.S. foreign policy.

Later years

Monroe retired from politics when he left the presidency in 1825. He returned to the life of a country gentleman in his home in Virginia. Monroe busied himself by becoming a board member for the University of Virginia and by enjoying his friendships with Jefferson and Madison. In 1830, Elizabeth Monroe died. Monroe's own health quickly began to

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deteriorate, and he moved to New York to live with his youngest daughter. He died in New York on July 4, 1831.

Monroe Doctrine

On December 2, 1823, President **James Monroe** (1758–1831; served 1817–1825) addressed Congress. A portion of his speech was devoted to U.S. foreign policy. The ideas he set forth have come to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. While it had limited meaning and application at the time, it has since become a cornerstone of U.S. policy in the Western Hemisphere.

Two events led President Monroe to explain U.S. foreign policy to the rest of the world. The first involved Russian expansion southward from its colonies in **Alaska**. Diplomatic tensions sparked American fears that Russia wanted to take U.S. territory along the Pacific coast.

A second reason for Monroe's address concerned the state of affairs in Latin America. Revolutions had removed Spain and Portugal from most of their Latin American colonies, and new governments had been established. In 1822, the United States began recognizing the new governments. By 1823, rumors circulated that some European countries planned to reconquer their Latin American colonies. This threatened the United States's economic and territorial interests in the region.

President Monroe's message contained three simple points. First, he announced to Europe that the United States would oppose further **colonization** in the New World. Second, he promised that the United States would not intervene in European quarrels unless a nation's rights were endangered. Third, the president insisted that Europe must not interfere with the independent republics that had been established in the Western Hemisphere, including in Latin America.

The United States was not powerful enough at the time to support this policy. Instead, it counted on Great Britain for support should trouble arise, as Great Britain and the United States had interests that did not conflict greatly. In the years following Monroe's speech, European countries did not always heed the doctrine's warnings, and the United States did not always try to enforce them. Over time, however, the United States became strong enough to control international policy in much of the Western Hemisphere, making the rhetoric of the Monroe Doctrine match reality.

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Montana

Montana was admitted to the Union as the forty-first state on November 8, 1889. With a total area of 147,046 square miles (380,849 square kilometers), Montana is the fourth-largest state in America and the largest of the eight Rocky Mountain states. Located in the northwestern United States, it is bordered by **Wyoming**, **Idaho**, Canada, **North Dakota**, and **South Dakota**. Its capital is Helena. Nicknamed the Treasure State, it is also often called Big Sky Country.

Historians believe the first European explorers to visit Montana were French Canadian fur traders and trappers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The state's written history dates back only to 1803. That is the year most of Montana was given to the United States as part of the **Louisiana Purchase**.

Montana's economy was built around the fur trade until the discovery of gold in 1858. By the late 1800s, cattle ranchers exploited the vast open ranges of the state. The construction of Montana's railroads between 1880 and 1909 reignited the mining industry, and by 1890, 40 percent of the nation's copper demands were met from mining efforts in the Butte copper pits.

With the railroads bringing wave upon wave of homesteaders, Montana's population doubled between 1900 and 1920. During that same period, the number of farms and ranches increased from 13,000 to 57,000. Life for this agricultural community became extraordinarily difficult during the **Great Depression** (1929–41), which occurred at the same time as a severe and relentless drought. The **New Deal**, the economic plan launched by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), was popular in Montana, and it helped breathe new life into farming and silver mining.

The state's fossil fuels industry developed quickly throughout the 1970s, an era in which Americans experienced an energy crisis. The industry leveled off after the crisis and fell into decline in the early 1980s. During that time, Butte copper mining came to a halt as mining operations closed.

Montana was home to 944,632 people in 2006. The population was overwhelmingly white (90.6 percent), with another 6 percent being American Indian or Alaska Native and 2.2 percent of Hispanic descent.

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Twenty-nine percent of the population was between the ages of forty-five and sixty-four.

In addition to mining, lumbering, and agriculture, tourism became increasingly important to Montana's economy in the twenty-first century. Employment in the service industries exceeded that in manufacturing and mining throughout the 1990s. Montana is not a wealthy state. In 2004, its per-person income averaged $27,657, compared to a national average of $33,050. During the years 2002–4, 14.3 percent of residents lived below the federal poverty level, compared to a national average of 12.4 percent.

Montgomery, Alabama

See **Montgomery Bus Boycott; Selma-to-Montgomery, Alabama, Civil Rights Marches**

Montgomery Bus Boycott

When the U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional in ***Brown v. Board of Education*** (1954), the decision brought no immediate changes to Montgomery, **Alabama**. Once the capital of the **Confederate States of America** (the eleven states that seceded from the **Union** during the American **Civil War** [1861–65]), this city of about 130,000 people—50,000 of whom were black—continued to enforce **Jim Crow laws**. These laws, dating back to the nineteenth century, segregated (separate the races) blacks and whites and discriminated against African Americans in schools, workplaces, and voting polls. Despite Montgomery's failure to respond to the *Brown* ruling, African Americans in the city were encouraged by it. A core group of leaders emerged, built around ministers, teachers, and local officials of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), a prominent civil rights organization.

A spontaneous act

On December 1, 1955, **Rosa Parks** (1913–2005), a seamstress at a Montgomery department store and formerly secretary of the local NAACP chapter, refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white passenger as required by city ordinance. She was arrested. Montgomery's blacks began at once to organize a protest on her behalf. E. D. Nixon

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On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give her seat on a bus to a white passenger, as required by the city ordinance. She was arrested by local police. AP IMAGES

(1899–1987), a long-time leader in the black community, contacted two young Baptist ministers, **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) and **Ralph Abernathy** (1926–1990). Along with other representatives of the black community, the three men mapped out plans for a boycott of Montgomery buses by all African Americans to begin on Monday, December 5. A series of mass meetings and Sunday sermons spread the word, and the first day of the boycott was a success. At a meeting that day, Montgomery blacks formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to coordinate the boycott. Members elected King as MIA president.

The boycott

As the boycott continued, the MIA laid out its demands to the city—courteous treatment by bus drivers; a first-come, first-served seating arrangement; and the employment of black drivers on predominantly black routes. At first, Montgomery's white population reacted with indifference or amusement. But the bus company began to lose money without its black patrons, who made up about two-thirds of its customers. Tensions mounted. City police began to harass the car pools that had been set up by blacks to provide alternative transportation, arresting

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some of their drivers. King himself was arrested for speeding and his house was blasted by dynamite. The houses of two other leaders of the boycott suffered the same fate within several weeks.

These acts of violence and intimidation united the Montgomery black community, inspiring it to continue the boycott for more than a year. The violence also attracted national attention to Montgomery and led to substantial outside support for the boycott. In contrast to the violence directed at the African American community, the boycott got out to the nation the message of nonviolent, passive resistance that King was preaching at every opportunity. In one mass meeting after another, he urged his followers to ignore the hostile words and actions of their opponents, to confront their opponents passively (peacefully), and to refuse to fight back.



To protest Rosa Parks's arrest, the black community organized a boycott of Montgomery buses, walking to work instead. The bus company lost money since black patrons made up two-thirds of its customers. DON CRAVENS/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

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Victory

While the boycott continued, the legal issues raised by it went to the courts. After months of wrangling in the lower courts, the Supreme Court finally ruled that the Montgomery bus company had to change its segregationist practices. On December 21, 1956, King, Abernathy, and Nixon signaled the end of the boycott by boarding a bus in front of King's house. Another two months of sporadic bombings and arson followed before Montgomery's whites accepted bus service on an integrated basis.

The boycott was a success in achieving its immediate objective, but its greater significance lies in the precedent it set for the decade that followed. Martin Luther King Jr. emerged from the Montgomery struggle as one of the most important spokespeople for the African American **civil rights movement**, and his tactics of nonviolent passive resistance remained the major tool of the movement until the mid-1960s. The Montgomery bus boycott, proving once and for all black Americans' steadfast determination to peacefully force improvement of their living conditions, was an important milestone in the profound social changes brought about by the African American civil rights movement.

J. P. Morgan

J. P. Morgan was a remarkably successful investment banker in the **Gilded Age**, an era of industrialization from the early 1860s to the turn of the century in which a few wealthy individuals gained tremendous power and influence. More than once, his willingness to provide financial assistance to the federal government kept America out of a state of panic.

From riches to more riches

John Pierpont Morgan was born in 1837 to a successful banker and his wife, who came from a family of social reformers. After receiving a privileged education, Morgan began his career as an apprentice in his father's banking house, for which he then became an agent. In 1860, he established his own company.

Morgan spent the American **Civil War** (1861–65) years making as much money as quickly as he could. By age twenty-seven, he was a leader in the New York City banking business. As he amassed his own fortune,

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Morgan worked with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to raise money to help improve the lives of others. He married Frances Tracy in 1865 (his first wife had died of tuberculosis); the couple would have four children.

In 1871, Morgan accepted a new partnership with the Drexel family of Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**. As full partner, he headed the New York office under the title of Drexel, Morgan, and Company.

Finances the railroads

Always one to focus on profit, Morgan got involved in the **railroad industry** so that both owners and financiers (those who lend money to companies) would be rewarded for their investments. Morgan believed the future of American railroads lay in building a large, integrated system controlled by one corporation. There was no room for competition in the railroad.

Morgan helped some of the wealthiest businessmen of the era buy and sell railroad stock. By partnering with other banking houses both at home and overseas, the financier organized syndicates (groups of companies working together to complete a financial transaction) that financed and managed dozens of railroads in the late 1800s.

Rescues government

Morgan's reputation was such that the federal government called on him in time of need. In 1877, he lent the U.S. **Army** $2 million so that it could pay its troops. Congress eventually repaid him.

In 1893, the economy was suffering from a depression, known as the **Panic of 1893**. When a combination of laws forced the U.S. Treasury to sell gold until it was nearly bankrupt, Morgan formed a syndicate of American and European bankers to lend gold to the government. This move saved the Treasury.

In 1895, he formed a partnership with his cousin, calling the firm J. P. Morgan and Company, today still a noted financial services firm. In 1901, Morgan formed the United States Steel Corporation, the world's first billion-dollar corporation. He also merged the Northern Pacific railroad with its rival, the Great Northern, though the merger was eventually declared illegal because it was too powerful. In 1907, Morgan

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prevented financial panic again when his company lent money to the banks, even though his company lost money in doing so.

Art collector and benefactor

Morgan was a trustee of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art from its early days. When he died, he left the museum a priceless collection of paintings, ceramics, armor, and other art objects. As a collector of art and rare books, he traveled extensively, visiting England, France, and Egypt. His collections are housed in the Morgan Library in New York City. Morgan died on one of his expeditions in Rome, Italy, on March 31, 1913.

Morgan was a bold man with an amazing business sense. He could be ruthless in his business dealings, but he also was generous with his money and estate. His opponents both feared and admired him. He rescued the federal government and prompted a rethinking of economic and business theories.

Mormons

See **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**

Toni Morrison

Toni Morrison is one of America's most prominent writers. She has won the Nobel Prize in literature, and her novel *Beloved* won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1988.

Morrison was born Chloe Anthony Wofford on February 18, 1931. She grew up in the industrial town of Lorain, **Ohio**. Her father worked three jobs simultaneously for nearly seventeen years to feed and clothe his four children. Born in **Georgia**, Morrison's father had firsthand experience with racial violence. This experience made him suspicious of all white people, and he avoided them whenever possible. Morrison herself grew up in an integrated community but understood her father's sense of distrust.

Her father often entertained his children by telling stories, especially African American folklore, which usually included superstition and ghosts. Encouraged by this oral form of storytelling, Morrison became an eager reader. She graduated from high school with honors and

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attended Howard University in **Washington, D.C.** While there, she changed her name to Toni after finding that many people had difficulty pronouncing the name Chloe.

Becomes a writer

Morrison graduated from Howard in 1953 and enrolled in the graduate program at Cornell University. She received her master's degree in English in 1955 and took a job teaching in **Texas** for two years. From there, she returned to Howard, this time as a teacher. There she joined an informal group of African American writers who gathered together monthly to read and critique each other's writing. During this time, she met and married a Jamaican architect named Harold Morrison. The couple had two sons and divorced in 1964.

The divorce left her with a need to earn money, so she and her sons moved to **New York**, where she worked as a textbook editor for Random House. During this time, she began writing with a sense of dedication, mostly as a way to deal with her loneliness. She completed and polished a story she began writing while involved in the writers group at Howard University. By the time she was done, the story had become a novel. It was published in 1969 under the title *The Bluest Eye* and received mixed reviews.

Toni Morrison is one of America's most prominent writers. She has won the Nobel Prize in literature, and her novel **Beloved** *won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1988.* AP IMAGES



Her next novel, *Sula,* was published in 1973. This study of good and evil was nominated for a National Book Award, and critics praised Morrison's prose and characterizations. With her next novel, *Song of Solomon* (1977), Morrison became a prominent author whose fictional characters grappled with spiritual death and rebirth and the search for ethnic identity. This novel earned her a national Book Critics Circle Award and won her an appointment to the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters and the National Council of Arts.

After reducing her editorial duties at Random House to focus more time on writing, Morrison published *Tar Baby* in 1981. In her previous books, all the major characters had

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been African American. This was her first novel to feature a relationship not only between African American men and women, but also between African Americans and whites. *Tar Baby* remained on the best-seller lists for four months and received high praise from critics.

Beloved

Morrison's most critically acclaimed novel to date was published in 1988 and won a Pulitzer Prize. She based the novel on a true story she came across while researching a book for Random House. *Beloved* tells the story of a runaway slave who kills her two-year-old daughter just moments before recapture. The slave mother cannot bear to immerse her baby girl in a life of bondage and considers death more merciful. Critics were nearly unanimous in their praise of the book.

Morrison published several more books in the twentieth century and became the first African American woman to win the Nobel Prize in literature in 1993. The Swedish Academy that awards the honor called Morrison a "literary artist of the first rank."

Morrison wrote and published two more adult novels by 2008, *Love* (2003) and *A Mercy* (2008), and one children's book, *Remember: The Journey to School Integration* (2004). All of her works revolve around African American characters and their experiences in a racist society as they search for a sense of self-identity and awareness. The vast appeal of her novels, however, lies in the fact that the dilemmas illustrated in her works are ones that confront people of all races.

Lucretia Mott

Lucretia Mott was one of the first Americans to call publicly for equal rights for women. Mott was born on January 3, 1793, and grew up in a **Quaker** family on the island of Nantucket, off **Massachusetts**. Her father, a sea captain, was often away at sea, leaving his wife to care for the family sewing shop located in their home. As a young girl, Mott tended to the customers when her mother traveled to Boston for supplies. At the age of thirteen, Mott was sent to a Quaker boarding school in **New York**, and she was soon at the head of her class. When she finished her schooling, she was appointed assistant teacher of her school.

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A Quaker and an abolitionist

After four years teaching, Mott moved to be with her family in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**. There she married James Mott in 1811. Her husband joined her father in the family business, and Mott took care of their six children. Her life centered around the Quaker church community, and at twenty-eight she was elected as a minister. Quakers, properly known as the Religious Society of Friends, believe that priests and places of organized worship are not necessary for a person to experience God. Each person's own "inner light" can guide him or her toward divine truth. Quakers do not believe in armed conflict or **slavery**, and they were among the first groups to practice equality between men and women.

The Quakers were also among the first large groups in the country to take up the cause of **abolition** (seeking the elimination of slavery). Mott fervently supported abolition, and by the 1830s her influence had spread beyond the meetinghouse. She boycotted (refused to buy) produce raised by slave labor, purchasing instead **cotton**, rice, sugar, and other southern merchandise under certified guarantee that slaves had no hand in their production.



Quaker Lucretia Mott was one of the first Americans to call publicly for equal rights for women. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Founds antislavery society for women

In 1833, Mott attended a male antislavery convention in Philadelphia. Assembled by abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1838–1909), the meeting ended with the men gathering to sign a "declaration of freedom." Impressed by the convention, Mott founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and became its first secretary. By 1837, she was a leading speaker at women's antislavery meetings and conventions.

It soon became clear to Mott that men did not intend to include women as leaders in the antislavery movement. When Mott led a group of women to the 1840 antislavery convention in London, the women were refused a place in the meeting. Upon Mott's return to America three

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months later, her antislavery cause was expanded to include a more radical issue: equal rights for women.

Seneca Falls Convention

On her trip to England, Mott became acquainted with **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (1815–1902), who would soon become one of the leaders in the women's rights movement in America. In letters exchanged after the London convention, Mott and Stanton discussed organizing their cause. Finally, in the summer of 1848, Mott met with Stanton at Seneca Falls, New York. The two women and a couple of friends organized the **Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention,** a meeting dedicated to promoting the equal rights of women. Mott agreed to be the principal speaker.

The organizers arrived at the Seneca Falls Unitarian church carrying their declaration of rights, resolutions, and volumes of the statutes of New York State. They patterned their central document after the **Declaration of Independence**, calling it the Declaration of Sentiments. Demanding that the rights in the Declaration of Independence apply to women as well as to men, they reworded their document to read "that all men *and women* are created equal."

The declaration was followed by a list of resolutions, demanding that women be allowed to speak in public; be accorded equal treatment under the law; receive equal education, equal access to trades and professions, and equality in marriage; have the right to sue and be sued and to testify in court; and to have guardianship over children. It also demanded, at the insistence of Stanton, that women be granted the right to vote (suffrage), a highly controversial point at the time. Mott did not want to address **women's suffrage** rights on the grounds that the nation was not ready to accept it and would make a mockery of their cause.

The American public did recoil from the idea of women's rights. Groups formed with the sole purpose of preventing women from speaking in public at what the newspapers called "hen conventions." Many arguments followed about what God had intended for women and what would become of civilization if women rose to equal status with men. When Mott spoke in public, called a convention, or discussed affairs of state, a large proportion of the American public regarded it as a violation of the laws of nature. But public interest in the women's movement rose with the social unrest preceding the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

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Women's rights and abolition

In 1852, Mott was elected president of the Women's Rights Convention in Syracuse, New York, and a year later presided at its fifth annual meeting. She also became involved with the temperance (anti-alcohol) movement and expressed concern over the deplorable working conditions of laborers.

Although dedicated to education rights for females, the women's rights movement never replaced the abolitionist cause in Mott's heart. Her household in Philadelphia served as a "station" in the **Underground Railroad,** the chain of concerned people who helped slaves escape to freedom. Mott, Stanton, and **Susan B. Anthony** (1820–1906) toured New York calling for the immediate emancipation of slaves.

After the Civil War, Mott and Stanton formed the National Suffrage Association to ensure full rights for freedmen and women. Until her death at the age of eighty-seven, Mott was actively engaged in the movement.

Mount Rushmore

Doane Robinson (1856–1946), the superintendent of the **South Dakota** State Historical Society, had a vision. He wanted to see a massive mountain memorial carved from stone, one so huge that it would make the state a tourist attraction. In 1923, he began campaigning for this memorial, sending letters and giving presentations to various special interest groups. Some agreed that such a memorial would attract visitors, who would in turn spend money in the state. Others thought the idea was ridiculous.

Robinson turned to U.S. senator Peter Norbeck (1870–1936) of South Dakota, who had the respect not only of his peers in the Senate, but also the rural farmers and ranchers of South Dakota who voted him into the Senate. Norbeck liked Robinson's idea and urged him to find a sculptor who could handle such a major project.

Robinson wrote to sculptor Gutzon Borglum (1867–1941), one of America's foremost artists, in August 1924. Borglum accepted Robinson's offer and arrived in South Dakota the following month. The sculptor immediately informed Robinson and Norbeck that he would not immortalize regional heroes because he believed a commission of this scope should aspire to memorialize people more relevant to American

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Mount Rushmore is a tribute to (from left to right) George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln and attracts around two million tourists each year. PAUL DAMIEN/NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC/GETTY IMAGES

history. Together, the three men selected four U.S. presidents: **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97), **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9), **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), and **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9). In the trio's estimation, these four figures best represented the birth and development of the nation as well as the pursuit of individual liberty.

The long wait

Borglum began searching for the site to carve his sculpture. After dismissing some sites as inappropriate, Borglum and his party climbed Harney Peak, the highest point between the Rocky Mountains and the Swiss Alps. It was there that Harney declared "American history shall march along that skyline." The cliff he had chosen was called Mount Rushmore. Made of granite and almost without fracture, the cliff had southeastern exposure, which would give it direct sunlight for most of the day.

Congress passed federal legislation allowing a mountain carving in Harney National Forest, and a similar bill was passed on the state level in 1925. More funding was needed, however, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain. Months passed as environmentalists worried that the project would deface the mountainside and others wondered publicly how God's masterpiece of nature could be improved

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upon. As 1926 dawned, most citizens in South Dakota dismissed the idea of the sculpture altogether.

President **Calvin Coolidge** (1872–1933; served 1923–29) chose the Black Hills of South Dakota as his summer vacation spot in the spring of 1927. The three-week break in the mountains gave Borglum and Norbeck time to convince the president to formally dedicate Mount Rushmore. On August 10, Coolidge referred to the coming sculpture as a national shrine and pledged to use federal dollars to support the endeavor.

Labor of love

Borglum hired nearly four hundred local workers to help with the project. Over the course of on-again, off-again work from 1927 to 1941, these men built roads, generated power, set dynamite charges, performed delicate finishing work, and provided a variety of services. Those workers discharging dynamite were among the most skilled, and the majority of them were miners. Ninety percent of the 450,000 tons of granite removed from Mount Rushmore were taken out with dynamite. Remarkably, no one died on the work site, and only a few men suffered injuries.

Borglum paid his dynamite employees $1.25 an hour, which was more than they made in the mines. The crew had to deal with extended layoffs, however, due to lack of funds and harsh weather.

Borglum died in March 1941, just seven months before completion of the sculpture. His son spent those seven months putting the finishing touches on the masterpiece, and on October 31, 1941, he made the last refinement. Mount Rushmore on that day looked as it does in the twenty-first century.

Lasting legacy

Mount Rushmore is the biggest work of art in the world. Each face measures 60 feet tall, and the entire carving covers nearly 1,300 acres. The sculpture cost just under $990,000. Thomas Jefferson originally appeared on Washington's right, but when the granite cracked, he was blasted off the mountain and rebuilt to Washington's left. According to records kept by the National Park Service, Mount Rushmore attracts around two millions tourists each year.

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Mountain Men

See **Fur Traders and Mountain Men**

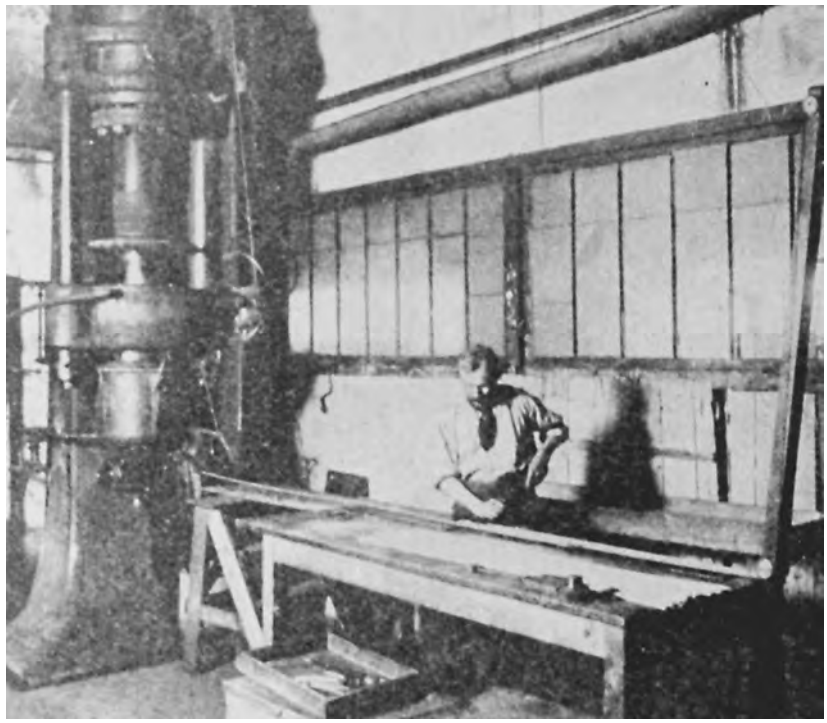
Movies

A movie is a series of images recorded on strips of film that create the illusion of live action. The word "movies" is short for "moving pictures." Movies are also known as films, cinema, and motion pictures.

The human brain perceives motion when pictures, taken in rapid sequence, are flashed at the rate of fifteen or more frames per second. A frame is a single exposure on a roll of motion-picture film. Sequential photographs were produced as early as 1860, but the true motion picture was still in the future.

Motion

In 1872, Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) was trying to prove that all four of a horse's hooves leave the ground when the animal gallops. He set



This worker manufactures celluloid, which meant that long series of pictures could be photographed rapidly. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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up twenty-four cameras to take sequential photographs of a galloping horse. Muybridge proved his theory and brought the illusion of motion into people's homes with his invention of the zoetrope. In a zoetrope, a strip of a series of photographs was attached to the inside of a rotating drum. The viewer looked through a series of slots that acted as shutters as the drum spun, and the illusion of a running horse was brought to life.

Before an actual motion picture could be produced, the exposure time required to take a photograph had to be dramatically reduced. When George Eastman (1854–1932) developed strips of flexible celluloid camera film with fast exposure times in 1889, a long series of pictures could be photographed in rapid sequence.

American inventor **Thomas Edison** (1847–1931) then produced the kinetoscope, a device that a staff member, William Kennedy Laurie Dickson (1860–1935), had invented. The kinetoscope advanced a strip of film frame by frame in rapid succession to produce the illusion of fluid motion. Just one person at a time could look into the kinetoscope. Only later would the images be projected onto a screen, as motion pictures are seen today.

Edison built a small motion picture studio in **New Jersey**, where his company created 50-foot (15-meter) film loops. They were viewed at kinetoscope parlors on individual projectors. The first motion picture showed one of Edison's assistants sneezing. Soon, they were filming variety shows.

Not realizing the potential of his invention, Edison had not taken out foreign patents on it. Soon, it was being copied elsewhere. In France, brothers Auguste Lumière (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) were the first to combine the flashing shutter of a camera with the bright light of a projector to produce the Cinématographe in 1894. The Lumières projected their motion pictures onto a screen so that a seated audience could watch. The motion picture experience proved more popular than Edison's kinetoscope. Edison unveiled his competing projector in April 1896.

Advent of filmmaking

During the 1890s, French theater director and magician Georges Méliès (1861–1938) became the first true master of cinematic techniques. He filmed theater acts, but changed them to fit the motion-picture format, arranging objects and backgrounds for the camera. He invented special

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Georges Méliès's **A Trip to the Moon** *(1902) became the first internationally successful motion picture and the first science-fiction film.* THE KOBAL COLLECTION

effects, doing things such as stopping the camera, changing the scenery, and turning the camera back on. He discovered the fade in and fade out, wherein the scene gradually goes dark or comes up from darkness, and used them as a transition between scenes. Méliès used painted cutouts and backdrops in his studio to enhance the fantasy effect created by his trick photography.

Méliès's *A Trip to the Moon* (1902) became the first internationally successful motion picture. Méliès showed how much the new medium could do beyond showing real events passing in front of a camera. Following his example, others turned to telling stories with motion pictures, and movies quickly became more sophisticated.

In 1903, American director-photographer Edwin S. Porter (1870–1941) made *The Great Train Robbery,* the first motion picture to tell a complete story. A former cameraman for Edison, Porter incorporated a pattern of suspense in the film that later moviemakers used. He used a camera that moved with the action, rather than being fixed, and he included camera shots from a moving train. The age of the silent film had begun.

Exhibiting films

As the public began spending money to see films, motion-picture distribution networks sprang up. Middlemen bought films and rented them to theaters that did not want to buy them outright. In Pittsburgh, **Pennsylvania**, the nickelodeon (a small viewing house) was born when a firm began charging patrons five cents to watch a series of short films. The idea was successful and soon spread throughout the country.

By 1908, the motion picture industry was large and rapidly changing. A group of filmmaking studios and distributors, along with Edison, formed the Motion Pictures Patent Company to regulate copyrights, patents, and royalties. The group tried to take over the industry, but only half of the nine thousand U.S. theaters were licensed by 1910. These theaters used films by independent filmmakers and distributors.

The Patent Company kept its actors anonymous to prevent them from becoming personally important and therefore able to command higher salaries. But the Independent Moving Picture Company lured

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away actress Florence Lawrence (1886–1938) and began to promote her. This started what became known as the "star system," in which the fame of actors rivalled the film's story.

Motion pictures became longer and more ambitious as new film companies such as Fox, Universal, Paramount, and MGM sprang up. As motion pictures became more popular, large theaters replaced the small nickelodeons



Silent film actor Charlie Chaplin became a major bankable star who was vital to the success of the studio that made his films. AP IMAGES

Silent movies

In the earliest days of motion pictures, color film had not yet been invented, so films were black and white. The 1920s were the golden age of silent films (or flickers), which flickered on the screen as a pianist, organist, or orchestra played to enhance the mood.

Because silent films had no synchronized sound for dialogue, onscreen intertitles (also known as dialogue cards or titles) were used to narrate story points, present key dialogue, and sometimes provide commentary. Intertitles often were graphic elements themselves, featuring illustrations or abstract decorations that commented on the action.

There were rumors that a marriage might be arranged between the flickers and the phonograph. Edison had been working on the problem since 1888 and had produced only the 1895 and 1913 Kinetophones, which were long-term failures. The problem of synchronizing sound and picture seemed insurmountable, and other early twentieth-century attempts, such as the Synchroscope, the Cinematophone, and the Cameraphone, also failed.

Films remained silent because the sound fidelity of available audio systems was not good. In addition, actors were selected for their ability to perform roles physically, not for their speaking voices. Stage actors tended to overproject their voices, a style that would spoil the intimate effect created by the close-in cameras. Producers had another reason to oppose sound: It would cost them most of their lucrative foreign market. The printed intertitles could easily be translated into any language, but

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a talking picture would have to be "dubbed" (have sound inserted), an expensive and difficult process.

Sound

A workable system to join sound and motion pictures proved complex and required a great deal of research money. A 1924 sound-on-a-disc system was at first rejected by the motion-picture studios as too expensive. But movie studio Warner Bros. decided to forge ahead and accepted the system, investing millions of dollars in theaters and sound equipment. The new system was named Vitaphone (meaning "life sound").



Al Jolson performs onstage during the film **The Jazz Singer**, *which was the first commercially successful sound film.* MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

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With the advent of Vitaphone, the old, hand-cranked movie camera was abandoned because the human arm could not synchronize picture and sound accurately. But the early power-driven cameras had noisy motors whose sound was recorded along with the actors' voices. Cameras with silent motors were eventually developed. Another problem was that traffic noises from outside the studio could be heard on film. Warner Bros., as well as other movie studios, moved from New York City to Hollywood, California, where they set up a studio lot that was easier to soundproof than its studio in New York.

Warner Bros. made the first sound movie, *Don Juan* (1926), in New York City before its move to Hollywood. It was not a feature-length motion picture, and the actors did not talk. The only sound was a synchronized musical score and sound effects.

In 1927, Warner Bros. produced a commercially successful blockbuster, *The Jazz Singer,* the first motion picture with synchronized dialogue and singing. Filmed in Hollywood for $500,000, a colossal sum of money at the time, the movie starred Al Jolson (1886–1950), a nationally known stage actor and singer who was eager to explore the new medium of sound pictures.

The movie made Warner Bros. one of the biggest forces in the motion-picture industry. Its success forced competing studios to adopt sound. A rival sound system developed by General Electric and the Radio Corporation of America put the soundtrack on the film itself, running it in a track next to the images. Because the pictures and their soundtrack were linked on the film, they could never get out of synchronization. This system was also easier to set up. After intense competition and many lawsuits over patent rights, this sound-on-film system beat the sound-on-a-disc system.

Film gains in popularity

By 1930, movie houses attracted 100 million viewers a week at a time when the total population of the United States was only 120 million and weekly church attendance was less than 60 million. By 1932, all movies were "talkies" (film with sound), and by the end of the decade all movies used technicolor, a trademarked method for making motion pictures in color.

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World War II and the Paramount decision

U.S. involvement in **World War II** (1939–41) brought a proliferation of war movies that served as both patriotism and propaganda, including *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), starring James Cagney (1899–1986), and *Casablanca* (1942), with Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957). In 1941, RKO Pictures released *Citizen Kane,* often considered one of the greatest films of all time.

Between 1945 and 1948, the film industry produced more than four hundred movies a year. In 1948, however, the studios' grip on all aspects of the film business, from production through exhibition, was ended by the U.S. **Supreme Court** decision in *United States v. Paramount Pictures.* The Court ruled that studios must sell their exhibition divisions, which showed movies to the public. This ended guaranteed exhibition of films that were produced by the major studios and allowed independent filmmakers to show their work to the public.

Competition from television

By 1950, broadcast television was rapidly becoming the dominant entertainment medium in the United States and its increasing popularity caused some movie theatres to go out of business. Distressed by the trend, studios and exhibitors dreamed up several new big-screen formats. This led to such epic films as *The Ten Commandments* (1956), *Ben-Hur* (1959), and *Spartacus* (1960).

European production

During the 1960s, "Hollywood" movies were still largely aimed at family audiences. Such films as *Mary Poppins* (1964), *My Fair Lady* (1964), and *The Sound of Music* (1965) were among the biggest moneymakers of the decade. The growth in independent producers and production companies and the increase in the power of individual actors also contributed to the decline of traditional Hollywood studio production.

There was also increasing awareness of foreign language cinema during this period. French New Wave directors such as François Truffaut (1932–1984) and Jean-Luc Godard (1930–) garnered attention as did Federico Fellini's (1920–1993) *La Dolce Vita* (1960) and the stark dramas of Sweden's Ingmar Bergman (1918–2007). In Britain, the popular James Bond series of films began in 1962.

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By the late 1960s, Hollywood filmmakers were creating innovative and groundbreaking films that reflected the social revolution happening in America. Films like Stanley Kubrick's (1928–1999) *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) were produced in Hollywood as a reaction to the nuclear paranoia of the age felt during the **Cuban missile crisis**. Many consider *Bonnie and Clyde* to be the beginning of the so-called New Hollywood.

New Hollywood

During the 1970s, a new group of American filmmakers emerged, such as Martin Scorsese (1942–), Francis Ford Coppola (1939–), Steven Spielberg (1946–), and George Lucas (1944–). Their style of filmmaking gave directors far greater control over their projects than in earlier eras. This led to such critical and commercial successes as Scorsese's *Taxi Driver* (1976), Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972 and 1974) films, Spielberg's *Jaws* (1975) and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), and Lucas's *Star Wars* (1977).

Rise of the blockbuster and home video

The phenomenal success in the 1970s of *Jaws* and *Star Wars* led to the rise of the modern "blockbuster." Hollywood studios increasingly focused on producing a smaller number of very large budget films with massive marketing and promotional campaigns. This type of marketing permeated society as a whole. Movie T-shirts, school folders, and lunchboxes made millions for studios and made movies a part of everyday life. Later the influence of marketing would become even more extreme as companies, such as Burger King, Ford Motor Company, and Pepsi, would pay studios for the placement of their products in movies, hoping that movie viewers will see their favorite characters using those products and they will want to use them too.

During the 1980s, audiences began watching movies on their home videocassette recorders (VCRs). Early in the decade, studios unsuccessfully tried legal action to ban home ownership of VCRs as a violation of copyrights. Eventually, the sale and rental of movies on home video became a source of additional revenue for the movie companies.

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Rise of independent film and animation

The early 1990s saw the rise of commercially successful independent film in the United States. Although the decade was dominated by special-effects films such as *Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (1991) and *Titanic* (1997), independent films like Quentin Tarantino's (1963–) *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) had significant commercial success.

In 1979, Miramax Films was founded to distribute independent films deemed commercially unfeasible by the major studios. Miramax's position as one of the most successful independents of the 1990s caused it to be bought by Disney. Other major studios followed suit and began to create their own "independent" production companies to finance and produce nonmainstream fare. The same year marked the beginning of film and video distribution online.

Animated films aimed at family audiences regained their popularity in the 1990s, with Disney's *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *Aladdin* (1992), and *The Lion King* (1994). These three movies, together, made a total of $1.6 billion dollars worldwide. During 1995, the first feature length computer-animated feature, *Toy Story*, was produced by Pixar Animation Studios and released by Disney.

During the late 1990s, another cinematic transition began, from physical film stock to digital cinema technology. Meanwhile digital video discs (DVDs) became the new standard for consumer video, replacing VHS videotapes.

Documentaries and digital advances

The documentary film rose as a commercial genre for perhaps the first time with the success of films such as Michael Moore's *Bowling for Columbine* (2002) and *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004); and the National Geographic Society-produced *March of the Penguins* (2005).

In the twenty-first century, computer generated images (CGIs) dominated the big screen, causing movies to become more expensive to make and ticket prices to skyrocket. CGI has also led to major advances in filmmaking and a much higher quality of special effect. The role of the movie star also continues to grow. Some stars make $20 million or more a picture, and many are more recognizable to the public than some of the most influential politicians in the country. Over 650 movies were released in the United States in 2007, grossing more than $9.6 billion at the box office.

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Muckraking

The **Industrial Revolution** (approximately 1877–1900) in the United States created hundreds of thousands of much-needed jobs in the last half of the nineteenth century. Native-born Americans as well as the millions of immigrants who came to the United States seeking better opportunities filled those low-paying positions. Many of the jobs involved long hours and backbreaking work.

Working conditions in factories and industry were unsafe and grueling. Company owners and management were, in general, more concerned with making money than with their employees' safety and health. To these industrialists any money spent on employees meant less money for their own pockets. The connection between happy, healthy workers and high levels of productivity was not obvious during the revolution.

Working-class urban Americans had firsthand experience working in the miserable conditions. Most of the upper class also was aware of the plight of industrial workers. After all, their families were living lives of luxury at the direct expense of the overworked employees. The rest of society was either unaware or simply did not understand the degree of suffering imposed on workers.

This state of ignorance changed when a new breed of journalists—called muckrakers—began publishing articles, novels, and exposés on the United States's hidden exploitation of its workers. Muckrakers received their name from U.S. president **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9), who acknowledged the writers' important role in exposing industrial greed and exploitation.

Muckraking was the result of two related phenomena in the early twentieth century. First, journalists breaking into print at that time were formally educated, trained to write about issues with a focus on accuracy and truth. This education separated these "new" journalists from the "old" journalists, who often exaggerated facts and focused on the emotional aspects of their stories to increase their appeal to readers. Secondly, the atmosphere of the United States at the turn of the century was one of reform. Muckrakers embodied the spirit of new journalism and change. Through their writings, Americans received both an education in the working conditions of the time and its inspiration to change them.

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Some famous muckrakers

One of the most popular muckrakers was Ida M. Tarbell (1857–1944), who wrote for the popular magazines of the day, including *McClure's,* a literary and political journal. Tarbell reached the peak of her fame when she published the results of her investigation into the Standard Oil Company in nineteen separate articles from 1902 to 1904.

John D. Rockefeller (1839–1937) built his oil empire through unethical and dishonest business practices. So big was his company that he forced all the smaller oil companies out of business. Tarbell's exposé increased public pressure to put an end to Rockefeller's behavior. Although most people already realized his lack of integrity, Tarbell was the first person to gather hard evidence that revealed his greed and corruption. By 1911, the government forced Standard Oil to break into thirty-four smaller companies, each with its own board of directors.

Upton Sinclair (1878–1968) took on the Chicago, **Illinois**, meatpacking industry in his groundbreaking novel *The Jungle.* In 1904, his newspaper editor sent him to Chicago to investigate and live among the stockyard workers. His experience gave him firsthand knowledge of the atrocious and dangerous working conditions these people faced on a daily basis.

The book was initially published, one chapter at a time, in the newspaper *Appeal to Reason.* Sinclair tried to get the book published, but no publisher would touch it due to its detailed, gory contents. Sinclair financed the first publishing of *The Jungle* himself and sold twelve thousand orders. In 1906, Doubleday, Page & Company agreed to publish the book, but it was a censored, watered-down version.

The book had a major impact on the food industry. As a direct result of Sinclair's work, the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed in 1906. This law required certain drugs to carry warning labels, and it established the Food and Drug Administration, which would test all food and drugs meant for human consumption. That same year, the **Meat Inspection Act** was passed. All animals set for market were required to be inspected by the Food and Drug Administration prior to slaughter and again after slaughter. Those with disease would not become food. Slaughterhouses and processing plants had to meet cleanliness standards, which would be enforced by regular inspection of facilities by certified officials.

Nellie Bly (1864–1922) was another muckraker. Born Elizabeth Jane Cochran, her name was changed early in her career, as was common

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for female writers. In 1887, Bly accepted an undercover assignment from her editor at the newspaper *New York World.* Her job was to live in an insane asylum to investigate reports of brutality and neglect. Having convinced several doctors she was insane, Bly spent ten days in the asylum before being released at the request of her editor.

She quickly published *Ten Days in a Mad-House* and became an overnight sensation. More importantly, her exposé brought about major reform in the care and handling of mentally ill Americans.

An adventurous and daring woman, Bly suggested to her editor that she make a trip around the world in a sort of mimicry of Jules Verne's (1828–1905) book *Around the World in Eighty Days.* On November 14, 1889, Bly set off on her trip, which would eventually take her nearly 25,000 miles. She made her journey in less than seventy-three days.

My Lai Massacre

The **Vietnam War** (1954–75) was one of the longest conflicts in the history of war. It was rife with countless atrocities, but none more brutal than the My Lai Massacre. On March 16, 1968, American soldiers conducted a search-and-destroy mission in the hamlet of My Lai 4, in the Quang Ngai province. Members of Charlie Company, First Battalion, 20th Infantry Division, commanded by Lieutenant William Calley Jr. (1943–), brutally tortured and murdered three hundred to five hundred unarmed, unresisting South Vietnamese women, children, and elderly men. They raped, sodomized, and mutilated many of the victims.

Initial reports in the press presented the massacre as nothing more than a fierce battle won by heroic American soldiers. The entire chain of command in the U.S. **Army** that was related to the brutality systematically covered up the events of that day and did nothing to punish the men involved. Instead, false reports and misinformation were fed to the media.

In the spring of 1969, former Charlie Company soldier Ronald Ridenhour (1946–1998) asked the U.S. House Armed Services Committee to investigate rumors of mass killings. He sent this request via letter to President **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74), the State Department, the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and several members of Congress. Most recipients ignored Ridenhour's letter. Because the charges were so heinous, the Army was forced to investigate.

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To satisfy the public, someone had to pay for the massacre, the events of which were seriously downplayed by those involved. Calley was the one to be punished, and he was charged in September of that year with several counts of premeditated murder.

Freelance reporter Seymour Hersh (1937–) did not believe that the whole story behind the events at My Lai was being revealed, and he delved further into the incident. It was Hersh who uncovered the full story, and he published it in the *New York Times* on November 12, 1969. (In 1970, Hersh's My Lai reports won him the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting.) In the following weeks, the My Lai Massacre dominated newspaper, television, and radio. *Life* magazine devoted ten pages of heartbreaking photographs documenting the brutality wrought on a civilian village.

The My Lai Massacre could not be ignored. Americans fell into two camps after the publication of the tragedy. They either responded with denial that American soldiers could commit such atrocities, or they expressed outrage. Those who did not want to face the fact that such brutality could be waged on innocent people by the hands of young Americans considered the event a hoax; they believed the story was false. Nixon did nothing to help when he called it an isolated incident. Many war veterans, however, came forward to call the civilian killings typical. According to them, the My Lai Massacre was not a one-time event.

The controversy spurred the Army to create a commission to investigate further. Led by Lieutenant General William Peers (1914–1984), the commission indicted thirteen Americans for war crimes and twelve more for covering up the atrocities. Calley was sentenced to life in prison for premeditated murder in 1971. President Nixon ordered Calley released from prison two days later, pending appeal of his sentence. His sentence was later adjusted, and he served just four years and one-half month in military prison. No one else charged was ever convicted, for various reasons.

When news of the massacre reached the American public, it fueled an already strong and organized **antiwar movement**. The sheer brutality of the event reinforced what many in the peace movement had been saying all along, and it made those who were on the fringes of the movement more vocal and committed to demanding an end to the war. For some, the massacre proved that the men being drafted into Vietnam military service needed more and better training.

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NAACP

See **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**

Ralph Nader

Ralph Nader, the self-appointed "people's lawyer," helped launch the consumer rights movement in the 1960s by exposing dangerous flaws in products such as automobiles, packaged meat, and synthetic fabrics. Decades later, he gained notoriety for his several campaigns for the U.S. presidency as an independent candidate.

Nader, the son of Lebanese immigrant parents, was born on February 27, 1934. He grew up speaking Arabic as well as English. Nader attended Princeton University, graduating with honors in 1955. After graduating with distinction from Harvard Law School, he opened a law practice in Hartford, **Connecticut**. He also taught history and government at the University of Hartford in the early 1960s; later in the decade, he taught at Princeton.

Collision with the auto industry

Prompted by auto accident cases he was handling in the early 1960s, Nader began an investigation into the auto industry's engineering practices. His findings convinced him that faulty car design, rather than poor driving, was responsible for the staggering number of car accidents. Nader testified about his findings on auto industry practices before legislative committees. In 1965, he published a book, *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-in Dangers of the American Automobile.*

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Nader's investigations angered auto manufacturers. In March 1966, General Motors president James Roche (1906–2004) admitted that his firm had Nader under surveillance. The incident made headlines and *Unsafe at Any Speed* quickly became a best-seller. The book significantly changed the practices in auto design.

Consumer activist

Nader went on to identify new consumer safety issues, assigning topics to teams of young researchers who came to be called "Nader's Raiders." He aired his findings at press conferences or turned them over to journalists or members of Congress. In this manner, he brought attention to health hazards in mining, inadequate gas-pipeline safety standards, inequities suffered by Native Americans, and dangers in dental X rays. He celebrated a major victory when Congress enacted the 1967 Wholesome Meat Act, which imposed federal inspection standards on nearly all meat processed in the United States. In the early 1970s, Nader's campaigns resulted in bills that created the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission.

During the administration of **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89), the regulatory agencies Nader had brought into being were gutted by funding cuts. Nader quietly continued his work, focusing on research institutes he had launched in the 1970s such as the Center for Responsive Law.

Politics

In the 1990s, Nader again came into the limelight, as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1992. In 1996, he ran for president on the Green Party ticket, focusing his campaign on the problems of a two-party political system and promising to give Americans a real alternative.

In June 2000, Nader again accepted the presidential nomination of the Green Party. He pledged to run a campaign that addressed the gap between the rich and the poor and to take on environmental issues and the problem of poor health care coverage. Nader lost the 2000 election, but many analysts claimed that he drew enough votes to have contributed to the narrow loss of the Democratic contender, Vice President

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Al Gore (1948–), to the Republican candidate, Texas governor **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) in one of the closest elections in the nation's history.

Nader announced in February 2004 that he would run for president again, this time as an independent. Democrats urged him not to run, because most votes for Nader would come from potentially Democratic voters. Votes for Nader in 2004 were too few to hurt any party. Nader vowed to continue in his role of shaking up both the **Republican Party** and **Democratic Party** with his independent campaigns. Indeed, in 2008, Nader announced his plans for another presidential run.

NASA

See **National Aeronautics and Space Administration**

Nation of Islam

At the start of the twenty-first century, the Nation of Islam was the longest lasting black militant and separatist movement in the history of the United States.

Origin

In the summer of 1930, a mysterious peddler appeared in a poor black ghetto of Detroit, **Michigan**. He was selling raincoats, silks, and other items, but he spoke persuasively about a religion for black people. He referred to himself as Mr. Farrad Mohammed, or sometimes as Mr. Wali Farrad, W. D. Fard, Wallace Fard Muhammad, or Professor Ford, and he was born sometime around 1891.

Fard said he was an Islamic prophet and that redemption would come to American blacks only through the religion of Islam. Fard quickly gained a following of a few hundred area residents. He was especially popular among recent black immigrants from the South who were undergoing severe economic hardship. In time, he established Temple No. 1 of the Nation of Islam. His preaching focused on self-knowledge as the path to individual salvation and black liberation. Fard explained that black people were members of the lost Arabic tribe of Shabazz and that they owed no loyalty to a white-dominated country that had enslaved and continuously persecuted them. Fard asserted that blacks were

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superior to whites, whom he called devils. He called for separation of the races and for an independent black republic within U.S. borders.

Establishing a movement

In Detroit, Fard wrote two manuals for the Nation of Islam movement and established its major organizations: the University of Islam, an unconventional elementary and high school that Muslim children attended instead of public schools; the Muslim Girls Training, to teach female members home economics and how to be a proper Muslim woman; and the Fruit of Islam, consisting of select male members to provide security for Muslim leaders and to enforce the rules. Fard began the practice of substituting X for Nation of Islam members' last names to eliminate their identities as slaves.

After converting an estimated eight thousand Detroit blacks to the Nation of Islam, Fard disappeared in late 1933 or 1934. His followers explained the mysterious circumstances of Fard's disappearance by maintaining that he was Allah (or God) and had returned for a short time to deliver hope to his people.

Elijah Muhammad

Fard's most trusted officer was Robert Poole, who took the Muslim name Elijah Muhammad (1897–1975). After Fard's disappearance, there was a struggle for the leadership of the Nation of Islam. Elijah Muhammad split from the Detroit movement and moved his family and followers to Chicago, **Illinois**, in 1936. There he established Temple of Islam No. 2, which eventually became the national headquarters of the movement. Throughout the 1940s, Muhammad reshaped the Nation of Islam. He firmly established the doctrine that Master Fard was Allah. He also proclaimed that he, the "Honorable" Elijah Muhammad, knew Allah personally and was his chosen messenger.

Under Muhammad's guidance, the Nation of Islam strove for two major goals: the development of economic independence and the recovery of an acceptable identity for blacks. "Do for Self" became the rallying cry of the movement, which encouraged economic self-reliance for individuals and the black community. This required of each individual hard work, avoidance of debt, self-improvement, and a conservative lifestyle. During his forty-one years of leadership, Muhammad and his

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Elijah Muhammad proclaimed that he knew Allah personally and was his chosen messenger. He took over leadership of the Nation of Islam around 1936. AP IMAGES

followers established more than one hundred temples nationwide. They built innumerable grocery stores, restaurants, bakeries, and other small black-owned businesses. The Nation of Islam also became famous for the foods it peddled in black communities to improve the nutrition and physical health of African Americans. It strictly forbade alcohol, drugs, pork, and an unhealthy diet. In the 1960s, the members of the Nation of Islam came to be called Black Muslims.

Elijah Muhammad believed that white racism had caused self-hatred among the black community. He felt the only solution to the problem was the formation of a separate black nation. According to Muhammad, the white man is a "devil by nature," unable to respect anyone who is not white. He foretold a clash between the forces of good (blacks) and the forces of evil (whites) in the not-too-distant future from which black people would emerge victorious.

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Malcolm X converts

In 1947, Malcolm Little, a petty criminal also known as "Detroit Red," was serving a prison sentence when his brother told him about the Nation of Islam. Little, like thousands of other African Americans at the time, found in Muhammad's doctrine an explanation for the injustice and suffering he and his family had faced, as well as a solution to white racism. He converted to Muhammad's movement and changed his name to **Malcolm X** (1925–1965).

After getting out of prison, Malcolm began organizing Muslim temples throughout the country. He founded the Nation of Islam's newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks,* in the basement of his home and initiated the practice of requiring every male member to sell an assigned number of newspapers on the street as a recruiting and fund-raising device. Malcolm X rose rapidly through the ranks and was eventually rewarded with the post of minister of Temple No. 7 in Harlem, **New York**, the largest and most respected of the temples after the Chicago headquarters. Muhammad recognized Malcolm X's organizational talents and enormous appeal, and named him national representative of the Nation of Islam, second in rank to himself. Nation of Islam membership soared to an estimated five hundred thousand.

Malcolm was a powerful critic of American society, including the African American **civil rights movement**. He challenged revered civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.**'s (1929–1968) struggle for integration (the incorporation of black people into the mainstream society) and his nonviolent methods. (See **civil disobedience**). Malcolm X felt that the recovery of black self-identity and independence was more important than the right to sit in a restaurant or even to vote. In contrast to King's nonviolence, Malcolm urged his followers to defend themselves "by any means possible." He expressed the pent-up bitterness and rage felt by blacks throughout the country. His views became the basis of the American **black power movement** of the late 1960s and 1970s.

After Malcolm X

Malcolm X eventually ran into major disputes with Elijah Muhammad. He left the Nation of Islam in March 1964, and was assassinated the following year. Minister Louis X of Boston, **Massachusetts**, also known as Louis Farrakhan (1933–), replaced Malcolm X as the national representative and the head minister of Temple No. 7. During this period, the

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Nation of Islam continued to strive for economic independence, acquiring a modern printing press, cattle farms in **Georgia** and **Alabama**, and a bank in Chicago.

When Muhammad died in 1975, one of his sons, Wallace Deen Muhammad (later Imam Warith Deen Muhammad; 1933–), was named supreme minister of the Nation of Islam. Wallace shocked his followers by declaring that whites should no longer be viewed as devils and that they could join the movement. He began to make radical changes in the doctrines and the structure of the Nation of Islam, moving it in the direction of the orthodox (traditional) Islam religion.

The changes introduced by Wallace Deen Muhammad led to a splintering of the movement. In 1978, Farrakhan formed a new group based



A map showing the sites of Nation of Islam mosques and centers of historical importance in the United States in the twentieth century. In the early twenty-first century, Nation of Islam membership began to dwindle. THE GALE GROUP

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on the old Nation of Islam. The only major difference between his doctrines and those of Elijah Muhammad was that while Farrakhan did call for economic separation for blacks, he did not call for a separate black nation. Farrakhan was an outspoken leader and ran into considerable controversy by making hateful comments about Jews. Nevertheless, he drew a large following, particularly among poor and disillusioned urban blacks.

The Million Man March and beyond

During the 1990s, Farrakhan sought to broaden the appeal of the Nation of Islam. In 1995, he organized the Million Man March, calling for one million black men to come together in a demonstration of unity in **Washington, D.C.**, with the goal of strengthening the black community. Part of the march's message was that black men would take up a fight against drug use, unemployment, and violence and at the same time assume responsibility for themselves and their families. Though the march brought positive attention to the Nation of Islam, it also brought increased attention to Farrakhan's anti-Semitic (anti-Jewish) statements and his refusal to allow black women to participate in the march, causing further controversy and division.

In 2000, Farrakhan and Wallace Deen Muhammad reunited their organizations.Then in February 2007, an aging Farrakhan stepped down as the Nation of Islam's long-time leader. It was not immediately clear who would take his place. During the 2000s, many orthodox Muslims had immigrated to the United States, bringing significant worship of traditional Islam to the country. Many orthodox Muslims opposed the Nation of Islam's unorthodox doctrines, and the Nation of Islam membership dwindled.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Space exploration was just one of the areas in which the world superpowers (the United States and the former Soviet Union) competed. Neither wanted to be left behind, or considered second best. So intense was this competition between 1957 and 1975 that it was dubbed the **Space Race**.

In October 1957, the Soviets launched *Sputnik 1,* the first artificial satellite. The United States was immediately concerned that the Soviet

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Union was more technologically advanced. With the hopes of catching up, Congress established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) on July 29, 1958. The purpose of NASA was to coordinate and conduct aeronautical and space research. It opened with four laboratories and approximately eighty governmental employees.

Rises to the challenge

In 1962, President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) challenged the United States to travel to the moon before 1970, and NASA took that challenge seriously. The result was Project Mercury, the first manned space program. On April 9, 1959, NASA introduced the seven men who would be the program's first astronauts. From that point on, astronauts and space exploration became a national obsession. Children wore space helmets and played with pretend ray guns. Families took vacations to Cape Canaveral in **Florida**, where NASA rockets blasted off, to tour the facility and learn about space flight. Science fiction books and television shows became even more popular as Americans vividly imagined what space travel would be like.

Within five years, NASA sent six manned space flights into orbit. Alan B. Shepard Jr. (1923–1998) was the first American in space when he piloted the *Freedom 7* in May 1961. John Glenn (1921–) was the first American to orbit the Earth almost one year later as he flew the *Friendship 7* for more than five hours in February 1962. More than two million people from within government agencies and the aerospace industry combined their skills and talents to make these manned flights happen. The United States had definitely joined the race.

To the moon

In 1965, Virgil (Gus) Grissom (1926–1967) and John Young (1930–) flew the first of nine missions that comprised Project Gemini. These missions collected data on the effects of weightlessness on humans and proved that orbiting and docking two spacecraft together in space were possible.

The next step was to put a man on the moon. This was the mission of Project Apollo, which would include both manned and unmanned missions and last from 1961 to 1975. The program received a setback in 1967 when three astronauts were killed on the *Apollo I* when their shut-

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tle caught fire on the launchpad. NASA knew there would be failures and accidents; that was part of space exploration. The years 1969 to 1972 were the high points of the program—when U.S. astronauts landed on the moon.

On July 20, 1969, Neil Armstrong (1930–) became the first human to land on the moon. As commander of the *Apollo 11* spacecraft, Armstrong said as he took his first step, "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." His mission also included astronauts Buzz Aldrin (1930–) and Michael Collins (1930–).

NASA did not rest on its success with the *Apollo 11* mission. In 1973, it launched into orbit *Skylab,* the first space station. The station included a laboratory for studying various space-related phenomenon.

Space shuttle ups and downs

The focus for the remainder of the decade was on the space shuttle. By 1985, four space shuttles had been built. The plan was for these vehicles to be easily launched and reusable. The first shuttle, *Columbia,* launched in April 1981. This launch rekindled the American public's interest in space flight. After the excitement of the Apollo missions, the moon landings lost their novelty on the public. People even complained that their soap operas were being interrupted by space missions.

Five years after the first launch of the space shuttle, Americans across the nation watched in horror as the *Challenger* shuttle exploded in midair, just seconds after takeoff. This particular mission was a major milestone in space flight history, as the seven-member crew included Christa McAuliffe (1948–1986), an elementary school teacher. She had been selected from more than eleven thousand applicants to be the first school teacher in space. The entire crew was killed in the ***Challenger* space shuttle explosion** on January 28, 1986, an event that gave the American public cause to question the safety of space travel and research. It was another two years before NASA resumed its shuttle launches.

Modern day NASA

NASA has not slowed down in its quest to explore space in the twenty-first century. Although the American public has expressed mixed feelings about the usefulness of NASA in modern society, the organization con-

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tinues to demonstrate its value as it moves ahead with its study of space, which includes the Mars Exploration Program.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), one of the most influential and longest-lasting African American civil rights associations, was formed in 1909. A group of about sixty activists, most of them white, established the group. Among the founders, however, were some of the most famous African American reformers in history, including American journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862–1931) and writer and editor W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). By 1917, the NAACP had nine thousand members, a number that grew to ninety thousand by 1919.

The organization promoted equality for African Americans and quickly established itself as a resource for legal aid against discrimination. It played a major role in the national anti**lynching** (unlawful hanging by rope until death) campaign waged throughout the early decades of the twentieth century. By pressuring various presidents and lawmakers, the



Members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which promotes equality for African Americans, during the group's twenty-third annual conference in 1932. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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NAACP also was a key factor in the passage of antidiscriminatory laws throughout the 1900s. Future U.S. **Supreme Court** justice **Thurgood Marshall** (1908–1993) served as the group's chief counsel from 1938 to 1961.

In 1955, NAACP member **Rosa Parks** (1913–2005) unknowingly started the **civil rights movement** when she refused to give up her seat to a white man on a segregated (racially separated) bus in Montgomery, **Alabama**. (See **Montgomery Bus Boycott**.) She was arrested for breaking a local ordinance, but her act of **civil disobedience** (refusal to obey rules or laws, usually in a nonviolent manner) sparked a boycott of the city buses, and what followed was a decades-long struggle for civil rights. The NAACP was one of several organizations leading the way.

By the end of the twentieth century, the NAACP focused its efforts on educational programs for youth as well as development of better economic conditions for African Americans. Its membership going into the twenty-first century was nearly five hundred thousand.

National Labor Relations Board

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) is an independent agency in the **executive branch** of the U.S. government. Created in 1934, it has the power to regulate labor unions and to investigate and resolve charges of unfair labor practices by both employers and unions.

Labor unions formed in the United States during the **Industrial Revolution** after the American **Civil War** (1861–65). It was a period during which workers faced long hours, poor wages, and unsafe conditions in factories across the country. Workers organized into unions to have greater power in negotiating with their employers for better working conditions.

Businesses opposed unions from the start. They considered unions to be criminal conspiracies under state laws and illegal under federal antitrust laws. The result was decades of violence between union members, employers, and law enforcement.

The federal government eventually decided to pass laws to regulate labor unions. The Railway Labor Act of 1926 created rules for unions in the **railroad industry**. The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933 created rules for unions in industries that affected interstate commerce.

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U.S. senator Robert F. Wagner (1877–1953) of **New York** did not think the NIRA did enough to empower unions under federal laws. In March 1934, Wagner introduced a bill in Congress to strengthen the NIRA. The bill would prevent unfair labor practices by employers against unions and their members.

President **Franklin D. Roosevelt**'s (1882–1945; served 1933–45) administration opposed Wagner's bill. The country was in the middle of the **Great Depression** (1929–41), and the administration believed that helping businesses recover was the nation's top priority. Some people in the administration, including Hugh S. Johnson (1882–1942) of the National Recovery Administration, believed that union strikes and similar tactics were forms of treason.

To encourage defeat of Wagner's bill, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order number 6763 in June 1934. The order created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Roosevelt used the NIRA to empower the NLRB to hold elections for unions, to regulate collective bargaining between unions and employers, and to investigate labor disputes upon request.

By the end of 1934, it was apparent that the NLRB was not going to be effective without further political action. In February 1935, Wagner resubmitted his bill to Congress. It passed as the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) in May. The act made the NLRB an independent agency and gave employees the right to hold secret ballots for selecting unions by industry. The NLRB would regulate such elections, and employers had to recognize unions chosen in such elections. Under the act, the NLRB received greater power to investigate and prevent unfair labor practices by employers and unions.

Businesses opposed the NLRA as being too favorable to unions and employees. The Communist Party of America also opposed it as being too restrictive of the rights of employees to form unions as they saw fit. Roosevelt ultimately supported the act.

The NLRA is widely considered to be the most prounion legislation passed by Congress in the nation's history. Subsequent laws restricted any gains that labor made under the act. Americans still debate whether federal labor laws and the NLRB are too favorable to unions by interfering with business property rights, or whether they are too favorable to business by restricting the organizing power of unions and workers.

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National Organization for Women

Women in the 1960s were frustrated at the lack of progress being made on a national level regarding issues that affected them. In 1966, a group of women gathered with the intention of establishing a women's rights organization. The president would be **Betty Friedan** (1921–2006), a longtime activist and writer. The National Organization for Women (NOW) was officially founded in October at a convention that attracted three hundred men and women. By the end of the twentieth century, NOW had become the largest women's group in the United States.

Friedan was a logical choice to lead the organization at its birth. Her 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique,* almost single-handedly launched the modern **women's liberation movement**. As leader of NOW, Friedan helped devise the organization's purpose and mission. It would promote a set of core issues that included reproductive rights, economic equality, women in politics, and the end of gender discrimination. As decades passed and times changed, more issues were added to the agenda: an end to domestic violence and workplace harassment, **affirmative action** (measurements taken to correct past discrimination in hiring), advancing women's rights among the young both in the United States and abroad, the eradication of homophobia (fear of homosexuality), and promotion of women in the military.

Initially, NOW was focused on the needs of white, middle-class women. To broaden its support base and be more effective, it reached out to minority women and began promoting issues affecting racial and ethnic diversity.

In the twenty-first century, NOW boasts a membership of five hundred thousand, with chapters in all fifty states. It continues to work for equality for women through mass mailings, protests, marches, rallies, political organization, lobbying, and litigation (legal proceedings).

National Parks

The United States was the first country in the world to establish national parks. Initially, national parks were designed to protect and preserve areas considered significant for their scenic or recreational value to human beings. Recently, that notion has been replaced by more ecolog-

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ical views, in which the goal is to maintain stable interactions and relationships between all living things and their environment. Besides preserving nature, national parks preserve cultural and historical sites.

The first parks

The term "national park" was first applied to the Yellowstone reserve created in the territories of **Wyoming** and **Montana** in 1872. The public wanted to preserve the beauty of the huge land reserve, and because no state government existed to which park administration might be shifted, the federal government grudgingly assumed responsibility. At first, there were no federal funds to administer the new national park; in its early years, Yellowstone was managed by the U.S. **Army**.

Even before Yellowstone National Park was established, federal action had established two other natural reserves. In 1832, the national government set aside an **Arkansas** hot spring as a "reservation," chiefly for its medicinal value. In 1864, Congress ceded the Yosemite Valley and the nearby Mariposa Grove of giant redwoods to the State of **California** for permanent management as a state park.

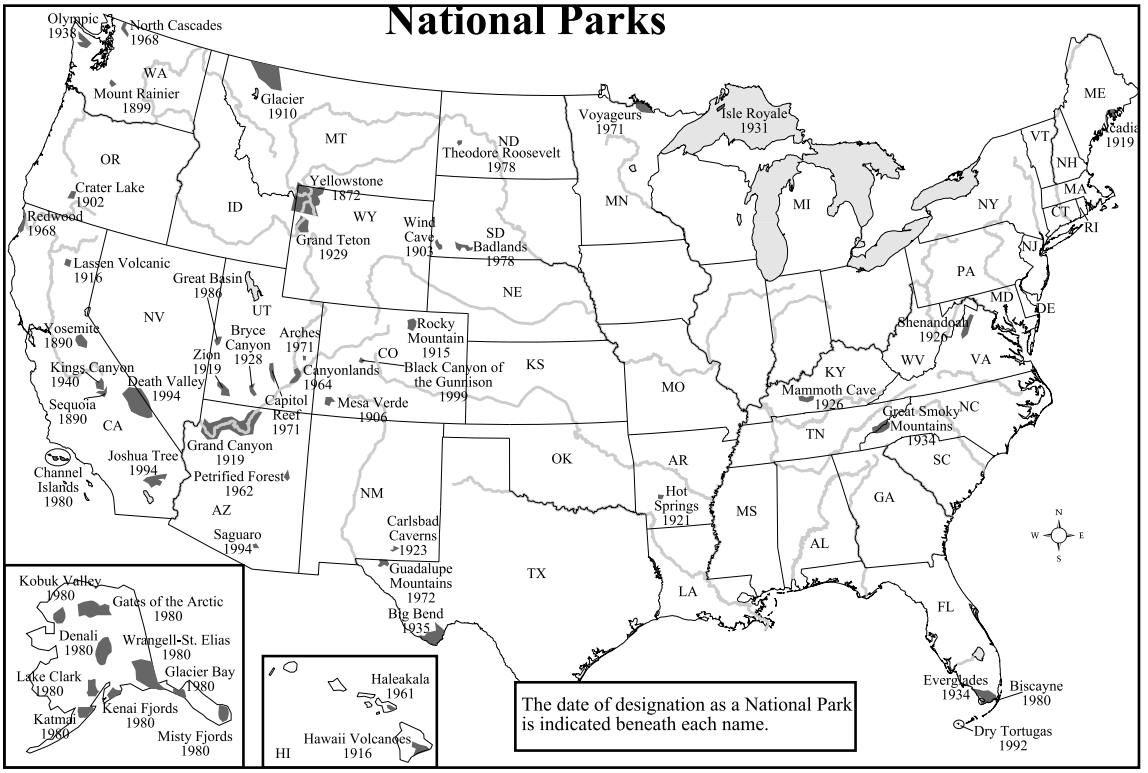
The dramatic beauty of Yosemite and Yellowstone fired the popular imagination. When debating whether to make these areas parks, supporters argued that such "natural curiosities" as the waterfalls at Yosemite and the geysers at Yellowstone were national treasures to be protected for public enjoyment.

About 1890, a new way of thinking about preservation emerged: the idea that wilderness itself was useful and therefore worth protecting. As much as anyone in his generation, California naturalist John Muir (1838–1914) encouraged Americans to think of wild nature as a complement to civilization. He believed that contact with nature invigorated people and enlightened their souls. In 1890, Muir published a series of articles in *Century* magazine that urged protection of the Sierra Nevada high country beyond the previously reserved Yosemite Valley. The Yosemite National Park was created in 1890 at Muir's urging.

West vs. East

In the West, much of the land was in the public domain (not under private or state ownership). Well into the twentieth century, the creation of a national park in the West required a simple transfer of land from one

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A map of the national parks found across the United States established through 1999. THE GALE GROUP

federal agency to another, rather than an expensive real estate purchase. Because there were vast amounts of public land, it was possible to create some enormous nature preserves—two million acres in the case of Yellowstone.

There were not nearly as many public lands in the East. As a result, private philanthropy (charitable giving by individuals and companies) played a crucial role. The first eastern park, Acadia National Park on Mount Desert Island in **Maine**, established in 1919, was a gift from wealthy summer residents of the Bar Harbor area. The philanthropy of Standard Oil Company founder John D. Rockefeller Jr. (1874–1960) played a large role in the creation and maintenance of Acadia and early southeastern parks such as Great Smoky and Shenandoah. (He also bought and donated land for such western parks as Grand Teton and Yosemite.)

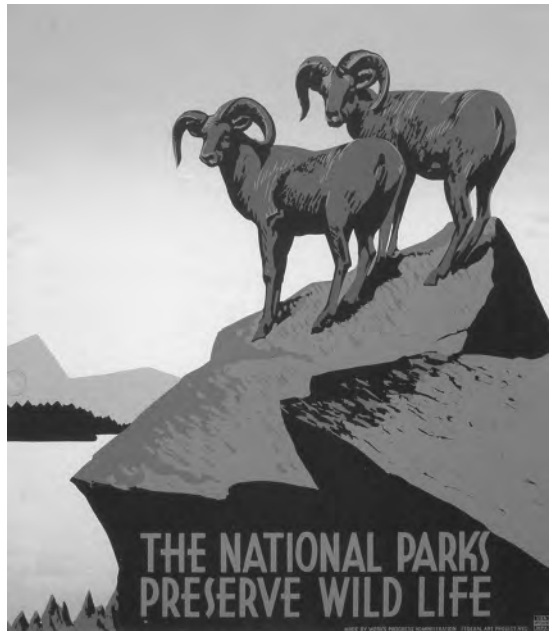
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The conservation movement

In the early twentieth century, theories of maintaining nature turned from preservation to conservation—the protection and renewal of natural resources, such as clean air and rivers, a healthy wildlife population, and dense forest areas, using careful land management to assure the greatest social and economic value for the present and future. With conservation, humans could use the resources of nature as long as they took steps to ensure that the resources would be available to future generations.

Two pioneers in the **conservation movement** were President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) and the first chief of the U.S. Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946). They firmly believed in the wise management of the public domain through land management, and they took steps to conserve the United States's forests and natural resources. Conservationists created national forests; these national preserves differed from the national parks in that they permitted lumbering, mining, animal grazing, and human recreation (including hunting, which is prohibited in national parks).

During Roosevelt's administration, five new national parks, four big-game refuges, and fifty-one bird reservations were created. Under the National Monuments Act of June 8, 1906, places such as Muir Woods in California, the Grand Canyon in **Arizona**, and Mount Olympus National Monument in **Washington** were set aside for the public to enjoy.



Posters like this one for the National Park Service helped draw tourism by promoting the sightseeing and natural aspects of visiting a park. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Tourism

Since the 1920s, national parks have changed to accommodate new recreational interests such as mountaineering, camping, and hiking. In 1916, the National Park Service (NPS) was created to provide for public enjoyment of the parks while also conserving the scenery. The first NPS director, Stephen Tyng Mather (1867–1930), worked hard to promote tourism. In the 1910s and 1920s, Mather allowed cars to enter the parks because cars made the parks accessible to millions. Mather encouraged private businesses to

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build hotels, stores, and transportation systems for the parks, opening the national parks to the American public as never before. Although these policies brought more people and more money into the parks, they also led to what critics consider overdevelopment of many parks.

Ecological perspectives

Everglades National Park in **Florida** was created in 1934 mostly to protect the wildlife and vegetation of the 40-mile-wide "river of grass." Everglades suggested a fresh approach to nature preservation—establishing national parks to protect ecological systems for their own sake, rather than for human benefit. In debates in the 1970s over the future of the public lands of **Alaska**, advocates of wilderness preserves argued that the proposed parks should protect their ecosystems (the complex set of relationships between all the living organisms in an area). They lobbied for scientifically meaningful boundaries that would enclose whole watersheds (areas of land where all the water drains to the same place) and entire animal migration routes.

Cultural preservation

The preservation of historic and cultural resources has been a responsibility of the national park system since the turn of the century. In the 1890s, in response to pressure from veterans' groups, the War Department began to set aside historical lands such as American **Civil War** (1861–65) battlefields and military cemeteries.

Systematic federal protection of historic sites began with the passage of the Antiquities Act (1906). This law was passed because people were buying up national treasures such as the recently discovered Native American cliff dwellings and artifacts in the Southwest. The Antiquities Act prohibited destruction of historic and prehistoric objects on public lands and authorized the president to preserve these sites as national monuments.

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 made it the mission of the National Park Service to survey, acquire, research, restore, and operate historic sites and structures. The act decisively shaped the historic preservation movement in the United States and gave a leading role to the National Park Service.

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In 2007, the national park system was composed of a network of nearly four hundred parks. Fifty-eight of these are "national parks"; the rest are national forests, national monuments, historic sites, urban recreation areas, national historical parks, national historical reserves, and national heritage corridors. The park system is comprised of more than 83 million acres.

Native Hawaiians

Sometime around 300 CE, several groups of Polynesians migrated to **Hawaii** from present-day French Polynesia in large ocean-going canoes. These were the ancestors of Native Hawaiians. By 1100, they had settled the eight major islands in the Hawaiian archipelago (large chain of islands): Hawaii, Maui (pronounced MOW-wee), Kahoolawe (kah-hoe-ah-LAH-way), Lanai (luh-NY), Molokai (moh-loe-KY), Oahu (oh-WAH-hoo), Kauai (ku-WY) and Niihau (NEE-haoo). From 1100 to 1650, the Native Hawaiians developed a distinctive society. Their culture had many of the same characteristics as those of ancient Polynesia, but the Hawaiian civilization had many unique characteristics as well.

Pre-European society

Native Hawaiians did not have private property. The kings or chiefs held all the land of an island for the whole community. Each island was divided into large units called *moku,* which were usually shaped in a wedge that extended from the shore to the mountain tops. The moku were further divided into narrower sections called *ahupua'a* (pronounced ah-hoo-poo-AH-ah), which also extended from the shore to the mountain top. Ahupua'a were intended to be self-sustaining, that is, they could support the people who lived within them with their variety of resources.

The people who lived within the ahupua'a formed an 'ohana, or extended family system, by which upland farmers exchanged their farming products with coastal residents who gathered protein-rich foods from the sea. To farm the inland regions, farmers built extensive terraces with irrigation ditches that brought water over great distances. They grew taro, a tropical plant grown primarily as a root vegetable. Taro was pounded into poi, a staple of the Hawaiian diet. Other crops were sweet potatoes, yams, and bananas. People who lived along the shoreline were skilled at fishing or collecting seaweed and shellfish. Stone-walled fishponds were

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Hawaiian monarch Kamehameha III was king of the Hawaiian Islands from 1825 to 1854. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

constructed along the shoreline so that an abundance of fish was always available.

Native Hawaiians were born into a particular social class and this defined their work and status. The great majority were workers responsible for farming and fishing. Above them in status were the priests and skilled experts who specialized in areas such as canoe building, medicine, navigation, house construction, and communication with the supernatural world. The exalted chiefs got their divine power from the gods. As symbols of their divinity, the chiefs wore elaborate feather capes and helmets, considered the finest example of feather work in the world.

The four main gods of the Hawaiians were Kane, Kanaloa, Ku, and Lono, but there were thousands of other deities. The Hawaiians believed that a supernatural power infused all things, living and nonliving. Tributes (gifts of money and other precious items) were offered to stone or wood representations of gods that were placed in stone-platform temples erected throughout the islands. Sacred dance, music, and chants were performed. During the annual harvest season, peace prevailed and festivities such as athletic competitions including surfing, boxing, wrestling, and bowling were widespread.

The chief of each district or island also required tributes of food, feathers, and other valuables, to be paid regularly like taxes. Rivalries for these tributes sometimes resulted in warfare among the chiefs.

European contact

In 1778, English sea captain Captain James Cook (1728–1779) arrived on the Hawaiian islands, the first of the Europeans. At that time, the native population was an estimated 800,000 to 1 million. The immediate result of European contact was the introduction of foreign diseases and the rapid decline of the native population. By 1831, the native pop-

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ulation had dropped to 130,000. Only 40,000 native Hawaiians survived in 1890.

European contact introduced iron and modern weapons to native Hawaiians. Kamehameha I (c. 1758–1819; pronounced kah-MAY-hah-MAY-ha), a young chief on the island of Hawaii, used foreign guns to launch several wars of conquest against rival chiefs in the 1790s. By 1810, he had successfully united all eight islands under his control, thereby establishing the Hawaiian Kingdom. Over the next eighty years, eight Hawaiian monarchs ruled the Hawaiian Islands.



Workers harvest sugar cane on a plantation in Hawaii, where the first sugar plantation was established in 1835. The sugar industry eventually dominated the islands' economy and pushed native farmers from their lands. AP IMAGES

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Cultural changes

In March 1820, the first American **Protestant** missionaries arrived in the islands. Converting several prominent chiefs to Christianity in 1825, the missionaries were soon able to exert their influence through the promotion of churches and schools. Temples and religious images throughout the island were destroyed.

To more effectively convert the native Hawaiians to Christianity, American missionaries decided to translate Christian texts into Hawaiian. Since Hawaiians had no written language, the missionaries and their native advisers established an English alphabet of twelve letters (a, e, i, o, and u and h, k, l, m, n, p, and w) to write the Hawaiian language. By 1830, common schools were established throughout the islands, and eventually 75 percent of the native population was able to read and write the Hawaiian language.

Loss of land

Political, social, and economic control over the kingdom increasingly shifted into the hands of foreigners throughout the nineteenth century. Traders stripped the Hawaiian forests of the fragrant sandalwood tree between 1810 and 1830. Private land ownership was established in 1848 abolishing the ahupua'a system of land management. Sugar cane planters arrived in the 1860s and bought up huge areas of land. The sugar industry eventually dominated the islands' economy, pushing the native farmers from their taro terraces and fishponds.

On January 17, 1893, American sugar interests, with the assistance of U.S. officials and troops, overthrew Queen Liliuokalani (1838–1917), thus ending the independent reign of the Hawaiian monarchy. When the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands in 1898, the Hawaiian language was no longer used in public schools. Tens of thousands of sugar-plantation laborers were imported from China, Japan, Okinawa, Portugal, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

Twentieth-century developments

By 1900, the declining native Hawaiian population had become a minority group in its own homeland. Concern for the survival of the remaining native people led the U.S. Congress to pass, in 1920, the

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Hawaiian Home Commission Act, which set aside some public lands for native Hawaiian homesteads.

In the 1960s, many native Hawaiians found employment in the tourism industry. But tourism created many challenges for the native Hawaiians. Many of their traditional values were made into slogans, and their ancient arts were turned into nightclub acts for visitors. Large-scale resort development in rural areas encroached upon the few remaining Hawaiian communities where modified 'ohana family systems struggled to survive.

In the 1970s, interest in preserving Hawaiian language, culture, and lands increased. Hawaii became the first bilingual state in the nation in 1978 when both Hawaiian and English were recognized as official languages. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), an elected representative body of native Hawaiians from various districts on the islands, was established to address the many social, economic, and cultural challenges still facing native Hawaiians who continued to have the lowest median income of the state's ethnic groups and the highest health and social welfare risks. In 1986, John Waihe'e (1946–) became the first native Hawaiian to be elected governor of the state.

Native North Americans of Alaska

Scientists have long held that **Alaska** was the original point of entry for Native Americans into the Americas from northeast Asian areas such as China, Siberia, and Mongolia. (See **First Americans, Origin Theories of**). It is theorized that they were able to walk to the continent due to the frigid climate of a glacial period (a period of extreme cold when great portions of the earth were covered with masses of ice called glaciers) that had begun around one hundred thousand years ago. So much water froze that the sea level dropped about three hundred or four hundred feet below what it is today. Scholars believe that the low water level exposed a vast land bridge spanning the distance across the Bering Strait, from Siberia in northern Russia to the northwest tip of North America (present-day Alaska). The Bering Land Bridge probably remained exposed until about twelve thousand years ago when the climate began to warm.

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An Inuit, or Eskimo, mother in native dress with her child. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

Background

Many historians believe that Alaska's native peoples arrived in several migrations that may have begun tens of thousands of years ago and took place over thousands of years. The native peoples of Alaska—the Athabascans; the Northwest Coast Indians, the Inuit (or Eskimos), and the Aleut—may have arrived in the Americas at different times.

The climate in most of Alaska ranges from arctic to subarctic. The arctic region of the globe is the closest to the North Pole and is extremely cold. Subarctic regions are just south of the arctic regions and are also very cold. In Alaska, only the Northwest Coast in the southeastern part of the state is not part of the bitterly cold arctic or subarctic climate. The other Alaskan groups adapted to their extreme environment.

The native peoples of Alaska shared a number of cultural traits. They were nomadic, meaning they moved around to find food and resources at different times of the year. Most depended on land- and sea-mammal hunting and ocean- or river-fishing. Their religious beliefs were based on a world inhabited by spirits. All groups had shamans, religious specialists who treated illness and dealt with the supernatural. Most groups engaged in occasional feuds and warfare. All areas of Alaska had well-established trade networks, with periodic trade fairs along the coasts and at convenient inland locations.

The Aleuts

The nine-hundred-mile-long Aleutian Islands, a chain of more than three hundred islands extending westward from mainland Alaska, is home to the Aleuts. It is usually foggy, damp, and windy, and has excellent ocean resources.

The Aleuts are believed to have split from a common Aleut-Eskimo background about four thousand years ago. They numbered fifteen thousand or more at the time Europeans arrived in Alaska. The Aleuts

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lived in large, communal (shared by the community) houses in permanent villages. They used kayaks made from animal skin for hunting and larger boats for travel. They exploited all the ocean resources available, including sea mammals, birds, shellfish, and fish. They used poison-tipped spears to hunt whales and nets and weirs (dams) to fish. In some areas, they hunted caribou. Aleut social organization was simple. Social rankings included nobles, commoners, and slaves.

The Inuit

The Inuit had a complex culture emphasizing land- and sea-mammal hunting and fishing. By 1000 BCE, they were making pottery, using oil lamps, building permanent houses, and whaling. At the time of



The Inuit were nomadic and during periods of travel they lived in skin tents. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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European contact, the Inuit in Alaska numbered twenty-six thousand to thirty thousand.

The coastal Inuit lived in Alaska's coastal tundra—treeless plains of the arctic regions, with year-round frozen subsoil. Tundra supports only low-growing plant-life such as mosses and dwarfed shrubs. In winter, Inuits in the more northern areas fished through the ice and hunted seals at breathing holes. More southerly groups hunted in open water much of the year. In summer, the Inuit used skin-covered kayaks to hunt seal, walrus, and whales. They used umiaks, large open boats made of skins stretched on a wooden frame, for travel and, in some areas, for whaling. Other Inuit groups lived in western and southern Alaska, where their culture was similar to the Athabascans. In some areas, they caught salmon in stone weirs and hunted caribou.

The Inuit used dog sleds for travel. They normally moved between winter villages and other locations for fishing and hunting. Villages consisted of rectangular family dwellings, with a larger kazigi, or ceremonial men's house. During periods of travel, the Inuit lived in skin tents. Their communities ranged from fifty to three hundred individuals or more, with informal leadership. Inuit religious life stressed belief in a world of spirits. Inuits observed taboos—acts, such as touching the head of an elder, that were forbidden because they were believed to harm the well-being of the community.

Athabascans

The Athabascan Indians live in the subarctic forests of interior Alaska. Much of the vast region is made up of northern evergreen forest with long, cold winters and brief, hot summers. Food resources are meager in this environment, and the Athabascan Indians lived in small, sparsely distributed groups speaking different dialects. When Europeans arrived, the total Athabascan population of Alaska was an estimated ten thousand to twelve thousand.

The Athabascans traveled from place to place regularly, using toboggans, bark-covered canoes, and snowshoes for transportation. From spring through fall, they engaged in the pursuit of caribou and salmon. They hunted waterfowl in the fall months and pursued moose and hares all year. In late winter and spring, they often went hungry. They lived in bands of fifty to one hundred members. Leadership was informal, and religious life stressed control of animal and nature spirits.

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The Indians of the Northwest Coast

The major groups of natives of the Northwest Coast in the milder climate of southeastern Alaska included the Tlingit (pronounced KLINK-et) and northern Haida (HY-dah). They lived in a temperate rain forest with abundant resources. Northwest Coast Indians totaled ten thousand to twelve thousand at the time the first Europeans arrived.

The Northwest Coast Indians developed a complex social life. Salmon runs provided an abundant harvest, which people preserved for later use. The Indians used canoes to hunt sea mammals and caught a wide variety of fish. The Tlingit in the north also hunted caribou. The Northwest Coast groups were superb woodworkers who constructed ornate houses and large dugout cedar canoes. In their villages, they erected totem poles in front of their houses. These were tall carved and painted wooden posts consisting of a series of totems, or family crests, for commemoration and status.

Religious life on the Northwest Coast focused on animal spirits, particularly in connection with the annual salmon migrations. The concept of a personal protective or guardian spirit was widespread. Northwest Coast people celebrated with the potlatch, an elaborate gift-giving feast. (See **Native North Americans of the Pacific Northwest**.)

Europeans arrive

Russian trade goods reached Alaska by the late 1600s, but it was the discovery of Alaska by Danish-born navigator Vitus Bering (1681–1741) in 1741 that began the period of sustained white contact. During the early Russian occupation, the fur trade was beneficial to the native people, particularly along the southern coast. Beginning in 1841, Americans began commercial whaling in the Bering Sea, which resulted in extensive contact with the Inuit. Missionary efforts started in 1794 and continued after the United States purchased Alaska in 1867. A gold rush brought many new white settlers to Alaska in the late 1800s. The missions and American occupation led to rapid social and cultural change.

It was not until the 1940s that non-Natives actually outnumbered natives in Alaska. With little contact, Native Alaskans had been slower to adopt mainstream American customs than other Native American groups. This meant that they were more vulnerable to being tricked out

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of their lands and livelihoods. Unlike other American groups, they had not entered into treaties with the U.S. government.

Beginning in the 1830s, disease caused major population declines among Native Alaskans—by some estimates, 90 percent died during the nineteenth century. From the late 1880s to the 1950s, Christian missions and schools became widespread, health care improved, and native populations grew rapidly. The 2000 census listed the total number of Native Alaskans at more than ninety-nine thousand.

Protecting land and rights

Alaska became a state in 1959. Then major oil fields were discovered in northern Alaska in 1968. As the new state claimed more of their lands, Native Alaskans organized to fight, pressing their claims in court. They stalled the construction of the Alaska Pipeline until 1971, when the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was signed into law. Under the terms of ANCSA, Native Alaskans received $962 million and 44 million acres of land in exchange for giving up title to the rest of their lands in Alaska.

The United States entered into ANCSA with the goal of assimilating (causing to blend in) Native Alaskans into mainstream American society by imposing on them a system of private ownership and free enterprise. The government set up a system of regional and village-level profit-making native corporations to guide economic development among the Native Alaskans. However, a high incidence of poverty, poor access to quality health care, and the suppression of religious freedom resulted.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, Native Alaskans sought to limit the role of the ANCSA corporations, strengthen tribal governments, and resurrect their traditional communal economies. Some gains were made in quality of housing and income in some regions, but economic discrimination and poverty remained problems.

Native Alaskans faced growing concerns about climate change in the twenty-first century. Alaska's climate had warmed an estimated 4 degrees over the past thirty to forty years, causing the permafrost (soil that remains frozen year-round) and ice to thaw. Since many Native Alaskans rely on the resources of their arctic environment, they are harshly affected by these changes.

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Native North Americans of California

Before Europeans arrived, there were more than three hundred thousand people living in present-day **California**, making it one of the most populated native areas north of Mexico. More than one hundred tribes, speaking many languages and practicing many different customs, were scattered from the dense forests of the north to the arid deserts of the south.

California's diverse populations

Historians have identified six culture areas in early California. A culture area is a region in which several Native American groups lived and shared some ways of life, though not necessarily the same language or religion. California's culture areas are: northwest, northeast, central, Great Basin, southern, and Colorado River.

In the northwest part of California, the Yurok, Karok, Hupa, and other tribes fished for salmon, hunted, and gathered acorns and other plant products. They lived in long-established villages and built plank houses (houses covered with thick pieces of wood). Shrewd traders, California's northwest Indians accumulated wealth that was measured in shell beads and other precious items.

In northeastern California, which was much drier and had less vegetation than the northwest, the Pit River and Modoc Indians hunted and gathered seeds and roots and periodically moved their camps to take advantage of seasonally available resources.

The central California Indians hunted, fished, and gathered acorns that grew in abundance throughout the wet region. The central Indians were not as migratory (they settled into their homes all year, or most of the year). Their communities consisted of small round houses built of local materials, a large round house for meetings and rituals, and sweat lodges. The Miwok (pronounced MEE-wuk), Nisenan (nish-EE-non), Yokut, and Patwin were among the tribes that lived in the central area.

The southern California tribes included the Chumash, Cahuilla (pronounced kah-WEE-ah), Diegueño (dee-ay-GWAY-nyo), and others. Near the ocean, these people relied on fish, mollusks (shellfish like clams and mussels), and sea mammals for food, as well as acorns and other

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The Yurok Indians lived in northwest California, fishing for salmon, hunting, and gathering plants. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

plant products. In the interior deserts, they hunted rabbits, mountain sheep, and other small animals.

The Colorado River tribes—Yuma, Halchidhoma (pronounced hahl-chee-DOME-ah), and Mojave (moe-HAH-vay)—were the only California Native Americans who customarily farmed before the arrival of Europeans. They used the annual floods of the Colorado River to irrigate their fields of beans and corn.

The **Native North Americans of the Great Basin**, such as the Chemehuevi (pronounced chem-ah-WAY-vee) and Washo, lived in the blistering deserts east of the Sierra Nevada. They followed a seasonal round that enabled them to hunt and gather animals and plants as they became available in the sparse environment.

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The Spanish missions

Native North Americans of California first encountered Europeans in the sixteenth century when Spanish expeditions sailed up the Pacific Coast from Mexico. Catholic missionaries began to found **Spanish missions** along the California coast in 1769 under the direction of Junípero Serra (1713–1784). Eventually there were twenty-one missions located from present-day San Diego to just north of the San Francisco Bay.

The missionaries gathered thousands of Indians into the missions, which raised cattle and agricultural crops on lands that Indians had recently depended on. The missions were intended to convert Indians to Catholicism and to educate them in European languages, culture, and skills so that they would become useful members of Spanish colonial society. But one of the most profound results of the missions was exposing the California Native Americans to diseases from Europe to which they had no resistance. Thousands perished. Between 1769 and 1848, the Native Californian population fell from about 300,000 to perhaps 175,000. Conditions varied in the missions, but there were many reports of abuse and enslavement of the Indians, which also contributed to the loss of life and population.

Missionaries under the leadership of Junípero Serra in 1769 gathered thousands of Indians into the Spanish missions that were established along the coast of California. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



Not surprisingly, many Native Americans rejected the missions and resisted Spanish authority. In 1781, Quechan (pronounced KWUH-tsan) Indians killed priests, soldiers, and settlers and forced the missionaries to abandon two missions on the Colorado River. In 1824, California Native Americans rebelled at the missions near Santa Barbara. There were many other uprisings as well, but it is worthy to note that other Indians voluntarily entered the missions and remained loyal to the priests who instructed them.

Mexican California

After Mexico established its independence from Spain in 1821, the Mexican government began to close down the California missions. The lawmakers in Mexico intended that Native

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Americans would receive individual parcels of land and stock from mission holdings, but California rancheros—wealthy Mexican ranchers—quickly took the mission lands for themselves. Most were forced to work on private ranches or move away from the settled areas.

Native Americans in the interior and northern parts of California had remained free of permanent non-Indian settlements until the early 1840s, when American settlers began to gather around Sutter's Fort in the Sacramento Valley, where gold had been discovered in 1848. The American ranchers relied on their labor.

The Gold Rush

In 1848, California became a part of the United States and experienced a gold rush on the American River in northern California that brought hundreds of thousands of newcomers to the area. The **California gold rush** proved to be a disaster for the Indians; miners took Indian land and killed Indians at will. By 1860, only about thirty thousand Indians remained in California.

In 1851 and 1852, federal agents negotiated eighteen treaties that provided for **Indian reservations** (lands set apart by the government for the use of specific tribes) throughout the state, but the U.S. Senate refused to approve the treaties and the reservations were never established. Instead, the government established a few temporary reservations, which were inadequate to maintain the Native American population. In the end, only the Round Valley, Hoopa Valley, and Tule River reservations remained to serve the Native American population. Most Native Americans lived elsewhere, either working for farmers and ranchers or eking out a meager existence on isolated lands that had not been claimed by white settlers.

Reform efforts

The harsh conditions of California Indian life attracted the attention of reformers such as writer Helen Hunt Jackson (1830–1885), who wrote the popular novel *Ramona* (1884) about the cruel treatment of southern California Indians, and activist Charles Fletcher Lummis (1859–1928), who lobbied Congress to obtain land for Native Americans. In the 1870s and 1890s, the federal government set aside about a dozen small reservations for southern California Native Americans. In the early twentieth

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century, Congress funded the purchase of land for northern California Native Americans so that there were more than one hundred small parcels in addition to the three large reservations left from the gold-rush era.

In 1944, after sixteen years of litigation, a federal court of claims awarded California Native Americans $17 million for the reservations that were called for by the treaties of 1851 and 1852 but never established. Of that award, the Indians received only $150 each. In 1964, after more legal battles, California Indians were awarded more than $29 million, which resulted in payments of $668 per person.

Meantime, in the 1950s, the federal government embarked on a policy of terminating federal responsibility for reservations and turning them over to the Native North Americans. Indians on more than forty small California reservations voted for termination. The federal government withdrew health, welfare, and educational services and left the Indians to rely on the state government and their own resources. They were worse off than they had been before.

Alcatraz and beyond

In 1969, California became a focal point for Indian political activism when a group called Indians of All Tribes occupied Alcatraz Island, a former U.S. penitentiary in the San Francisco Bay, in a highly public attempt to reclaim the island. The group, which numbered from fifteen to one thousand people at different times, occupied Alcatraz for the next nineteen months. The demonstration heightened public awareness of the Native American position.

More importantly, tribal councils systematically defended their rights in court, securing important civil, land, and water rights. Since the 1960s, many California colleges and universities have established Indian Studies programs to encourage Native American education and provide a source of information about Native Americans for all of the state's citizens.

Native North Americans of the Great Basin

Trapped between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains, the Great Basin is an arid expanse that includes present-day **Nevada**, **Utah**, western **California**, and southern **Oregon**. Summers in the Great Basin are

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brutally hot and winters can be bitterly cold. Diverse groups of people have been living in this harsh environment for at least ten thousand years. The Great Basin Native American population numbered about forty thousand when the first Europeans arrived.

The people of the Great Basin

Prior to the arrival of Europeans in the New World, almost all Great Basin tribes were hunters and gathers who migrated seasonally in search of food. The Northern Shoshones (pronounced sho-SHO-nees) and Bannocks lived in the northcentral part of the Great Basin, across present-day **Idaho** and the southwestern corner of **Montana**. Western **Wyoming** and northern Utah were the home of the Eastern Shoshones. The Ute ranged across most of **Colorado**, from the Wyoming border to **New Mexico** and from near **Kansas** to Utah. Southern Paiute (pronounced PIE-ute) territory covered southeastern Utah, northwestern **Arizona**, southeastern Nevada, and southwestern California. Farther north, spilling into Nevada, were the Owens Valley Paiute and the Washo. The Western Shoshones claimed the central part of the Great Basin, from present-day eastern Nevada extending into California and from northwest Utah into the southeastern corner of Idaho. Finally, the Northern Paiutes lived in southeastern Oregon, western Nevada, and a corner of northwestern California. Each of these groups adapted to their specific environments.

Life in the Great Basin

There was a lot of variety in the plants and animals of the Great Basin, but food was scarce. Women gathered roots, herbs, nuts, berries, seeds, and native fiber plants and processed them into food and medicine. Men netted birds, fish, and rabbits and hunted game animals by killing them with poisoned arrows or driving them into pits. After the hunt, women roasted or dried the meat and made clothing, shelters, and implements out of skins, bones, and sinews. A few groups farmed in the Great Basin: some Southern Paiutes and Western Utes grew corn and beans, and Owens Valley Paiutes grew **tobacco**.

The Great Basin could not support the sedentary lifestyle (staying in one permanent home) needed to develop complex political structures. Before the introduction of the horse, the meager food supply meant that

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social groups could not become larger than one to ten households. They gathered the food within an area and then moved on.

The spiritual beliefs and practices of Great Basin peoples reflected the demands of the environment. All groups viewed the natural world as endowed with supernatural power, and all groups had shamans—males or females who could perform healing ceremonies and control the hunts and the weather. Birth, puberty, and death rituals (sets of actions done in specific ways during religious ceremonies) were widespread.

The horse arrives

Because of their isolated location, the people of the Great Basin were shielded from the more devastating consequences of contact with Europeans until the late nineteenth century. But the horse was one aspect of European contact in the Americas that occurred long before Europeans arrived in the Great Basin and changed everything.

The Northern Shoshones, Bannocks, and the Eastern Utes acquired horses from distant Native American tribes at the end of the eighteenth century. They began raiding other tribes for horses and for slaves. Horse-riding groups organized into bands led by men who were successful hunters and warriors. The presence of mounted bands changed the way groups interacted in the Great Basin area. Previous associations between groups had been peaceful, but now horse groups raided nonhorse groups. Relations with Hispanics, who moved into the region south of the Great Basin in 1598, and with Indians surrounding the Great Basin, such as the Navajos and Comanches, were characterized by confrontations over raids for horses and slaves.

White settlers arrive

Intermittent warfare continued in the Great Basin during the period of white settlement. The **Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints** (also known as the Mormons), a religious sect that was persecuted in **Missouri** and **Illinois** and migrated to Utah, arrived in the region of the Great Salt Lake in 1847. There was initial warfare between the Mormons and the Great Basin Native Americans, but by 1854 the Indians were defeated. The Mormons taught the Great Basin Native Americans farming and put them to work for wages; there was peace until the 1860s. At that time, a gold rush in Nevada caused a major increase in traffic along the

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overland trails in the central Great Basin. (See **California Gold Rush**.) The miners and settlers traveling through completely disrupted the native way of life. Violence erupted.

The U.S. government intervened in the hostilities. The **Bureau of Indian Affairs** (BIA) had already negotiated several treaties and agreements, promising to supply Great Basin peoples with annuities (annual payments) and presents in return for peace. In 1855, the government tried to establish **Indian reservations** (lands set apart by the government for the use of specific tribes) in Utah, where the BIA planned to teach the Great Basin peoples farming, ranching, or trade skills. The federal government relocated those Indians it perceived to be in the way of settlement while leaving alone others in remote locations. A few scattered bands of Western Shoshones and Paiutes managed to evade relocation, but the rest of the Great Basin tribes were moved.

Reservations

Native Americans living on reservations did some farming and wage labor, but they also continued to hunt and gather, frequently leaving the reservations in seasonal cycles. They continue to follow these patterns today. The BIA's plans to make the Great Basin groups into farmers failed partly because the Native Americans resisted the change, but mainly because the land on the reservation was too poor in quality to support them.

Beginning in the 1930s, the BIA shifted from its policy of forcing Native Americans to adapt to mainstream American ways. The Basin Native Americans established elected tribal councils to conduct reservation business and pursued their own economic and educational strategies. In the early twenty-first century, tribal governments struggled to control their mineral and water resources and to regain lost lands, while also dealing with poverty and the resulting social problems of poor health, alcoholism, and violence.

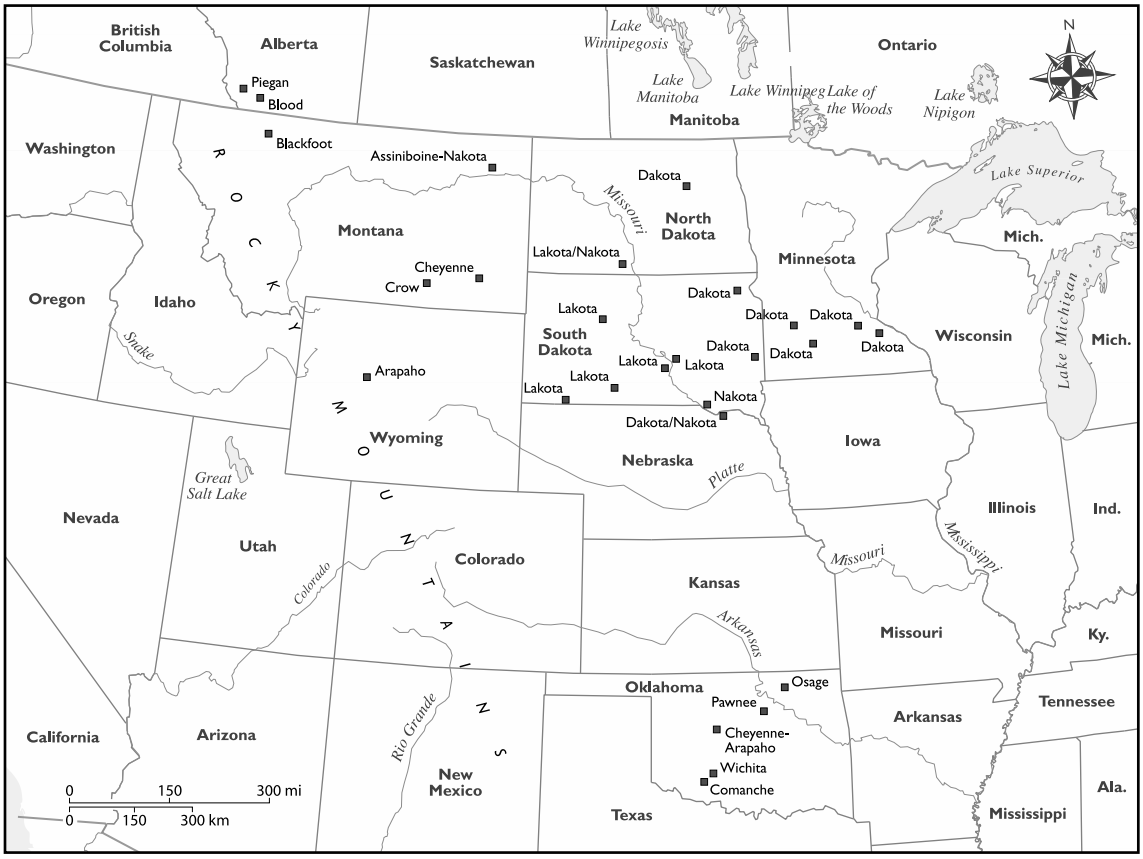
Native North Americans of the Great Plains

The Great Plains is a vast expanse that stretches east from the Rocky Mountains, covering parts of present-day **Colorado**, **Kansas**, **Nebraska**, **Montana**, **Wyoming**, **North Dakota**, **South Dakota**, **New Mexico**,

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Texas, and **Oklahoma**. A large part of the area is flat, almost treeless, and very dry. Before Europeans arrived in the Americas, the Great Plains were the grazing area of huge herds of buffalo and the home of native groups.

Most of the people now regarded as Plains Indians moved to the area after 1650, when Europeans settling on the Atlantic coast forced eastern Native American groups to move west. (See **Native North Americans of the Northeast** and **Native North Americans of the Southeast**.) The Sioux, or Lakota, for example, migrated from **Minnesota** to the Plains in the late 1700s. The Cheyenne arrived in present-day North Dakota from their traditional lands in present-day southern Canada by the late 1700s. Other peoples, such as the Mandan, Hidatsa, Omaha, Pawnee



A map of contemporary Native American communities in the Great Plains region. Plains Indians took up farming, settling in river valleys along rivers and streams. THE GALE GROUP

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and the ancestors of the Kiowa (pronounced KYE-oh-wuh), lived on the Great Plains for hundreds if not thousands of years.

Early history

The people living in the Great Plains from 8000 BCE to 1500 CE were nomadic (they traveled from temporary home to temporary home), moving as many as one hundred times a year in pursuit of the buffalo. This large animal was the staple of life for many western tribes. Its meat provided food; its skin provided clothing, tent covers, bedding, riding gear, and containers; its sinews became bowstrings and thread; its bones tools; even its dried dung served as fuel in a treeless environment. Most homes of the nomadic tribes were tepees, conical tents made by stretching skins over a wood frame. Tepees were easily moved and could be assembled quickly. Tribes traveled mostly on foot; there were no horses or mules until the arrival of the Europeans.

After about 250 BCE, some Plains tribes took up farming, settling in river valleys where they cultivated corn, beans, squash, and **tobacco**. Farmers in the eastern Plains settled into more permanent homes, establishing walled villages of about two thousand members along rivers and streams. After 900 CE, Plains Indians began long-distance trading.

Plains Indian Culture, late 1700s–1880

In the early 1600s, tribes in New Mexico began to trade horses brought by the Spanish throughout North America. Horses allowed the nomadic buffalo hunters of the Great Plains to follow the herds more closely, increase kills, and to transport surplus food, equipment, and larger tepees. They also transformed warfare, the means by which many Plains Indian men achieved status.

From about the end of the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century, the Native American nations of the Great Plains flourished. They were so renowned that presidents, artists, and socialites planned visits to the Plains to see them. Images of some aspects of the Plains Indian horse culture are familiar to anyone who has ever seen a Western movie. But the stereotyped Plains Indians of the movies reflect only a small part of the complex and diverse culture.

By 1800, the Plains Indians were divided into two groups: nomadic tribes and the tribes that had settled in the eastern Plains. The nomadic

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tribes included the Blackfoot, Crow, Arapaho, and Cheyenne (pronounced SHY-yen), and Comanche. These tribes never farmed and lived in hide-covered tepees year-round. The tribes from the eastern half of the Plains included the Sioux (pronounced SUE; also known as the Lakota), Omaha, Iowa, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Assiniboin, Kansas, Missouri, Osage, Plains Cree, and Sarsi. They farmed and lived in permanent villages about half the year and rode west to hunt buffalo only during certain seasons. These diverse tribes spoke so many different languages that they communicated with each other through sign language.

The settlements of the Plains farmers suffered early in the century. Plains hunters repeatedly raided their villages, usually stealing horses. With the arrival of white explorers and traders, epidemic diseases struck the villagers, who had no resistance. In 1837, the Mandan, whose villages had long been major cultural and trading centers of the Plains, were almost completely killed off by a smallpox epidemic.

Daily life on the Plains

Most peoples of the Plains lived in extended families of two or three generations. Families of farming tribes were generally organized into clans (groups of related families tracing back to a common ancestor). Almost all Plains peoples were organized into tribes of from one thousand to ten thousand members. Tribal villages could be spread out in a variety of areas, but each tribe assembled at least once a year for a buffalo hunt or religious gathering. Led by two or more chiefs advised by a council, tribes occupied and defended their hunting and farming territories. Warfare was important on the Plains as a means to defend family, clan, and tribe, but it also gave warriors a chance to steal horses and test their bravery in order to rise to leadership positions.

Religions in Plains tribes were led by holy men who taught the sacred rituals (sets of actions, done in a precise order and manner, that are often part of a religious ceremony), or by shamans, medicine men who called upon supernatural forces to cure people. Almost all Plains Indians used the "sweat lodge"—a hut that was filled with steam by pouring water over heated stones. The resultant sweating was perceived by the Indians as purifying.

Almost every Crow, Blackfoot, or Lakota young man underwent a "vision quest," in which he would go alone to a quiet place and fast (refrain from eating and drinking) for several days. The goal of the vision

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Oglala Sioux chief Red Cloud led a successful resistance to the U.S. government's attempt to create a route across Sioux land. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

quest was to contact a guardian spirit that would protect and guide the young man throughout his life. Most tribes of the Great Plains held a yearly Sun Dance celebration that usually lasted for four to ten days. The forms of the ceremony varied, but most involved singing, dancing, fasting, and often some type of self-torture. The Sun Dance was viewed as a yearly cleansing and rebirth for the earth.

Encountering settlers

In the 1840s, the **California Gold Rush** and the opening of the **Oregon Trail** drew large numbers of white settlers through the Great Plains. As they moved west, new settlers hunted the Plains buffalo in great numbers and subjected Indians to a variety of diseases.

In 1851, many Plains Indian chiefs signed the Fort Laramie Treaty giving the United States the right to construct roads and forts in Plains Indian territory in exchange for the government's promise to protect the Indians from encroachments (entry into their territory) by the white settlers. The Fort Laramie Treaty granted the Plains Indians a vast territory, but in 1861 several Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs signed the Treaty of Fort Wise, which ceded to the United States huge portions of their lands. Other Cheyenne and Sioux tribes did not agree to the new treaty and refused to go along with it. The government continued to reduce the territory of the Plains Indians over the next thirty years.

War

By 1862, the U.S. government had restricted the Santee Sioux to a stretch of land ten miles wide and 150 miles long. The angry Sioux attacked nearby white settlements, killing over seven hundred white men in fierce fighting. U.S. **Army** forces put down the rebellion, hanging thirty-eight of the leaders. Two years later, heavy fighting broke out in Colorado where other Plains tribes retaliated for the loss of their land. The U.S. Army prepared to fight. It sent out a warning that it would deal severely with hostile Indians and called for friendly Indians to seek

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protection at various army posts. One small group of Arapaho and Cheyenne led by Black Kettle (c. 1803–1868) settled near an army fort on Sand Creek, seeking protection. Despite the group's clearly peaceful intentions, Colonel John M. Chivington (1821–1892) led a volunteer militia group into the camp, killing about two hundred people, mostly women, children, and elderly men, and mutilating their bodies. The **Sand Creek Massacre** caused Plains Indians to become more resistant to white movement into the region.

In 1866, the U.S. government started work on the Bozeman Trail, a route that crossed a major Sioux buffalo hunting area. Oglala Sioux Chief Red Cloud (1822–1909) led a successful resistance to the intrusion on Sioux land. The government was forced to abandon the Bozeman Trail and its three forts, and granted to the Indians the Great Sioux Reservation, which stretched from the Missouri River west through the Black Hills of the Dakota Territory.

Two years later, in 1868, government treaties placed Plains Indians on two large reservations. Northern Plains tribes, including the Sioux, were to be placed in the western portion of the Dakota Territory, while southern Plains tribes would be centered in **Indian Territory**, a part of present-day Oklahoma. Many Indians continued to resist.

Battle of Little Bighorn

In 1874, disregarding the latest treaties, Colonel George Armstrong Custer (1839–1876) led a mining expedition into the Black Hills region of the Sioux reservation to search for gold. The government presented a new treaty to the Sioux in which they were to give up the Black Hills region, but the Sioux refused. As a result, President **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885; served 1869–77) ordered the military to take the area by force.

The Sioux and other Native American nations united to fight this aggression, building an army under the leadership of Oglala Lakota war leader Crazy Horse (c. 1842–1877) and Hunkpapa Lakota chief and religious leader **Sitting Bull** (c. 1831–1890). On June 25, 1876, Custer's regiment attacked an Indian encampment near the Little Bighorn River in Montana. Indian warriors had hidden themselves around the encampment and caught Custer and his troops off guard. Crazy Horse and his men killed roughly 250 soldiers, including Custer.

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The Indian victory at Little Big Horn—known as the Battle of Little Big Horn or **Custer's Last Stand**—only stiffened the American government's resolve in battling the Sioux. Within a year, many of the tribes had been forced to move to **Indian reservations**. They had little choice. The buffalo herds that had been the center of Plains life had almost entirely disappeared by the mid-1880s. Twenty million animals had been slaughtered by thousands of white hunters in only thirty years. The Indians' means of survival on the Plains was gone.

The Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee

In 1890, the government further reduced the size of the Plains reservations. Life on the reservations was desperate. The land was not good



Arapaho ghost dancers perform to invoke visions of a renewed earth, where Indian ancestors and buffalo would return. The U.S. government, afraid of an uprising, outlawed the Ghost Dance movement in 1890. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

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enough to support farming and the government failed to provide the food and supplies it had promised. Defeated, hungry, and angry, many Plains Indians found comfort in the Ghost Dance movement. The Ghost Dance expressed a vision of the end of the present world, in which all the dead Indian ancestors and the buffalo would return. The American continent would return to the state it had been in before the Europeans had arrived and the white man would be gone forever. Ghost dancers performed an exhausting dance to invoke visions of a renewed earth. Government agents and local settlers who witnessed the dance feared it would lead to an uprising. The Ghost Dance movement was outlawed in 1890.

In December of that year, a group of Plains Indians led by Minneconjou Sioux Chief Big Foot (c. 1824–1890) was on its way to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Army forces stopped the group and held it at a small creek called Wounded Knee. A scuffle broke out, and the five hundred soldiers began firing into the Indian camp. The soldiers continued to shoot well past the sense of any danger. Bodies of Indian women and children were found as far as three miles away from the camp. An estimated two to three hundred people were killed that day. The **Wounded Knee massacre** was the last battle for the once fierce and powerful Plains Indians. They suffered for decades on the inadequate reservations, often facing starvation and being forced to rely on the government for handouts.

After Wounded Knee

Some relief came with new policies in the 1930s that allowed some tribes to form their own tribal councils. The African American **civil rights movement** of the 1950s and 1960s influenced Plains Indians to fight for their rights. The **American Indian Movement** (AIM) formed in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1968 and quickly became a national organization. AIM focused on renewing traditional tribal cultures and spirituality, combating stereotypes and negative images of Native peoples, protecting Native American civil and human rights, educating Native American children about their own tribal heritages, regaining control over tribal resources, and generally advocating Native American tribal self-determination.

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Native North Americans of the Northeast

The Native Americans of the present-day northeastern United States inhabited a vast region known as the northeastern woodlands, spanning the Atlantic coast states from New England to **Virginia** and extending west through the Ohio Valley, the Great Lakes, and Canadian territory above Lake Erie. The northeastern woodlands region was home to a large number of tribal groups, including the Abenaki (pronounced ah-buh-NAH-key), Delaware (also called Lenape), Iroquois (EAR-uh-kwoy), Menominee, Micmac, Ojibway (also called Chippewa), Pequot (PEE-kwot), Powhatan, Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, Shawnee, Wampanoag (wam-puh-NO-ag), Ottawa, Huron, Penobscot, and Winnebago.

Although these groups spoke in many different languages, their languages fell into three language families (groups of languages thought to have come from a common root language long in the past): Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan. People who spoke Algonquian languages lived in the vast area between the Great Lakes and the East Coast from New England down to **North Carolina**. The Iroquoian language family was found among the groups in the east Great Lakes region and the Appalachian Mountains. The only northeastern group that spoke a Siouan language was the Winnebago, who lived in the Great Lakes region.

Early history

The people of the northeast and the southeast of the present-day United States have common origins. The first known inhabitants of both regions were societies that built huge earthen mounds, many of which still stand today. The Adena society arose in the Ohio River Valley around 400 BCE. Adena settlements spread over a wide area, into sites in present-day western **New York** and western **Pennsylvania**. There were usually no more than four hundred people in an Adena village. The Adena people also built mounds to contain their dead. The largest, Grave Creek Mound in **West Virginia**, was 240 feet in diameter and 70 feet high.

After the first century BCE, the Adena culture evolved into a more complex culture called Hopewell. The ceremonial mounds of this society were more elaborate. The Hopewell people probably had an extensive trade network; the remains of their villages contain a variety of goods

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A militia wanting land in the Pequot region fight against the Pequot Indians. This Pequot encampment was eventually burned to the ground and the Pequot culture wiped out. STOCK MONTAGE/GETTY IMAGES

from places as far away as **Wisconsin**, **Missouri**, New York, and **Florida**. For reasons that are unclear, the great Hopewell centers were abandoned in the fifth century CE. After that, mound-building was carried out among the **Native North Americans of the Southeast.** The societies that arose in the northeast took advantage of the hunting and fishing in a land rich in resources. They did not build mounds and were probably unrelated to the mound-builders. They farmed and traded extensively with Native Americans living in distant regions.

Movement of the nations

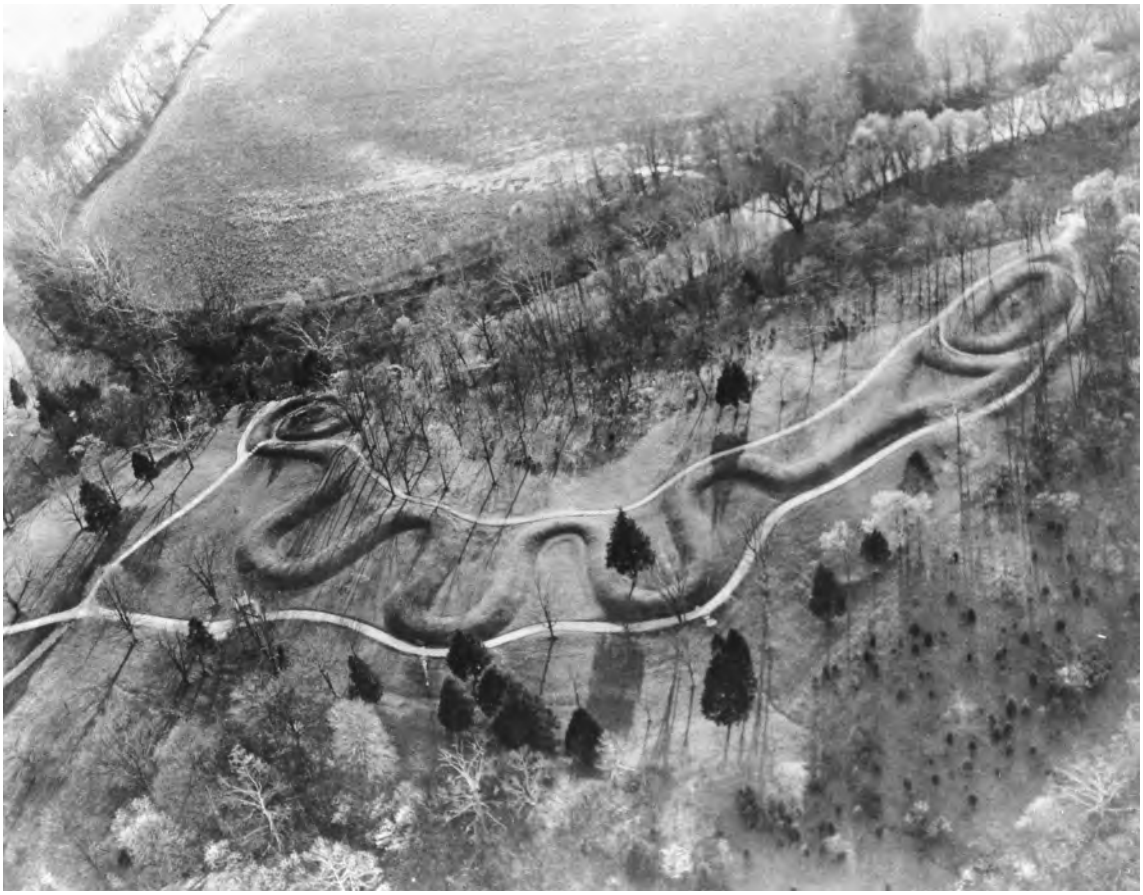
The population of the Northeast began shifting long before the Europeans arrived. Algonquian groups, like the Ottawa and Ojibway, moved into the Northeast and began to invade the Iroquoian peoples,

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who occupied present-day upstate New York and sites along the lower Great Lakes. The arrival of Europeans in the 1500s heightened these struggles. Many groups were pressured to move farther and farther west as Europeans pushed the coastal Native communities out of their lands. Those Native groups who were forced to relocate in turn displaced the tribes of their new location.

Europeans arrive

The Native Americans of the Northeast were generally friendly to the English newcomers who began to arrive in Virginia and New England in



The ceremonial Great Serpent Mound was created by the Hopewell people in the Ohio region. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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the 1600s. They helped the settlers through their first rugged winters and taught them about the foods that were available in their areas. Before long, the native communities were stricken with deadly epidemics of disease brought from Europe. Their populations weakened, the Native Americans of Massachusetts and Virginia learned that the English wanted more land and were unwilling to respect their ways or their territory.

A group of English settlers known as the **Puritans** arrived in **Massachusetts** in 1630. They were extremely harsh toward Native Americans. The Puritans were on a mission to establish a perfect Christian society and there was no place in it for the Native Americans of the New World. When a smallpox epidemic killed thousands of area Native Americans, some Puritans believed that God had sent the diseases in order to clear the land of its native inhabitants so that the Puritans could settle there. Between 1634 and 1638, the English population of the **Massachusetts Bay Colony** rose from about four thousand to more than eleven thousand. Although there was conflict, many of the northeastern Native American tribes profited from trading with the English and other Europeans and established alliances with them.

Pequot War

The Pequot, a tribe known for its war-like ways, lived in what is now **Connecticut** in the 1630s. They were the dominant native people in the region, allied with the Niantics and frequently at war with the Narragansetts and other tribes. In 1633, Puritan settlers began to arrive in the Connecticut Valley. The Puritans wanted the land in the Pequot region. The Pequot decided to fight them.

In 1633 and 1634, local Native Americans killed white traders, although no one knew for sure which tribe did the killing. The Puritans sent an army to Connecticut to seek revenge, and the soldiers robbed and looted the Indians in the area. In retaliation, in 1635 and 1636, the Pequot sacked the Puritan settlements of Saybrook and Wethersfield, Connecticut, killing about thirty settlers. Things were quiet for a time until May 1637, when colonial troops, accompanied by several hundred other local Native Americans, attacked the Pequot fort at Mystic. Within thirty minutes, all but a few Pequot had been put to death by either fire or sword. Accounts differ as to how many Native Americans

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were killed, but the number probably approached four hundred or five hundred.

After this attack, the remaining Pequot were tracked down and killed, enslaved and sold into slavery in the West Indies (Caribbean Islands), or taken as mission Indians—Native Americans who converted to Christianity and lived under the watch of missionaries. The latter became known as the "praying Indians." The Narragansett had allied themselves with the English in the destruction of the Pequot. Within seven years, the Narragansett, too, were forced to submit to the Puritan rule.

King Philip's War

In 1643, the British colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Massachusetts formed what was then known as the "United Colonies of New England" to better defend themselves from Native American attacks. By the 1670s, some fifty thousand settlers flooded into New England. Wampanoag chief Metacom (c. 1639–1676; called King Philip by the English), tried to maintain friendly relations but grew restless with English rule. In 1671, the **Plymouth Colony** arrested him on charges of plotting against the colony. He was forced to deliver the Wampanoags' weapons to the English. Conflicts followed and in June 1665, war erupted.

The conflict between Metacom and the Plymouth colony soon engulfed all of New England: the army of the New England confederation faced a coalition army of Abenaki, Nipmuck, Narragansett, and Wampanoag warriors. By the end of the summer, the Connecticut-Massachusetts frontier was in flames. Intense warfare continued for many years, through the spring of 1676, when the New England Native Americans were forced to give up fighting because of starvation and disease. The English had great losses. The once-great tribes Wampanoag, Nipmuck, and Narragansett were reduced to insignificance.

Powhatan of Virginia

A similar fate had befallen the Indians of Virginia. The Powhatan Confederacy had initially helped the **Jamestown, Virginia,** settlers who arrived in 1607, but the growing population of English settlers repeatedly forced the native residents to move to new areas; relations grew tense. In 1622, the Powhatan attacked several English settlements,

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killing an estimated 350 men, women, and children. The English retaliated, destroying many Native American villages. Warfare continued for decades. By 1675, the Virginia settlers demolished the Powhatan Confederacy, and the Native Americans were forced to live under Virginia law.

Northern and western tribes

Several northern groups, like the Penobscot and the Passamaquoddy of **Maine**, survived the age of English settlement by remaining in their remote homelands, where there were few white settlers. Natives in the Great Lakes region, such as the Shawnee, Sac and Fox, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Menominee, Potawatomi, Ojibway, and Ottawa, had heard about the destruction caused by white settlers on the coast and made efforts to slow the spread of European control. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, two Native American leaders, Ottawa chief Pontiac (c. 1720–1769) and Shawnee chief **Tecumseh** (1768–1813) formed coalitions among the tribes to defend their area from the settlers. Their efforts, though powerful, were not strong enough.

By the late 1790s, the once-powerful Iroquois nations had been relocated to reservations. By 1860, most native people of the Great Lakes regions had been assigned to small **Indian reservations**. Other groups, such as the Shawnee and Delaware, were sent to reservations in **Oklahoma**.

Preserving a heritage

Native Americans in the Northeast witnessed stark and long-lasting changes. Their environment was irreversibly changed. The rise of industrialization changed the patterns of work and family life. Traditional ways of life were lost.

The Native Americans of the Northeast were the first in the United States to be colonized by European settlers and they have spent four centuries adapting, while working to preserve their tribal lands and heritage. Some northeastern tribes have succeeded in getting payment for their losses from the government. In 1980, the United States gave the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot $81 million to make up for the loss of their homelands. But other northeastern groups were so badly damaged by epidemics and the wars with the settlers that they never recovered.

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Native North Americans of the Pacific Northwest

The Pacific Northwest consists of the northeast corner of the United States including **Oregon** and **Washington**, the islands of southern **Alaska**, and parts of northern **Idaho**, northwestern **Montana**, and the coast of British Columbia, Canada. The area was home to many different cultures. The Nootkas and Kwakiutls (pronounced kwah-kee-OO-tul) lived along the coast of present-day British Columbia and Washington. The Salish were divided into two groups: the Coastal Salish and the Interior Salish. Among the Coastal Salish, who lived in northwestern Washington on the Puget Sound and in British Columbia, were the Chehalis (sha-HAY-lis), Nisqualli (nis-KWALL-ee), Cowlitz, Squamish, Comox, Tillamook, and Bella Coola tribes. The Interior Salish were **Native North Americans of the Plateau**. The Klamaths and Modocs lived along the present-day border between **California** and Oregon. The Chinooks lived farther north, near the mouth of the Columbia River. Finally, there were the southern Alaskan tribes—the Tlingit (pronounced KLINGK-it), the Ank, the Chilkat, and the Sitka.

Early history

The earliest known inhabitants of the Pacific Northwest appeared in the area around 8000 BCE. By 1500 BCE, they had developed a large coastal trade in obsidian, a volcanic glass used to make knife blades and other sharp tools, and other goods. Around 400 BCE, improvements in hunting and fishing tools led to a large growth in population.

The early peoples of the Pacific Northwest migrated with the seasons. In the summer, they lived by the ocean and spent the bulk of their time fishing. In the fall, they moved inland to the rivers and streams to harvest salmon. Winter drove them into sheltered bays, where they rode out the cold weather. They did not raise plants or vegetables for their own use, but their hunting-and-gathering economy worked well in the rich coastal environment and enabled them to enjoy a considerable amount of free time.

The inhabitants of the Pacific Northwest held captives of war as slaves. Masters had power of life and limb over their slaves, and slave

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Four generations of a Salish Indian family. The Pacific Northwest Salish were divided into two groups: the Coastal Salish and the Interior Salish. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

adults passed their slave status on to their children. Marriage between slaves and free people was forbidden to ensure a permanent laboring class.

Culture in the early eighteenth century

At the time of first European contact in the early 1700s, the population of all the Pacific Northwest tribes numbered at least seventy thousand, and probably many more. The native people of the Pacific Northwest

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had well-developed political systems and were among the most prosperous and densely populated of Native Americans. Coastal tribes depended on fish, seals, sea otters, and beached whales for food and materials, which they procured with nets and clubs. To travel and fish, they used canoes, hollowed out from the trunks of the tremendously tall cedar trees that lined the Pacific shore. Some ornately decorated canoes, holding as many as seventy people, made impressive warships.

Cedar was also used to make enormous multifamily longhouses, in which forty or fifty people could live. Built side by side along the shore facing the sea, each longhouse had canoes moored in the front and one shore-side entrance. Cedar planks formed the siding for the homes, and cedar tree trunks—spaced evenly from front to rear—served as support posts.

Wood-carving also produced the important totem poles of many Pacific Northwest tribes. A totem was a representation, usually in the form of an animal, of the clan's ancestor. A clan is a group of families that traces back to a common ancestor. The people of the Pacific Northwest regarded the totems as heroic protectors of their clans. Because members of other clans married into the clan of a household, one house might be home to members of numerous clans. Each of those clan totems would be displayed on the totem pole in front of the longhouse.

Pacific Northwest Native Americans are also known for their potlatches—celebrations in which wealthy chiefs and other elite members of the community shared their food and other resources with less-fortunate members of the population. Clans or tribes gathered for potlatch ceremonies, during which the host bestowed as many blankets and as much fish as possible. The more he gave away, the more prestige he earned for himself, his clan, and his protective totem. Every clan and tribe reciprocated with a later potlatch, and enormous amounts of goods, and even slaves, were given away in this manner.

Interaction with other settlers

Most of the early encounters among the Pacific Northwest Indians and Europeans were with the Russians, the Spanish, and later the British, and they were primarily for the purpose of fur trading. As contact with Europeans increased, the people of the Pacific Northwest were devastated by the infectious diseases the newcomers carried—smallpox, measles, influenza, typhoid fever, and others. Thousands died; by some

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estimates, 80 percent of the native population of the Northwest had died by the late 1800s, a period when white (European) settlers began to arrive in the Pacific Northwest in large numbers.

Many of the tribes of Washington and Oregon signed treaties with the United States in the 1850s that established reservations, land that would be held forever for their use, and reserved certain resource rights, such as the right to fish and hunt in traditional areas. The Coastal tribes never experienced extended warfare with the United States.

One area of conflict that arose between the native people of the Pacific Northwest and the U.S. government, however, was the potlatch. In the search for prestige, potlatch generosity sometimes developed into the intentional destruction of materials. Blankets were frequently burned, and fish were sometimes tossed back into the sea. The destructive behavior bothered European missionaries and American settlers. The federal government began discouraging the practice in the early 1900s and eventually banned it altogether. The last known potlatches were held in the 1940s (though the ceremonies were carried out in secret after that time). In the early 1970s, the potlatch was reintroduced, and it is popular in the Pacific Northwest today.

Native North Americans of the Plateau

For thousands of years prior to European contact, the Columbia Plateau was home to dozens of native groups. The Plateau is the region between the Cascade Mountains and the Rocky Mountains in eastern **Oregon** and **Washington** State. It includes parts of southern Canada and northern **Idaho** and **Montana**. Plateau Native Americans include the Nez Perce (pronounced nez PURSE), the Cayuse (KIE-yoos), the Spokane (spoh-KAHN), the Kootenai (KOO-tun-eye), the Coeur d'Alene (cur-dah-LANE), the Umatilla (YOO-mah-TILL-uh), the Walla Walla, and the Flatheads.

The Plateau is a dry plain covered with grass or brush, surrounded by high, deeply forested mountains, and crossed by rivers and canyons. It is very cold in winter and hot in summer. With its many climates and terrains (physical features of the land), the Plateau has abundant varieties of food.

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A Cayuse mother and child. Plateau Native Americans included the Cayuse, who hunted, fished, and gathered their food. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Pre-European contact

The Plateau Indians hunted, fished, and gathered their food. The annual salmon runs up the Columbia and other rivers enriched their livelihood. The bands stayed in permanent villages during the winter, but made temporary camps on different sites for spring root gathering, summer salmon fishing, and gathering of vegetables and fruits and hunting in the fall.

The permanent winter homes on the Plateau were villages of sunken round houses. The villages were organized into a complex social structure with a chief chosen for his ability and wisdom. Decisions for the village were made only when there was a consensus (agreement by everyone) among the people.

The Plateau Indians believed that their god, the creator, had placed them on the Plateau when the earth was new. They celebrated the cycles of life with a variety of ceremonies for hunting, seasons, and rites of passage for puberty, marriage, and death.

Horses expand trade

When the Spanish arrived in the Americas in the early sixteenth century, they brought horses, which reached the Plateau long before European settlers got there. The Plateau Indians found that the grassy Plateau was a good place to raise horses, and they developed new breeds for trade. They traded horses with **Native North Americans of the Plains** and soon expanded their trade networks. Horses also enabled them to trade heavy and bulky goods with Native American populations in distant places.

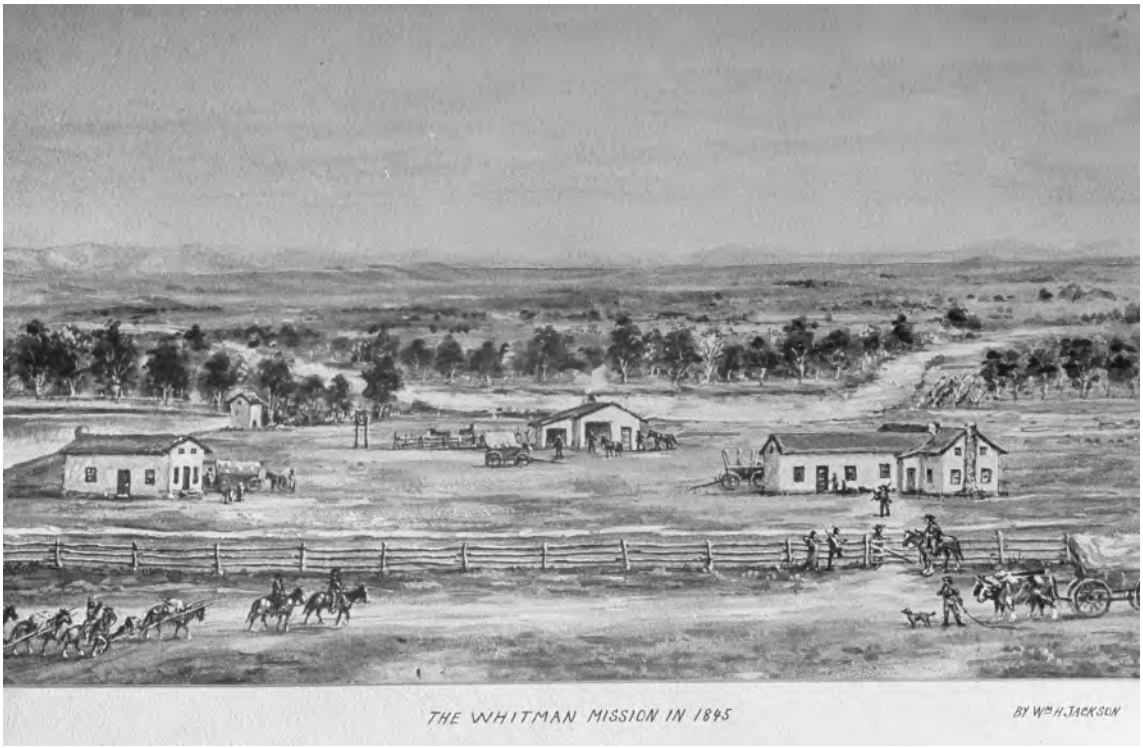
Trade became central to Plateau culture. The various tribes depended on goods produced in other regions. Each year they dried vast amounts of salmon to trade with other groups. Many traveled to a place in present-day Oregon called the Dalles, where there was a huge market at which many tribes exchanged trade goods. The Plateau groups learned several languages and learned about life in other regions.

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Lewis and Clark arrive

Between 1804 and 1806, American explorers Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838) led an expedition through the Plateau and out to the Pacific Ocean. The Plateau tribes offered help to the members of the **Lewis and Clark expedition**, the first white people they had encountered.

When Lewis and Clark returned to the east, they reported on the abundance of beaver in the Plateau region. Their reports sparked the interest of beaver trappers, who were the next whites to arrive on the Plateau. These were the famous **fur traders and mountain men**, the only white men rugged enough to make the difficult trip. They brought new trade goods with them to trade for beaver furs. Many mountain men married Indian women and lived peacefully within a tribe.



The Whitman mission in Washington was initially successful but as settlers arrived measles spread through the Indian community, killing many. Angered, the Indians killed Marcus Whitman and his family. PETER STACKPOLE/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

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Missionaries and settlers

In the 1830s, missionary and physician Marcus Whitman (1802–1847) wanted to serve as a doctor and missionary to the Plateau peoples. In 1836, he and his wife, Narcissa Prentiss Whitman (1808–1847), set off for Oregon Territory with another missionary couple, the Spaldings. The Whitmans set up a missionary at Waiilatpu (near present-day Walla Walla, Washington) and the Spaldings at Lapwai, 120 miles away in present-day Idaho.

In 1842, Whitman returned east, and in 1843 served as a guide for one of the first large wagon trains, with nearly 100 settlers, who returned with him to Oregon. The great migration of settlers taking the **Oregon Trail** had begun. From 1842 to 1840, an estimated 12,287 settlers crossed the country in wagon trains, many of them moving through or into the traditional lands of the Plateau tribes.

As the settlers poured in, a deadly measles epidemic spread among the Cayuse Indians, killing a large portion of the population. The Native Americans blamed the Whitmans, who had brought them strange medicine and religion. The Cayuse killed the missionary and his wife and twelve other members of their community. Violent conflict between the local tribes and the white settlers followed.

Treaties

In 1853, the United States created the Oregon and Washington Territories. At this time, most U.S. policy toward Native Americans in the area focused on taking titles to their lands and moving them onto **Indian reservations** (lands held by the government for the use of Native Americans). In 1855, the governor of Washington territory organized the Walla Walla Treaty Council. A meeting with the leaders of the Plateau tribes and the federal government persuaded the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla tribes to give up 6.4 million acres of land in northeastern Oregon. In exchange, they were given a 250,000-acre parcel of land called the Umatilla Reservation. The Flatheads and associated tribes gave up more than twenty million acres of land to the United States, and they were promised that they could retain 1.3 million acres that were to serve as the Flathead Indian Reservation in present-day northwest Montana. The Nez Perce also agreed to give up some of their traditional lands to the government in exchange for money and the promise that they could retain 13 million acres.

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The government did not stand by its word. Soon after the tribes entered into the Walla Walla Treaty, the governor of Washington Territory invited white settlers into the Indian lands to build their homesteads. When gold was discovered in Yakima territory, the Yakima went to war with the miners who trespassed on their lands, starting the two-year Yakima War (1855–56).

Impact on Plateau culture

In the 1850s, many people of the Plateau joined a new religious movement, called Waptashi, or the Feather Religion, founded on the teachings of Smohalla (c. 1815–1895), the Wanapum prophet. Smohalla spread the message that Native Americans must return to their old ways of life and reject the ways of the white settlers.

On the reservations, the Plateau people tried to live according to their traditions. They raised horses and fished for salmon and gardened on small lots. But the U.S. agents who directed the reservations often interfered with the groups' leadership and the children were forced to attend Christian missionary schools, where they were punished for speaking their own language.

The flight of the Nez Perce

The Nez Perce remained a peaceful nation until 1860, when gold was discovered on their lands. Gold miners quickly moved into the Nez Perce country. A few Nez Perce leaders signed a treaty, later called the Thief Treaty, which reduced Nez Perce lands by seven million acres. Many bands refused to sign it, and they became known as the non-treaty Nez Perce.

In 1877, the U.S. government demanded that the non-treaty Nez Perce move onto a reservation in present-day eastern Idaho. Before they could obey the demands, three young Nez Perce men killed some settlers. In fear of U.S. retaliation, the Nez Perce fled, eventually heading toward Canada where they hoped to cross the border and escape from U.S. forces. The army stopped them just south of the border. The U.S. government sent them to Fort Leavenworth, **Kansas**, as prisoners of war, and then on to **Indian Territory**, in present-day **Oklahoma**. The Nez Perce remained in Indian Territory until 1885, when the government permitted them to return to the Northwest.

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Allotment

In 1887, Congress passed the Allotment Act, which divided the reservations into small plots of land that were to be owned by individual tribe members. After each of the individual members received his or her allotment, the remaining reservation land was sold to nontribal members. The process of allotment began in the Plateau reservations in 1890 and continued until 1914.

Before allotment, the Flathead Reservation consisted of about 1.25 million acres of land. Allotment reduced the land by one-third. The Umatilla Reservation was reduced from about 250,000 to 158,000 acres. The reservation lands became a checkerboard of Indian parcels and those that had been sold to commercial interests and non-Native Americans.

Fishing rights

Perhaps the most significant issue facing the Native Americans of the plateau and eastern mountain region is fishing rights, which were guaranteed by treaty. The fight for fishing rights continued throughout the twentieth century. In 1974, the Plateau Indians won the Boldt decision, which made the tribes of the state of Washington equal partners with the state in harvesting and managing the state's fish.

Native North Americans of the Southeast

The Native Americans of the Eastern Woodlands settled in the region that extends from the Atlantic Ocean in the east to the Mississippi River in the west and from Canada in the north to the Gulf of Mexico in the south more than two thousand years ago. The early groups were known as the Mound Builders because they erected huge earthen mounds as burial grounds.

The earliest mound-building cultures, including the Adena society (400 BCE–1 CE) and the Hopewell society (1 CE–700 CE), were spread throughout the northeast and southeast. (See **Native North Americans of the Northeast** and **Native North Americans of the Southeast**). They developed increasingly complex farming cultures that supported their settled life in villages. They had complex societies, engaged in long-distance trading, and built giant mounds in their villages. After about 700

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A thatched hut in Cahokia, one of the main Mississippian centers. Cities like Cahokia were important trade locations for Native Americans before the Europeans arrived. THE IMAGE WORKS, INC.

CE, the Woodlands Indians settled in what is the present-day southeastern United States, from the Ohio River Valley southward through the Mississippi Delta, where they developed a farming and trading economy and a culture known today as the Mississippian culture. They were the ancestors of contemporary southeastern tribes, including the Cherokee, Catawba, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, Natchez, and Seminole.

Mississippian culture

The Mississippian people built their farming communities along the banks of rivers, where irrigation (watering) occurred naturally through seasonal flooding. They grew corn, beans, and squash. Traders used the rivers to transport their goods in canoes.

Many of the Mississippian groups formed elaborate social and political systems. The villages developed into chiefdoms, societies in which a

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person's rank and prestige are assigned by how closely he or she is related to the chief. The Mississippian peoples were made up of loosely organized groups of villages. Villages within a tribe had similar languages and customs, and they were located near each other. Tribal councils regulated war and peace.

The Mississippians believed that all things had spirits and that success in life depended on treating these spirits with respect and honor. Achieving balance and harmony among human beings, nature, and the spirit world was central to their religion. Mississippian religious systems stressed fertility (the ability to reproduce abundantly, as in having children or generating new growth in plant life) and world renewal. They had many annual ceremonies, including the Green Corn Ceremony, a celebration held several weeks before it was time to harvest their corn fields, which welcomed in a new year.

Mississippians built hundreds and perhaps even thousands of awe-inspiring conical and flat-top burial mounds. The houses of a village were often grouped formally around the plazas (public squares) and the mounds. The village was enclosed by palisades—fences made out of stakes for protection against enemies. Gradually, some of these villages grew into large cities.

One of the most spectacular Mississippian centers was the city of Cahokia, which was located just east of present-day St. Louis, **Missouri**. Cahokia was about five square miles wide. It contained about one hundred elaborate mounds situated around central plazas. Some were monumental. Monks Mound, for example, was sixteen acres wide. An estimated thirty thousand to seventy-five thousand people lived in and around Cahokia during the period from 1050 to 1150 CE. After that time, the city gradually began to lose its population. Mississippian cities like Cahokia served as important commercial centers in the large trade network of Native Americans before the Europeans arrived.

The first Spanish explorers

In 1540, Spanish explorer **Hernando de Soto** (c. 1500—1542) and his army of six hundred men explored some of the vast Mississippi territory in what is now **Florida**, **Georgia**, **Alabama**, **North Carolina**, **South Carolina**, **Tennessee**, **Mississippi**, **Louisiana**, **Arkansas**, and **Texas**. They reported on the elaborate Mississippian cities they found. But de Soto's men brought with them epidemic diseases from Europe to which

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the native peoples of America had no immunity (resistance). Twenty years later, when explorers returned to the area, the tribes the Spaniards had encountered earlier were gone; untold numbers had died from the diseases. Many Mississippian villages and towns were completely wiped out, and it is assumed that survivors joined other Native American groups.

Other tribes were hit hard by the epidemics, but their villages and towns survived the European settlement of the Southeast beginning in the seventeenth century. The largest tribe was the Cherokee. The Cherokee had a population of about twenty-two thousand in 1650; by 1715, a smallpox epidemic had reduced the population by half. Other tribes of the Southeast were the Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw. Along with the Seminoles, a group that did not exist until the late eighteenth century, these southeastern tribes later became known as the Five Civilized Tribes in the 1800s because they excelled at such European customs as farming and establishing schools.

Living with the newcomers

By the early nineteenth century, many southeastern Native Americans were strongly influenced by European institutions and abandoned their former modes of life to adopt European patterns of political organization and agriculture. Like other southerners, southeastern Native Americans adopted the plantation system and some even owned African slaves. Between 1809 and 1821, Sequoya (c. 1760–1843), a Cherokee, invented a system of syllabic writing for the native language. Many Cherokee people quickly learned to read and write in the Cherokee syllabary. From 1828 to 1835, the Cherokee weekly newspaper, written in both English and Cherokee, was published and widely read.

Between 1819 and 1829, the Cherokee developed an independent nation with its own constitution. As the Cherokee flourished, the white settlers grew resentful. The state of

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Georgia pressed the Cherokee to sell their land, which the Cherokee resisted. With the discovery of gold in Cherokee country in 1829 Georgia increased the pressure on the Cherokee, but this matter went to court and Georgia lost to the Cherokee. In 1830, President **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–1837) signed the Indian Removal Act. It provided funds for removal of eastern Native Americans to **Indian Territory**, a vast area west of the Mississippi River that is today the state of **Oklahoma**. Indian Territory consisted of lands the federal government thought were uninhabitable for white settlers. The government proposed that it could be an independent state for Native Americans, where they could govern themselves.

Removal

The removal of the southeastern Native Americans from their lands began gradually, with some groups moving voluntarily. For those southeastern Native Americans who remained in their homes, forced removal took place from 1835 to 1842. The **Trail of Tears**, the forced migration of more than fifteen thousand Cherokee, occured between 1837 and 1838. Around two thousand men, women, and children died on the six-month, thousand-mile journey to unfamiliar country. Almost all southeastern Native Americans were removed to Indian Territory, although some fled to the Florida Everglades, forming a confederation of Native Americans that became known as the Seminoles. (See **Seminole Wars**). Several hundred Cherokee hid out in the mountains to escape removal to Indian Territory, and in 1842 they were granted permission to remain on lands in western North Carolina.

In Indian Territory, the southeastern tribes established independent states, employing the constitutional model of the United States. They planted fields and founded schools. They adapted customs of daily life, religions, and cultural traditions to the new setting. But the United States was not finished with removing Native Americans from their lands and in the years after the American **Civil War** (1861–65) many tribes from all over the country were forced to live together, and conflicts arose. During the 1880s, the federal government significantly reduced the area of Indian Territory, and in the 1890s, the government opened large areas of Indian Territory to be sold to non-Native Americans. Although most Native Americans felt the government had promised that Indian Territory would be a free Native American state, in 1907 it became the state of Oklahoma.

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Native North Americans of the Southwest

More than ten thousand years before the first Europeans arrived, Native North Americans settled in what is today the southwestern United States, an area that includes present-day **Arizona**, **New Mexico**, southern **Utah**, southern **Colorado**, and parts of **Nevada**. The earliest group of hunter-gatherers arrived in the Southwest around ten- or fifteen thousand years ago, probably pursuing the giant mammals of the Ice Age (a period from 2 million to 11,500 years ago in which much of the Earth was covered in ice sheets). As the Ice Age ended, these hunters apparently migrated east. During the next five thousand years, people known as desert dwellers settled in the Southwest. They, too, were hunter-gatherers, but by about 1500 BCE, they began to harvest plants, to sow their seeds, and to raise animals for food. Over the centuries, their farming and livestock-raising led to the formation of settled communities.

By about 1 CE, three major cultures began to distinguish themselves in the Southwest: the Mogollon (pronounced mug-gee-OWN), Hohokam (hoe-hoe-KUM), and Anasazi (ah-nah-SAH-zee). All three cultures depended on hunting, gathering, and farming for their food supply. They developed unique ways of irrigating (watering) the land, adapting to the unpredictable environment that varied between long cycles of dry weather and irregular bursts of drenching rainfall.

Mogollon and Hohokam cultures

The Mogollon people lived in what is now eastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. Highly skilled basket makers, by 300 CE they had begun producing high-quality pottery as well. The Mogollon raised large crops of corn, beans, and squash and lived in small villages of earth-covered houses. In later times, they began to build multistoried stone or adobe (bricks made of sun-baked mud and straw) buildings that housed many families.

Farther south in the Sonoran Desert, the Hohokam culture emerged, eventually settling in present-day southcentral Arizona. The Hohokam wove cloth from **cotton** and made pottery with distinctive red designs. Their major claim to fame, though, was an elaborate system of

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Mesa Verde, with its deep canyons, was a major center for Anasazi culture. The hard-to-reach caves helped provide safety from intruders and the elements.

canals to carry water to their crops. By 1000 CE, they built rectangular, aboveground dwellings in small villages.

The Anasazi

The Anasazi (meaning "the ancient ones") culture arose in the high desert of northern Arizona, New Mexico, and southern Utah and Colorado around 400 CE. Borrowing from the Mogollon and Hohokam cultures, the Anasazi made baskets and clay pots and irrigated their fields. They introduced successful dry farming techniques and bows and arrows for hunting. Early Anasazi villages, now known as "pueblos" (Spanish for "town") were simple groups of pit (underground) houses built around a central pit house, later known as a kiva. Kivas served as sacred places for religious ceremonies. They were built underground;

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people climbed in through the roof and descended a ladder. Inside there was a sipapu—a hole in the floor leading to the center of the Earth.

Anasazi pueblos arose in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, around 700 CE. As the pueblos grew large, their inhabitants built aboveground, multiroom adobe houses. The greatest of these was Pueblo Bonito, where more than eight hundred rooms surround an enormous plaza with many large kivas. At least eleven Anasazi "Great Houses" arose in Chaco Canyon during the eleventh century. More than 400 miles (640 kilometers) of unpaved roadways—shallow tracks up to 40 feet (12 meters) wide, often running in perfectly straight lines across the desert—linked Chaco Canyon pueblos to outlying settlements. By 1000, the thriving Chaco Canyon culture consisted of about 75 to 100 interconnected communities and occupied an area of more than 25,000 square miles (65,000 square kilometers).

Another major Anasazi center developed in the Mesa Verde and Montezuma Valley area of southern Colorado, starting around 600. By 800, Mesa Verde's deep canyons were home to about twenty-five hundred people. The canyon towns were built in nearly inaccessible caves and under overhangs in the steep canyon walls. As many as thirty thousand people lived in the nearby Montezuma Valley, some of them in pueblos of more than one thousand people. The Anasazi of Mesa Verde built a system of ditches to collect rainwater in a reservoir capable of storing up to a half million gallons (two million liters). These water systems allowed dense populations to settle in the canyons.

Sometime around 1200, raiders from the north called Apaches (meaning "enemies" in the Zuñi language) migrated into the Southwest, disrupting the Anasazi culture. Then, in 1276 a twenty-year drought struck, causing food shortages and loss of life. Deadly diseases may also have struck the Southwest societies. By 1400, the Anasazi, Mogollan, and Hohokam societies had disappeared. Survivors were absorbed into the emerging cultures of their descendants, the Pueblo (pronounced PWAY-blow), Hopi (HOE-pee), Pima, and Tohono O'odham (toe-HOE-noe oh-OE-tahm) Indians.

Pueblo Indians

The Pueblo Indians, with origins that date to the Anasazi era, are one of the oldest Native American cultures in the United States. In the sixteenth century, there were somewhere between sixty-five and one hundred

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Pueblo farming villages in present-day New Mexico and Arizona. Although related by shared customs and similar economies, the Pueblo societies were distinct from each other. Each of the Pueblos spoke its own form of one of the four distinct Pueblo language families: Tewa, Tiwa, Towa, and Keresan. Each established its own social and religious practices. To the Pueblo people, the spirit world was real, significant, and central to every aspect of their lives. Shamans (religious leaders) played a significant role in their daily lives. Secret societies organized seasonal ceremonies to bring rain, good harvests, or successful hunting.

Pueblo tribes fought with one another to gain control of the limited supply of water and arable (useful for farming) land in the Rio Grande Valley. Apaches and Navajos frequently raided Pueblo communities, taking their livestock. Because of warfare, the adobe pueblos (communal dwellings) were built for defense, either on top of steep mesas (flat-topped hills) or with sheer, multistoried exterior walls enclosing the plaza (the center of the pueblo).

Apaches and Navajos

The Apaches (who called themselves Diné, which means "the People") moved from the Rocky Mountain region in present-day Canada to the desert Southwest between 800 and 1500. They were never a unified group, but rather a number of bands who spoke similar languages and shared some customs. One of these bands, which adopted local Pueblo traditions of farming, would become known as the Navajo. The other Apaches retained their nomadic ways. In small hunting and gathering bands, they scoured the dry countryside for food, living in moveable tepees or brush shelters. The Apache were skilled fighters who frequently raided the settlements they encountered to steal sheep or horses.

European contact in the Southwest

When the Spaniards arrived in the Southwest in the sixteenth century, approximately one hundred thousand Native Americans occupied villages in present-day Arizona and New Mexico. Most of these people lived in the pueblos located along the Rio Grande River. Nomadic hunters and raiders lived in areas that surrounded the pueblos. The Utes lived to the north, the Comanches to the northeast, the Apaches to the southeast and the southwest, and the Navajos to the west and northwest. Farther west, small Colorado River tribes lived at the western edge of Arizona,

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The Apaches were never a unified group, but rather a number of bands who spoke similar languages and shared some customs. One of the bands was the Mescalero Apache, shown here in ritual dance costume. AP IMAGES

while the Pimas and the Tohono O'odham dwelt in the southern deserts of Arizona.

The population of Southwest Indians dropped drastically almost immediately after the Spanish arrived with deadly epidemic diseases such as smallpox, the measles, and yellow fever. Epidemics killed tens of thousands of the native Southwest people. At least ten pueblos were abandoned before 1650 due to the huge death tolls; the survivors simply went to live in other pueblos. But disease was not the only killer. When Spanish conquistador (conqueror) Juan de Oñate (c. 1550–1630) arrived in 1598 with the intention of settling New Mexico, many Pueblo Indians suffered and died under his extremely cruel reign.

Intent on converting the native inhabitants to Christianity, the Spaniards established **Spanish missions** across the Southwest. Besides

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religion, the missionaries provided the Pueblos with basic education, particularly in the Spanish language. They taught them how to raise sheep and cultivate new crops such as wheat, peach trees, and watermelon. The Spanish brought horses, seeds for some European foods, and the ability to make metal tools. In turn, the Pueblos influenced the Spanish in arts and architecture, food, and farming. At times, the Pueblos and the Spanish joined forces against the raiding Navajo and Apaches.

But the relationship between the Pueblos and the Spanish was not a happy one. Spanish soldiers brought settlers into the Pueblo country in the seventeenth century. They forced the Pueblos to work for the military officers who were settling in large homes. Under the leadership of the shaman Popé (d. 1692), the Pueblo mounted a successful rebellion in 1680, driving the Spaniards out of northern New Mexico for nearly twelve years. Although the Spanish returned and once again dominated the region, the Pueblo Indians remained aloof (distant in sympathy and interest). They attended the Catholic church as required, while secretly practicing their own traditional religions.

Life in the United States

In 1848, the Southwest region became part of the United States after the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48). The Pueblo, who had been citizens of Mexico, were immediately granted U.S. citizenship, long before the nation's other Native Americans. But as citizens, they did not receive the status of an independent nation. By the end of the century, white settlers had taken large sections of Pueblo lands, which the Pueblo owned under Spanish law.

Navajo and Apache resistance to American soldiers was fierce, but within decades the U.S. military forced both groups to settle on **Indian reservations** (land set aside by the government for the use of groups of Native Americans). In 1864, thousands of Navajo were marched 800 miles across New Mexico in the deadly Long Walk. Those who survived the march were placed in miserable surroundings in a 40-square-mile reservation they were to share with the Mescalero Apaches, who did not speak the same language. There was neither enough water nor food on the reservation and the Navajos and Apaches began to starve. Their desperate plight was finally reported in a Santa Fe, New Mexico, newspaper. In response to public outcry, the U.S. government allowed the Navajo to

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return to their homeland, but to an area that was only 10 percent of their original holdings.

Southwestern Native Americans today

Nineteen Pueblo towns exist in New Mexico today. Many of the pueblos remain on the same sites as before the Europeans arrived. The combined population of the Pueblo Indians in 2000 was 74,085, making them the tenth largest Native American group in the United States. About 90 percent of Pueblo Indians are Catholic; in the pueblos, Catholicism is practiced along with Pueblo religions that have been carried on in secret over many generations. The Pueblos are independent of each other but their governors participate in the All Indian Pueblo Council to fight for their rights for water, education, health, and education. The Hopi, a Pueblo tribe in the northeastern part of Arizona, differ from other Pueblo people in that they speak a Shoshonean language of the Uto-Aztecan language family. They have resided in the same location for at least one thousand years.

Over the years, the Navajo reservation, now called the Navajo Nation, has expanded to more than 26,000 square miles—about the size of the state of **West Virginia**. It is the largest federal reservation in the United States. In 2000, the Navajo was the second-largest Native American tribe in the United States with a population of 298,197.

The Apaches are divided into two groups, the Eastern Apache, who live in New Mexico and Oklahoma, and the Western Apache, who live in Arizona. According to the 2000 census, the combined Apache groups numbered 96,833 people, making them the seventh largest Native American group in the United States.

Nativism

During the years leading up to and following the American **Civil War** (1861–65), anti-immigrant sentiment, or nativism, was an ingrained part of American culture. By the early 1850s, nativists had formed their own political party. It was formally named the American Party but was more commonly known as the **Know-Nothing Party**. The party got its name from the policy that, when asked about their nativist organizations, members were supposed to reply that they knew nothing. A former U.S. president, **Millard Fillmore** (1800–1874; served 1850–53),

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even ran as the party's presidential nominee in 1856; he finished a distant third behind the Democratic and Republican candidates. By 1860, the Know-Nothings had disbanded.

The main targets of nativism were the Irish and the Germans. (See **Irish Immigration** and **German Immigration**.) These groups, both Catholic in religious belief, were considered the most dangerous threat to the American way of life not only in terms of religious and moral values but also in economic terms. Millions of immigrants were doing the work many citizens believed should be done by Americans. Nativists considered immigrants a drain on the economy.

Although the Catholics were the most discriminated against in terms of religion, no ethnic group was spared. Italians were suspected of being involved in the Mafia (organized crime). The Chinese who settled in California were resented because they established their own welfare associations to take care of their poor and impose order in Chinatowns, areas of various cities where Chinese immigrants lived and worked. (See **Asian Immigration**.) But the Jews were the victims of the most intense discrimination. They were stereotyped as being greedy and dishonest in their business dealings. Anti-Semitism (Jewish discrimination) informed laws, and laws prohibited Jews from voting until the middle of the nineteenth century. Anti-Semitism was the driving force behind General Order No. 11, published in 1862 at the height of the Civil War, which stated that all Jews were to be thrown out of the military. The order was revoked by U.S. president **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) after just eighteen days, but its passage reflected the rampant anti-Semitic attitude of the United States at the time. The Jews continued to be blamed for many of society's ills and remained outcast well into the next century.

Nativism eventually led to the development of immigration restriction laws that limited or completely prevented certain immigrants from coming to the United States. (See **Jewish Immigration**.)

Navigation Acts

The Navigation Acts were a series of laws passed by English Parliament between 1645 and 1761. The twenty-nine laws were intended to control colonial trade and shipping to the benefit of English interests. Through these measures, England boosted its shipping industries, guaranteed

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markets for English goods, inhibited other European trade with the **thirteen colonies**, and benefited from colonial trading goods.

Over time, the Navigation Acts defined England as the gateway for colonial trade. Only British ships were to be used to carry European goods to the colonies. Likewise, American exports were to be carried only by British ships to be processed through English ports. This enabled England to collect tax on the imports and to prevent direct trading with any other country. Certain products (such as sugar, **cotton**, **tobacco**, indigo, rice, molasses, apples, and wool) could only be shipped to England. Colonial goods, however, could not compete with English goods.

The laws had both benefits and detriments for the colonies. Certain American markets gained support from the business that the measures guaranteed. Others, however, suffered from the noncompete restrictions or from the increase in costs due to tax and shipping that resulted from the laws.

Shippers often took advantage of loopholes and a lack of clarity to evade the laws. Smuggling goods directly from other countries offered cheaper options to the colonists and so proved to be a lucrative business. In spite of the difficulties presented to the colonies, the laws were effective enough to offer benefits to British trade. Parliament continued to pass Navigation Acts until the eve of the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

Navy

At the start of the **American Revolution** (1775–83), members of the Continental Congress (see **Continental Congress, First**) debated the value and necessity of establishing an official navy. Everyone knew the British navy was the most powerful naval power, and those opposing a U.S. navy believed challenging the British Royal Navy was foolish.

In the meantime, General **George Washington** (1732–1799) announced he had taken command of three armed schooners under Continental authority and planned to intercept any British supply ships near **Massachusetts**. And so, on October 13, 1775, the Continental Navy was established, and eventually the U.S. Navy adopted that date as its official birthday.

On March 27, 1794, Congress ordered the construction of six frigates. Three of those ships began service in 1797: the USS *United*

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States, the USS *Constellation,* and the USS *Constitution.* The U.S. Navy participated in the **War of 1812** (1812–15) and the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48). But it was during the American **Civil War** (1861–65) that naval power played a most significant role. For the first time in naval history, ironclad warships were used in combat. After the war, the navy was largely ignored and all but disappeared.

The Navy did not do much during **World War I** (1914–18), but it played a major role in the combat of **World War II** (1939–45), especially in the Pacific campaign. By the end of that conflict, the U.S. Navy had added hundreds of new ships and owned more than 70 percent of the world's total naval vessels of 1,000 tons (907 metric tons) or more. The **Korean War** (1950–53) was fought by Navy forces, which provided extensive air and gunfire support as well as minesweeping efforts. The Navy did not rest after the war, but continued to develop new weapons systems and vessels. Some of those systems were put to use in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75).

The Navy's elite forces are known as SEALs. President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) authorized the establishment of Navy SEALs on May 25, 1961. Their duties include conducting unconventional warfare, counterguerrilla warfare, and secret operations in both ocean and coastal waters. This elite group undergoes eleven months of special training. Although their specialty is underwater operations, they are expected to be ready to serve in the desert, the jungle, and the arctic as well.

The U.S. Navy was a key player in special operations and strike missions in several conflicts of the twenty-first century, including the **Iraq invasion** (2003–) and the ongoing War on Terrorism, in which campaigns have taken place in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Asia.

As of February 2008, the U.S. Navy included more than 333,000 active duty personnel and 127,000 reserve personnel. In active service were 279 ships and more than 3,700 aircraft.

Nebraska

Nebraska was admitted to the Union as the thirty-seventh state on March 1, 1867. Nicknamed the Cornhusker State, it lies in the north-central United States and is bordered by **South Dakota**, **Iowa**, **Missouri**, **Kansas**, **Colorado**, and **Wyoming**. Two-thirds of the state lies

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within the Great Plains. Its northcentral region includes the Sand Hills, a prairie with dunes anchored by grasses that covers nearly 18,000 square miles (47,000 square kilometers).

The United States acquired the region from France as part of the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803. Many tribes lived in present-day Nebraska in the 1800s, including the Omaha, Pawnee, and Ponca. Largely because it was sparsely populated, Nebraska escaped the vehement arguments over **slavery** that occurred shortly before and throughout the American **Civil War** (1861–65). But much blood was shed by both Native Americans and U.S. soldiers as tribal members were forced onto reservations throughout the late 1800s.

During the devastating dust storms of the 1930s, many Nebraskans left for the West Coast. (See **Dust Bowl**.) **World War II** (1939–45), however, brought prosperity to the prairie as military airfields and war industries developed in the state. Situated far inland, Nebraska was ideal for these endeavors. After the war and well into the 1970s, farm output and income were on the rise. Later in the century, small industries and tourism became important to the stabilization of the state's economy.

More than 1.7 million people lived in Nebraska in 2006, the majority (89.6 percent) white. Another 7.2 percent were Hispanic, and 4 percent were African American. The most heavily populated cities were Omaha (414,521) and the capital, Lincoln (239,213).

Agriculture remains the cornerstone of Nebraska's economy in the early twenty-first century. The largest percentage of workers are employed as farm workers or in farm equipment and food processing industries. Food manufacturing accounted for the largest portion of industrial shipments in 2004. Most manufacturing is located in Omaha, Lincoln, and the portion of Sioux City belonging to Nebraska.

The tourism industry provides nearly 43,000 jobs. Tourists visit Nebraska's state and historical parks, museums, and recreational areas.

Neutrality Acts

After **World War I** (1914–18), Americans were determined to avoid involvement with another foreign war. A policy of isolationism evolved in which the American government refused to allow foreign issues to become a domestic concern. Congress passed a series of laws between 1935 and 1939 to prevent America from becoming involved in other nations'

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conflicts. These Neutrality Acts defined America's limits of interacting with other nations at war.

Congress passed the first act in 1935; it had an expiration date in February 1936. It restricted the United States from either selling arms or carrying war material to nations engaged in a conflict. It also recommended that American citizens be warned against traveling on those nations' ships. The administration of **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–1945) was frustrated by the act's restrictions. Congress, however, passed another Neutrality Act in 1936 before the first one expired.

The Neutrality Act of 1936 extended the restrictions of the first. It also prevented third parties that became involved in a conflict on behalf of another nation from purchasing arms through the United States. Loans by American citizens to belligerent countries were forbidden. When civil war broke out in Spain later that year, Congress passed another bill. It made the Neutrality Act apply to civil conflicts too. Like the Act of 1935, those in 1936 had expiration dates.

When Congress began debates concerning the next Neutrality Act in 1937, pressure existed to allow some sales of goods, other than arms, to belligerent nations. As a result, the next bill provided the opportunity to sell supplies to belligerent nations for immediate payment in cash. Delivery of the goods was to be the responsibility of the buyer. The cash-and-carry principle was a welcome change to Roosevelt, who had concerns about evolving events in Europe. Without the cash-and-carry principle, it was nearly impossible to give any support to the European countries facing the rise of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in Germany. The embargo on arms sales, the ban on loans, and the restrictions on travel remained the same in the Neutrality Act of 1937.

In 1937, Japan invaded China, and in 1938 Hitler annexed Austria to Germany. However foreboding these events were, Americans remained uninterested in becoming involved in other nations' distress. Roosevelt, however, was concerned, and he was frustrated by the impartial restrictions placed by the Neutrality Acts. In 1939, he pleaded for increased authority to extend assistance to friendly nations. His first proposals were rejected.

After **World War II** (1939–45) began with Germany's invasion of Poland, Roosevelt finally won Congressional support. The result was that the United States could supply any belligerent country willing to

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pay cash. Since Great Britain and France controlled the seas and could assure transport of purchases, they were the countries to benefit from the new law.

The Neutrality Acts continued to restrict American aid to European nations engaged in World War II until March 1941. With cash payments increasingly difficult to expect from the war torn nations, Roosevelt introduced the **Lend-Lease Act**. By allowing loans of military supplies to allies, the Lend-Lease program effectively removed the restrictions of the Neutrality Acts.

Nevada

Nevada was admitted to the Union on October 31, 1864, as the thirty-sixth state. It is nestled between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas in the western United States, bordered by **Utah**, **Arizona**, **California**, **Oregon**, and **Idaho**. Nevada is the seventh largest state in America, with a total area of 110,561 square miles (286,352 square kilometers).

Nevada has been home to four Native American tribes: Southern Paiute, Northern Paiute, Shoshoni, and Washo. The first white explorer to visit the state is believed to have been a Spanish priest named Francisco Garces (1738–1781), in 1776. The first permanent white settlement was founded in 1851.

Nevada's economy depended on silver and gold mining throughout the 1800s until the late 1870s. At that time, resources were depleted, and the state endured a twenty-year depression. Silver was discovered in a different region of Nevada in 1902 and 1904, events that revived the economy. The discovery of copper several years later kept Nevada booming throughout **World War I** (1914–18).

Mining fell off in the 1920s as resources were depleted, and Nevada once again experienced economic hardship. The rest of the country suffered throughout the **Great Depression** (1929–41), but Nevada was fortunate to be the focus of federal public works projects, the building of the Hoover (Boulder) Dam being the biggest. State laws helped fund the thriving divorce business, which centered in Reno, and legalized gambling.

Gambling became the cornerstone of Nevada tourism by the 1950s as well as its main industry. **Organized crime** took control of gambling

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in the 1950s and 1960s, causing the state and federal government to impose new controls.

Nevada was the fastest growing state throughout the last four decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Much expansion was associated with the gambling industry, centered in Las Vegas and Reno, but the military gets credit for some of the growth as well, as military bases and testing stations are located throughout the state.

Nevada was home to just under 2.5 million residents in 2006. Over three-fourths (76.1 percent) were white, 23.7 percent were Hispanic or Latino, and 7.2 percent were African American. Although Carson City is the capital, Las Vegas is the most densely populated city. As of 2005, 90 percent of all residents lived in urban areas.

Nevada's economy depends primarily on tourism and gambling, which generate over 50 percent of the state's income. Mining is another important industry, although its activity fluctuates.

New Amsterdam

New Amsterdam was a seventeenth-century Dutch colonial town that later became New York City.

Early exploration

In the early seventeenth century, the Netherlands, like other nations of northern Europe, sent explorers to search for a sea route around North America to the riches of the Far East. The principal explorer for the Dutch was **Henry Hudson** (d. 1611), an Englishman who in 1609 explored the river that now bears his name. When Hudson and other navigators failed to find the Northwest Passage, the Dutch decided to occupy the lands they claimed in the New World and exploit their resources.

While hoping to discover gold and silver as the Spanish had done in the south, the Dutch soon found that furs, obtained through trade with the natives, were the most readily exploitable resource of the middle Atlantic coastal region. At the time, beaver pelts were highly prized in Europe because the fur could be "felted" to make waterproof hats. The demand in Europe for furs and pelts was so great that one shipload could make its owners wealthy.

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In the interests of further discovery and to stimulate trade, the Dutch parliament, the States-General, granted to its traders and explorers the exclusive right to make four voyages to any new lands that they might explore. Under this grant, in 1614 five ships visited the Hudson River, which the Dutch called the Mauritius. Later that same year, these traders combined as the United New Netherland Company and received from the States-General a monopoly of the trade in the Hudson Valley. Ignoring Manhattan Island, these early traders sailed up the Hudson to the site of present-day Albany, **New York**, where they erected Fort Nassau on Castle Island as a base of operations and exchanged their goods for the furs of the Mohican Indians. Following the expiration of

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the charter of the United New Netherland Company in 1618, a succession of different companies exploited the Hudson River fur trade.

Colony beginnings

In 1621, a number of influential merchants obtained from the States-General a charter for the **Dutch West India Company**, with the sole right to trade on the Atlantic coasts of Africa and of North and South America for twenty-four years. Although the new company was organized primarily to challenge Spain's control of Spanish America, it was also interested in the Hudson River area.

In 1624, the company dispatched Captain Cornelius May with a shipload of thirty families to settle in North America. Opposite Castle Island (where the original Fort Nassau had been abandoned because of repeated floods), they established a trading post named Fort Orange. They also formed a settlement, Fort Nassau, on the Delaware River (near present-day Gloucester City, **New Jersey**) and established a trading house on Governor's Island in New York Harbor.

New Amsterdam Colony

The first two governors, Cornelius May and William Verhulst, lived and administered the colony from the Delaware River site, but Peter Minuit (1580–1638), the third governor and first director-general of New Netherland, shifted his base of operations to Manhattan Island. A native of Wesel, then in the Duchy of Cleves on the German Rhine, he was of Huguenot Walloon descent. Minuit was described as a shrewd and somewhat unscrupulous man.

One of Minuit's earliest official acts was to convene Indian leaders from the Canarsee and Manhattan tribes of the region and purchase Manhattan Island from them for trinkets valued at sixty guilders, or about $24. This gave the company a semblance of legality for its occupation of the island, which at the time of the purchase was covered with a great forest and abounding with game and wild fruits.

Minuit made his town of New Amsterdam, at the southern tip of Manhattan, the center of Dutch activity in the area. A large fort, pentagonal in shape, surrounded on three sides by a great moat and fronting on the bay, was one of the first structures to be built. When it was finished, Minuit brought several families from Fort Orange to settle in the town,

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and ordered Fort Nassau on the Delaware River evacuated and the garrison transferred to New Amsterdam.

Upon completion of the fort, a warehouse, and a mill, the town of New Amsterdam was the concentration point for scattered Dutch settlements in the colony. When regular church services commenced in New Amsterdam in 1628, Minuit and his brother-in-law (the company's storekeeper) served Pastor Jonas Michaëlius as elders. Despite his vigorous administration of the colony, Minuit was recalled to Holland for examination in 1632, and was dismissed from the West India Company's service.

Attempts at colonial expansion

In 1629, the directorate of the company, with the approval of the States-General, issued a Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which provided for the grant of large estates, called patroonships, to those members of the company who would settle at least fifty persons above the age of fifteen on their lands within four years. Designed to promote farming in New Netherland, these grants were intended primarily to encourage settlers to go up the Hudson to settle and make further contacts with the Indians and thereby extend the fur trade. The furs, it was expected, would be sent down the river to New Amsterdam, from where the West India Company had the sole right to export them. These patroonships were mostly unsuccessful.

End of the colony

Relations with the Indians remained good, and the fur trade continued to prosper until 1641, when hostilities with the natives broke out in a conflict known as Governor Kieft's War. New Netherland governor Willem Kieft's (1597–1647) attempt to collect taxes from the Algonquin tribes for Dutch "protection" provoked the fighting. The conflict was terminated by a treaty of August 29, 1645.

In 1647, Kieft was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant (c. 1610–1672), the last Dutch governor or director-general of New Netherland. Stuyvesant surrendered the colony to the British, who conquered it in August 1664 and renamed it New York. Thus the seventeenth-century Dutch colonial settlement of New Amsterdam would later become New York City.

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New Deal

When President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) took office in March 1933, the nation was in the depths of the **Great Depression** (1929–41). Beginning with the stock market crash of October 1929, it was the worst economic distress the country had ever experienced. Millions of people struggled to survive every day, and as the nation's economy weakened, many lost their jobs, their savings, and their homes. Efforts by the previous president, **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33), had failed to improve economic conditions.

In the election of 1932, the nation elected Roosevelt with hopes that he would bring great changes. Within the first hundred days of being in office, Roosevelt sent Congress a flurry of legislation aimed at solving the nation's problems. The legislative plan was known as the New Deal.

Roosevelt's New Deal was initially effective. In 1937, however, the economy experienced another recession, and Roosevelt was moved to introduce more legislation. This is sometimes called his Second New Deal. The most influential pieces of legislation from both waves of the New Deal were aimed at providing relief, recovery, and reform to the United States.

Relief measures

Relief measures included programs designed by the president to assist farmers and unemployed workers who faced impossible financial challenges. They included the following legislation:

Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, 1933): Provided grants to states in which relief agencies had run out of money. The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was later added to the program to provide temporary work relief.

Agricultural Adjustment Act (May 1933): Established programs, including the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, to stabilize and raise prices for farm products. It provided subsidies to farmers who were told to reduce crop production by leaving part of their land idle. Money to pay the farmers was raised by a tax on companies that purchased farm products to further process into food and clothing. The **Supreme Court** ruled that this aspect was unconstitutional in 1936. The majority of judges ruled that it was illegal to levy a tax on one group in order to pay

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another. Congress therefore passed further legislation that restored some of the act's provisions to encourage soil conservation, balanced prices, and food reserves. Among them was the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act (1936). It allowed the government to pay benefits to farmers who planted soil-building crops rather than staple crops.

Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC, 1934): Employed millions of young men to work in camps at federal lands. "Roosevelt's Tree Army" restored historic sites, built park facilities, cleaned reservoirs, and planted trees.

Works Progress Administration (WPA, 1935): Established a work relief program that employed millions of people. Men built and renovated bridges, public buildings, and roads. Women were generally employed in child-care or handicrafts, such as sewing. Art, theater, and writers projects employed artists for preserving the cultural uniqueness of the United States. The WPA was dismantled in 1941 at the start of **World War II** (1939–45).

Recovery measures

Roosevelt designed recovery measures to normalize economic activity and to restore faith in the banking system. They included the following legislation:

Emergency Banking Act (1933): Required banks to pass a Treasury Department inspection before reopening. In response to the nation's banking crisis, Roosevelt had declared a mandatory bank holiday until this first piece of New Deal legislation could be passed. It was successful in restoring confidence in the banking system.

National Industrial Recovery Act (1933): Established the Public Works Administration (PWA), which paid private firms to construct major public works, including airports, dams, bridges, warships, schools, and hospitals.

Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA, 1933): An ambitious project that built a series of dams at the Tennessee River. The dams served to revitalize a broad region of the Southeast by generating electricity and controlling flooding in the valley. Success of the TVA led to a similar project in the Pacific Northwest, the Rural Electrification Administration (1935).

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Resettlement Administration (1935) and Farm Security Administration (1937): Provided loans to help farmers relocate to better land.

Reform measures

Reform measures were designed by the president to protect consumers by regulating businesses and providing assistance to the elderly and unemployed. They included the following legislation:

Truth in Securities Act (1933): Required corporations to provide the public with accurate and complete information concerning corporate securities, or shares of stock in corporations.

Glass-Steagall Act (1933): Enabled the government to regulate irresponsible speculation by banks. It established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which guarantees all bank deposits up to a certain amount of money.

National Industrial Recovery Act (1933): Established the National Recovery Administration (NRA). It called for every business to abide by a temporary code that provided a minimum wage, a maximum workweek, and no **child labor**. Those who chose to follow the code displayed the symbol of the Blue Eagle in their windows. It also gave workers the right to form unions, but had no mechanism for enforcement of the right. The U.S. Supreme Court eventually nullified NRA legislation, and the program, which was failing anyway, was abolished.

Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC, 1934): Established the SEC as a stock market watchdog.

National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act, 1935): Established the **National Labor Relations Board**. It gave workers federal protection for organizing unions and required employers to recognize unions.

Social Security Act (SSA, 1935): Established several social welfare programs to assist the elderly, unemployed, and handicapped citizens. It established a pension for those over sixty-five, funded through an employment tax. It also provided unemployment compensation and governmental support for the handicapped and for single mothers with dependent children.

Fair Labor Standards Act (1938): Established the minimum wage and maximum work week and abolished child labor.

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Legacy of the New Deal

President Roosevelt's New Deal allowed the federal government to assume new responsibility for the welfare of the people. In some cases, the Supreme Court decided New Deal programs were unlawful. Other programs were meant to provide just temporary relief in the midst of the Great Depression.

The New Deal helped alleviate problems caused by the Great Depression. The depression did not end, however, until the American economy recovered by providing equipment and supplies for World War II. Though many parts of New Deal legislation did not last beyond the war, several New Deal programs, including the Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations Board, survived into the twenty-first century.

New France

New France refers to the areas held by France in North America during colonial times. At its peak, it extended from Newfoundland to the Rocky Mountains and from the Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. The territory was ultimately divided into five colonies, each with its own administering body: Canada, Acadia, Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and **Louisiana**.

Early exploration

Around 1523, Italian navigator Giovanni da Verrazzano (c. 1485–c. 1528) led an expedition commissioned by King Francis I (1494–1547) of France to find a western route to Cathay in Asia. Verrazzano crossed the Atlantic Ocean and explored the coast of the present-day Carolinas, then headed north along the coast and anchored in **New York** Bay. Although he was unsuccessful in his original quest, Verrazzano's exploration convinced the king to establish a colony on the land. This led to the 1534 voyage of Jacques Cartier (1491–1557), who planted a cross in the Gaspé Peninsula and claimed the land in the name of the king. He called it Canada.

Interest in colonization

By 1600, France had a strong king, Henry IV (1553–1610), who was interested in **colonization**. **Samuel de Champlain** (c. 1567–1635) led the

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successful exploration efforts; he would later become known as the "father of New France."

Born in Brouage, a French port near La Rochelle, Champlain knew the sea from childhood. From 1598 to 1599, he visited Spain and its colonies, where he remained for more than two years, learning important lessons in colonization. Upon his return to France he reported to the king, and his observations roused the monarch's enthusiasm for following the fishermen who had been sailing for a century to Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence for fish and furs.

In March 1603, Champlain set out with royal approval for the North American coast. He sailed up the St. Lawrence River and made contact with the natives. He returned briefly to France to report to Henry IV, then went back to Canada in 1604 with three ships. In 1605, under his direction, a settlement was made first at St. Croix and then at Port Royal, Acadia, on the Bay of Fundy. This was the first permanent French settlement in New France.

Champlain and Quebec

In 1608, Champlain again ascended the St. Lawrence, this time with two ships, while a third ship reinforced the Port Royal Colony. On July 2, he landed at Stadaconé and erected buildings there, and the city of Quebec was born.

Champlain quickly allied himself with the Algonquin and Montagnais peoples in the area, who were at war with the Iroquois. He also established strong ties with the Hurons to keep the fur trade alive and arranged to have young French men live with the natives to learn their language and customs to help the French adapt to life in North America.

Champlain penetrated the interior of Canada (present-day Ontario) as far as Georgian Bay on Lake Huron. In this way, he extended French land claims westward.

In 1672, French-Canadian explorer Louis Jolliet (1645–1700) and French missionary Jacques Marquette (1637–1675) became the first Europeans to reach the upper part of the Mississippi River. Ten years later, French explorer René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle (1643–1687) followed the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. He claimed the river valley for France and named it Louisiana.

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In 1608 Samuel de Champlain sailed the St. Lawrence River and established the city of Quebec, which became a major center of trade in New France. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, LTD.

The majority of French settlers lived in the colony of Canada during the time when the French were expanding their North American claims. The fur trade was the major industry. The French called the colony a *comptoir*, meaning a warehouse for animal pelts. It was never very successful in attracting colonists, and eventually France lost the colony to Great Britain in the **French and Indian War** (1754–63). Louisiana changed hands numerous times before it finally was sold to the United States in 1803 as part of the **Louisiana Purchase**; it was France's last claim on the North American mainland.

The impact that France had in North America proved to be lasting. Today, French culture is seen in the former colonies of New France: A prime example of this is the French Quarter of New Orleans.

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New Hampshire

The Granite State entered the Union on June 21, 1788, as the ninth state. It is a tiny state located in New England and is surrounded by **Massachusetts** to the south, **Vermont** to the west, Canada and **Maine** to the north, and the Atlantic Ocean to the east.

Only one Native American tribe—Pennacook—lived in New Hampshire when the first English settlement was established in 1623. New Hampshire was actually a province of Massachusetts from 1643 to 1680. By 1760, the Pennacook had been forced out of the region.

New Hampshire was the first of the original **thirteen colonies** to establish an independent government, which it did on January 5, 1776, six months prior to the **Declaration of Independence**.

Shoe and textile mills were rapidly established along the Merrimack River in the nineteenth century. Companies developed faster than workers could be hired, and an immigrant labor force was brought in during the 1850s. Ten years later, French Canadian workers from Quebec went to New Hampshire to work the mills.

These mills could not compete with larger **cotton** mills in the South in the twentieth century, and the mill towns became depressed. Only those residents in the north region of the state, where logging and paper manufacturing took place, prospered.

The population of New Hampshire nearly doubled between 1960 and 1988 because the state had a low tax rate, healthy industry (primarily high-technology businesses), and was near enough to Boston, Massachusetts, which had become a major metropolitan area.

In the twenty-first century, New Hampshire is one of the most industrialized states in America. It is home to just over 1.3 million people, 95.4 percent of them white. Manchester had the highest population (109,691) in 2005, followed by Nashua (87,321) and the capital city of Concord (42,336).

Traditionally, New Hampshire is the first state to hold its presidential primary every four years. The state has almost always voted Republican in presidential elections. In 1992, however, it chose Democrat **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) over incumbent **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93) by just 6,556 votes.

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New Hampshire residents fare far better than most Americans in terms of income. In 2004, the per-person income was $36,616, compared to a national average of $33,050. The average median household income for the years 2002 to 2004 was $57,352, compared to the national average of $44,473. For that same time period, just 5.7 percent of residents lived below the federal poverty level, compared to the national average of 12.4 percent.

In 2006, 22.1 percent of New Hampshire workers were employed in trade, transportation, and public utilities; 15.7 percent worked in education and health services; 13.9 percent worked for the government; 12 percent were in manufacturing; 9.9 percent in leisure and hospitality; 9.5 in professional and business services; 6.3 percent worked in financial services, and 4.8 percent in construction.

New Jersey

The Garden State joined the Union on December 18, 1787, as the third state. Located in northeastern United States, New Jersey is the smallest of the mid-Atlantic states and ranks forty-sixth in size among the fifty states. Its total area is just 7,787 square miles (20,168 square kilometers). New Jersey is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, **Delaware**, **Pennsylvania**, **New York**, and **Connecticut**.

The Leni-Lenape (meaning "Original People") were the first known inhabitants of New Jersey. They were a peaceful, agricultural people. The first European explorers reached the Jersey shore in 1524, and in 1609, **Henry Hudson** (d. 1611) sailed under the Dutch flag to lay claim to the region. New Jersey's first town, Bergen, was founded in 1660 by settlers from Holland. Within one hundred years, only a few hundred Leni-Lenape survived, the majority having been killed by smallpox, alcohol abuse, and gun violence.

England took control of the region in 1664, and it was settled into two distinct provinces but one colony: East Jersey was settled by **Puritans** from Long Island and New England and West Jersey was settled by English **Quakers**.

New Jersey was the winter headquarters for General **George Washington** (1732–1799) and his troops in the **American Revolution (1775–83)**, and five major battles were fought there. That state was bitterly divided throughout the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Many res-

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idents urged the North to make peace with the South. The state sent into battle its full quota of troops, and its factories manufactured munitions and other equipment for the **Union** army. Even after war's end, African Americans were not allowed to vote in New Jersey until 1870.

New Jersey was officially declared "urban" by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1880, when the state population rose above one million for the first time. In 2006, the population was just over 8.7 million, with 69.9 percent being white, another 13.3 African American. Hispanics and Latinos make up another 15.3 percent.

The late 1990s saw the state grow by 24.2 acres when the U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled that most of **Ellis Island**, the eastern seaboard immigration center, belonged to New Jersey. In September 1999, Hurricane Floyd damaged more than eight thousand homes and destroyed hundreds more. It was one of the worst natural disasters in the state's history.

New Jersey's economy is based on oil refining, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, food processing, apparel, and technological equipment. Wholesale and retail trade also generate a substantial portion of the state's income, with the heaviest concentration of jobs being in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and New York City. Because New Jersey is such a small state, many of its residents find jobs across the border in these states.

Tens of millions of tourists visit New Jersey each year, mostly to enjoy the Jersey shore and its popular resort, Atlantic City. The state also hosts ten ski areas, thirty amusement parks, and thirty-one public golf courses.

New Mexico

New Mexico entered the Union on January 6, 1912, as the forty-seventh state. Located in the southwestern United States, it is bordered by **Colorado**, **Oklahoma**, **Texas**, Mexico, **Arizona**, and **Utah**. New Mexico is the fifth-largest state, with a total area of 121,593 square miles (314,924 square kilometers).

The first major European expedition to New Mexico began in 1540 and was led by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (c. 1510–1554). These Spanish explorers met several Native American tribes, including the Pueblo, Navajo, and Apache.

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The first settlement was formed in 1599, and in 1610 the Spanish developed Santa Fe as the center of all activity. In 1821, New Mexico fell under Mexican rule and remained so for twenty-five years. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed in 1848, officially made New Mexico a part of the United States. Two years later, it became a U.S. territory.

As greater numbers of white settlers traveled the Santa Fe Trail seeking homes in the Southwest, Native Americans resisted having their lands taken from them. The conflicts were sometimes violent. Cattle ranchers and merchants also fought over land in the Lincoln County War (1878–81). The most famous participant in the war was outlaw Billy the Kid (c. 1859–1881), who fought on the side of the ranchers.

The 1920s brought prosperity to New Mexico, as reserves of potash salts and petroleum were discovered. The **Great Depression** (1929–41) brought an end to that period of economic development, but **World War II** (1939–45) revived the economy once more.

In more recent years, New Mexico experienced an influx of newcomers, which has brought about major social, cultural, and political change. In 2006, New Mexico had the highest percentage of Hispanic and Native American populations (43.6 percent and 9.6 percent, respectively) in the United States. Total population that year was just under two million.

Santa Fe remains the center of cultural activity in New Mexico, a state renowned for its dedication to multicultural arts. The state's largest city, Albuquerque, attracts millions of visitors each year, as does Taos.

New Mexico's economy depends on major industries such as petroleum, food, and manufacturing. Tourism is a flourishing sector of the state's economy, with natural attractions like the Carlsbad Caverns and Roswell, the site of an alleged UFO crash in 1947, as main attractions. Roswell is also home to the New Mexico Military Institute.

New Spain and Spanish Colonization

During the colonial era, from 1492 to 1821, Spain sent explorers, conquerors, and settlers to the New World. The territories that became part of the Spanish empire were called New Spain. At its height, New Spain included all of Mexico, Central America to the Isthmus of Panama, the

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lands that today are the southwestern United States and **Florida**, and much of the West Indies (islands in the Caribbean Sea). (It also included the Philippines, off the coast of southeast Asia.)

New Spain was governed as a viceroyalty, a province headed by a representative of the king or queen of Spain. Beginning in 1535, its capital was Mexico City. During the colonial period, Spain claimed other territories in the New World in northern and western South America. Most of these holdings fell under the viceroyalty of Peru, which was administered separately from the viceroyalty of New Spain.

Discoveries

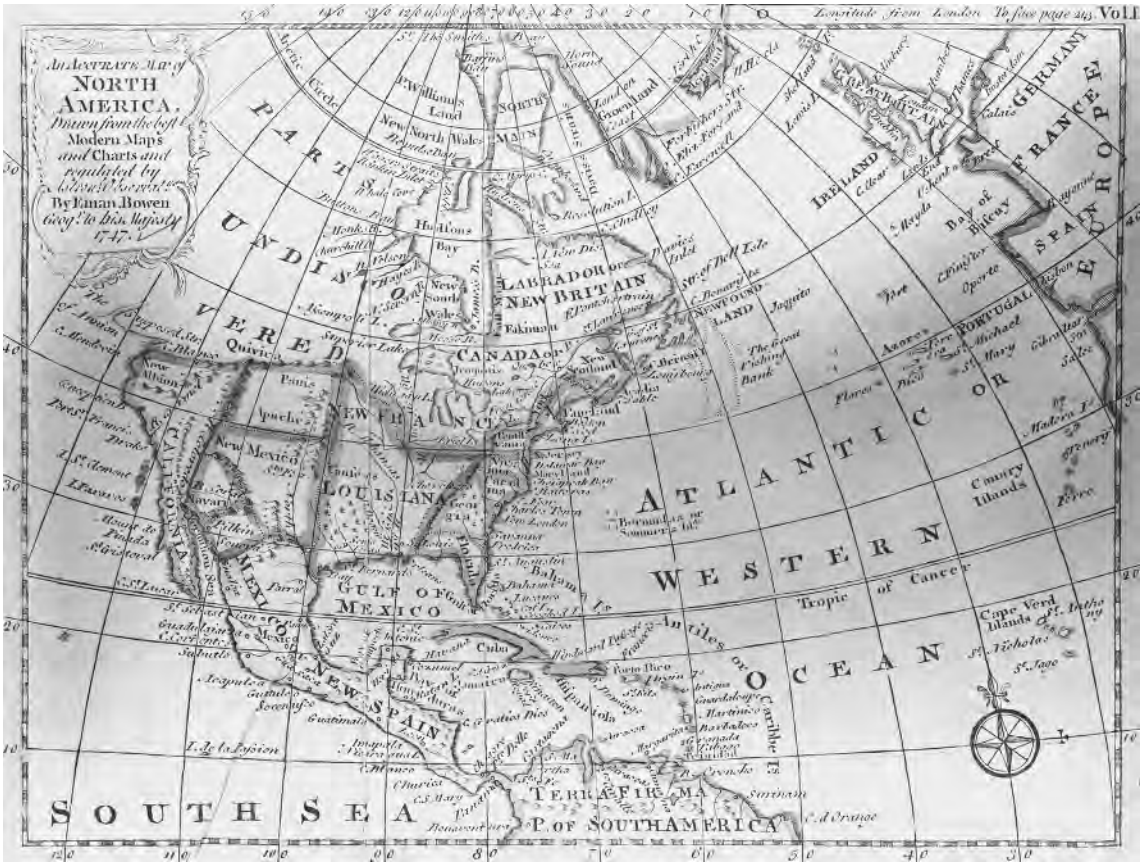
Spain's mission to build an empire in the New World began with the expeditions of a Genoan seafarer named **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506), who convinced the Spanish royalty he could find a western route across the Atlantic Ocean to the Indies (Asia). He sailed west in 1492 and six months later landed on islands in the Caribbean Sea. Columbus mistakenly concluded he had reached the Indies and brought news of his new route back to Spain. In 1501, Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512), for whom the Americas were ultimately named, sailed far down the coast of South America. Vespucci proved what had long been suspected: Columbus had landed nowhere near Asia, but he had discovered an unknown continent—the New World.

With the aid of several explorers—Vasco Núnez de Balboa (1475–1519), who traveled across the Isthmus of Panama; **Juan Ponce de León** (1460–1521), who explored Florida; **Hernando de Soto** (c. 1500–1542), who navigated the Mississippi River; and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (c. 1510—1554), who traveled through northern Mexico and the southwestern United States—the Spanish laid claim to much of both North and South America for their king.

Building an empire

Spain was fast and effective in claiming its huge empire in the Americas. Its conquest of American natives happened within a few decades. **Spanish conquistadors**, or conquerors, destroyed the two most powerful civilizations of the New World, the Aztecs in present-day Mexico in 1521 and the Incas in Peru in 1535. After winning the battles, the conquistadors killed the leaders of each civilization and took over their lead-

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This map of North America shows New Spain, which included Mexico and parts of Central America, the West Indies, and the United States. AMERICAN SCHOOL/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES

ership, demanding obedience, labor, and conversion to Christianity of the survivors.

The Spanish sought wealth in the New World. They had found supplies of gold and silver but needed miners to extract the precious metals. They also established plantations, growing sugar and other crops, and needed farm workers. For labor, the new rulers initially relied on the ***encomienda*** system, a system of labor in which the Spanish government awarded individual conquistadors with the labor and goods of the native people of a region. Encomienda virtually enslaved the native people.

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Spain's arrival in the New World resulted in widespread death and depopulation for the native people of the Western Hemisphere. The conquistadors killed many Native Americans in raids and wars, and they also brought with them deadly epidemic diseases such as measles and smallpox. (See **Epidemics in the New World**.) In some tribes, the death rate reached 90 percent (nine out of ten people died). This catastrophic death rate disorganized Native American cultures, wiping out political and religious leaders, family life, trade, farming practices, military defense, the arts, and other aspects of their social systems. The Spanish, still requiring laborers, began to import people kidnapped into **slavery** from Africa.

The government of Spain profited greatly from its share of precious metals found in the New World. Historians estimate that between 1500 and 1650 Spain carried more than 180 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver from New Spain to Europe. The extraction of gold during this period was about ten times more than that of all the rest of the world combined. Spain became one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations in the world. But in time, the imported metals caused economic inflation (a major increase in general prices, while income or purchasing power remains the same) in Spain. By the seventeenth century, the American metals were depleted and Spain's economy was in ruins.

New Spain government

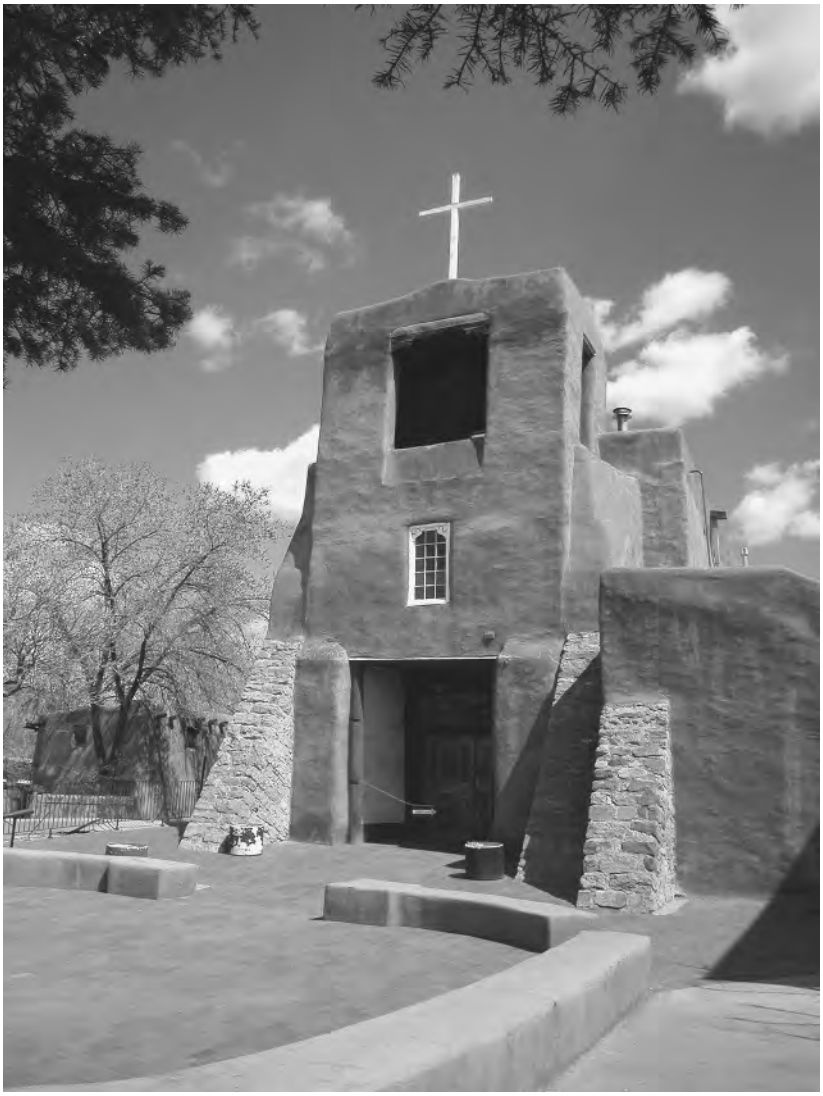
In 1524 Spanish King Charles V (1519–1556) created the Council of the Indies to govern the New World territories. In New Spain, he appointed two separate *audiencias* (courts that combined judicial, legislative, and administrative functions) and then named a viceroy. The viceroy was the chief executive, but his powers were limited by the *audiencia.* The government of New Spain drew on many Spanish traditions. Towns established *cabildos* (town councils) and were headed by local officials. On paper, the Spanish government in Mexico City ruled over all the remote areas of New Spain. In reality, there was considerable local self-government. Communication between Spain and the Indies was slow, and local royal officials were as likely to follow the desires of local rulers as they were to carry out the wishes of the Crown.

The northern borderlands

The desire to conquer new lands and to find more gold and silver led explorers into the vast territories of the north. The expeditions of the six-

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teenth and seventeenth centuries expanded Spanish claims into what are now the southeastern Gulf Coast states and the entire Southwest of the United States. It was far too vast a domain to be held militarily, and it produced no golden cities. Thus only isolated outposts were established, the most important of which were in the present states of **Texas**, **New Mexico**, and **California**.



The Mission San Miguel in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Spanish missions such as this one were successful in the heavily populated New Mexico, one of the most prosperous colonies in New Spain. SHUTTERSTOCK

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The sparsely populated northern frontier regions had to adapt to frontier life and thus differed in structure from southern New Spain. The most important frontier institutions were the presidios (military garrisons) and the **Spanish missions**, where Franciscan, Jesuit, and Dominican missionaries attempted to convert Indians to Catholicism and integrate them into colonial society. Towns gradually grew up around some of the missions.

The most successful and prosperous of these settlements was the kingdom of New Mexico. By 1821, it had a total population of roughly forty thousand, far outnumbering the thousand or so "Spanish" settlers that each had colonized **Arizona**, Texas, and California. The kingdom of New Mexico became a relatively prosperous colony, in comparison to the others in northern New Spain, primarily because the Pueblo Indians were already settled farmers with established towns near water.

The last years of the empire

By the early nineteenth century, New Spain was large and well populated, with slightly over six million people. This was only one million fewer than the population of the United States. Mexico City was the largest city in the Americas. In Spain, only Madrid was larger.

The people of New Spain were divided into *castas*, or castes. Indians made up 60 percent of the population. People of mixed racial ancestry made up another 22 percent. The remaining 18 percent were Europeans, of whom nearly all were *criollos* (people of Spanish ancestry, but born in the New World). Only 0.2 percent were *peninsulares*, or Spanish-born Spaniards, who held all the high offices in the colonial administration, military, and church. The criollos were usually local leaders, holding nearly two-thirds of colonial administrative offices, and filling the lower ranks of the military and clergy. Criollos also owned mines and haciendas (plantations or large estates). The urban poor lived on the edge of starvation, regularly facing food shortages and plagues.

Mexican independence

France invaded Spain in 1808, and two years later Mexico began its war of independence. Spain was severely weakened. The United States absorbed much of West Florida in 1810 and 1814. On two occasions, it invaded the parts of Florida still under nominal Spanish rule to suppress

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raids on U.S. territory by hostile Indians. In 1821, Spain, unable to control the territory, sold Florida to the United States. That same year, a Mexican rebellion ended Spanish rule there (and in Texas) and the colonial empire of New Spain was dissolved. By 1898, Spain had relinquished all its possessions in North America.

New York

New York, one of the original **thirteen colonies**, became the eleventh state to enter the Union on July 26, 1788. Known as the Empire State, it is located in the mid-Atlantic and Northeastern regions, bordered by Canada, **Vermont**, **Massachusetts**, **Connecticut**, the Atlantic Ocean, **New Jersey**, **Pennsylvania**, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario. New Yorkers often divide their state by downstate (New York City area) and upstate (north of the New York City metropolitan area). The North Country and the Adirondacks (a park and mountain range) are in the northernmost part of the state.

European explorers visited the region that is now New York in 1524 but did not establish permanent settlements. In 1570, the primary Iroquois tribes established the League of Five Nations and kept peace among themselves for two hundred years while warring with other tribes.

In 1609, explorer **Henry Hudson** (d. 1611) discovered the Hudson River and continued north into Albany and Canada over the next two years. The Dutch established the first permanent settlement in 1624, and **New Amsterdam**, which eventually became New York City, was settled two years later.

The English took over the region peacefully in 1664. Almost one-third of all battles fought during the **American Revolution** (1775–83) took place on New York land. New York City was the seat of the U.S. government from early 1785 until mid-August 1790, and President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) was inaugurated there in 1789.

New York's economy expanded after the **War of 1812** (1812–15). The Erie Canal was the century's most impressive engineering feat, with construction begun in 1817 and completed in 1825. It connected the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean and provided a more efficient transportation link between the East Coast and what was then the western

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part of the United States. Later in the decade, the state abolished **slavery**, and residents became leaders in the antislavery movement. Within twenty years, New York's **Ellis Island** became the primary port of entry for several waves of European immigrants.

The state prospered during the American **Civil War** (1861–65) and **Reconstruction** (the period following the war). New York's commercial business boomed, and along with it came a sharp increase in political corruption. This period of industrialization and corruption is known as the **Gilded Age** (approximately 1899–1914), and New York was its home. In the early twentieth century, as some amassed great wealth, many members of New York City's large immigrant population endured unsafe work conditions and low pay.

After the **Great Depression** (1929–41) and **World War II** (1939–45), the state expanded its social services but experienced a decline in industry. By 1965, New York City alone had a debt of around $6 billion. In 2001, New Yorkers had an average per-person income of $38,264, as compared to the national average of $33,050. However, during the years 2002 to 2004, 14.4 percent of New Yorkers lived below the national poverty level, as compared to the national average of 12.4 percent. In 2006, the state struggled with economic problems, including a state budget deficit of $4.2 billion.

In 2006, the state population was just over 19 million, with 67.1 percent white, 16.2 percent Hispanic, and another 15.3 percent African American. New York City's population was over 8 million.

New York is largely an industrial state, with a concentration of manufacturing in the larger upstate cities, primarily Buffalo. New York City is the center of the apparel and publishing trades, a banking and finance world capital, and a center of the communications industry. The state capital is Albany.

On September 11, 2001, New York City was the site of a terrorist attack. (See **September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks**.) Terrorists took control of two commercial airliners and crashed them into the World Trade Center, killing more than 2,750 people and destroying the Twin Towers, a New York City landmark and international center of finance. In subsequent years, plans were under way to build a new complex near the site.

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New York Stock Exchange

The New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) was the first stock exchange in the United States. A stock exchange is a place where the public can buy or sell stock investments, also called shares, in business companies. To raise capital for business, companies sell stock, which represents part ownership in the company.

As more investors purchase shares in a company, the value of the stock goes up, and investors have an opportunity to make money. If investors sell, then the value of the stock can go down, and investors can lose money on their shares. The value of the share, or stock, is also affected by the company's performance. As companies do well, the value of the stock goes up. Poor performance results in a drop in stock value.

The New York Stock Exchange was established on May 17, 1792, when local brokers in **New York** agreed to formalize their transactions. In 1825, it opened for business at 11 **Wall Street**, New York City. At that time, most shares were in canal, turnpike, mining, and gaslight companies. Today, manufacturing industries dominate the thousands of companies listed on the exchange. Only companies that allow the public to invest in their businesses are permitted to trade shares on the exchange. They also must meet other conditions regarding the amount of stock available to the public.

One of the primary reasons that people invest in stock is the chance to make money faster than through a traditional bank savings account. The stock market, however, has more risk attached to it. The get-rich dreams of average Americans prompted more investors in the 1920s to put their savings in stocks. There were few stock regulations then, and stock values rarely reflected the real value of the companies.

On October 29, 1929, many factors caused investors to panic and scramble to sell their stocks. Stock values plummeted, and the New York Stock Exchange crashed. Many investors lost their savings. The crash marked the beginning of the **Great Depression** (1929–41), an economic recession that lasted a little more than a decade. The NYSE is now regulated, but it is still regarded as an indicator of the economic health of the nation.

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News Media

America's first continuously published newspaper was the *Boston News-Letter*. The first issue was published in 1704. Until the 1920s, newspaper reporting was how America got its news. Most newspaper publishers took their duty of reporting facts seriously. In the late nineteenth century, however, two publishers began selling newspapers by relying on "yellow journalism," a term that refers to sensationalism in journalism.

Yellow journalism focused less on facts than on sensationalism. Scandal, sex, crime, or anything else to catch the reader's attention filled some newspapers. No one loved yellow journalism more than Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) and **William Randolph Hearst** (1863–1951). Both men were in the habit of buying failing newspapers and turning them into profitable successes using yellow journalism.

Yellow journalism lost its appeal for many readers in the first decade of the twentieth century as journalists called **muckrakers** took over investigative reporting. These writers rejected yellow journalism and took it upon themselves to expose corruption and greed and then write about it. One of the most famous muckrakers was Ida M. Tarbell (1857–1944), whose 1902–4 report on the unethical work dealings of Standard Oil's owner, **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937), forced the breakup of the Standard Oil monopoly.

Radio

The first **radio** stations began broadcasting in 1920, although the first decade of broadcasting was primarily used to get stations licensed and work out the various problems of this new technology. It was not until the 1930s that consumers were relying on radio for their daily news. President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) used radio to give his famous "Fireside Chats," in which he spoke to Americans about the economy, legislation he wanted passed, and eventually, war and national security. He gave thirty chats throughout the 1930s and 1940s, an era known as the Golden Age of Radio.

Radio was so popular that it became the primary advertising vehicle for a magazine that had debuted in 1923. *Time* magazine was the first magazine to focus solely on current events and other news. Beginning in 1931, the publishers of *Time* aired a half-hour radio program called *The March of Time,* which was a dramatization of the week's news. The pro-

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gram brought the magazine to the attention of millions of listeners who might not otherwise have known of its existence. Through the years, other news magazines hit the newsstands, including *Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report, The Nation,* and *The National Review.*

Television

Radio had competition in the late 1940s as television caught on with American consumers. By the end of the decade, even rural Americans had access to television. Although it was considered "third-generation" news (behind print and radio) by many news commentators, Americans who could afford television preferred it over radio as their news source. CBS had been hailed as the best radio news broadcasting service, and it built on that reputation to develop the most renowned television news team in the 1950s. It counted on reporters and newscasters such as Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965) and Walter Cronkite (1916–) to build the trust with American viewers. The first regular news show was *Douglas Edwards with the News,* broadcast in 1948. NBC followed in 1949 with *The Camel News Caravan.* The fifteen-minute evening news slot became fiercely competitive across television stations from 1956 onward. Other popular and important newscasters of the era were Chet Huntley (1911–1974) and David Brinkley (1920–2003).



CBS News correspondent Edward R. Murrow broadcasts the national election results on November 7, 1956.
AP IMAGES

The 1960s were a decade of television news. Consumers relied on news reports to learn about presidential candidates and for coverage of the escalating **Vietnam War** (1954–1975). The assassination of President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) in 1963 was given near-continuous coverage for five days on all networks. No other media could rival that sort of coverage.

A newcomer to television news broadcasting in the 1960s was the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), which formed in 1967 and was up and running by 1969. Funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, PBS gave viewers alternatives to network broadcasting. By

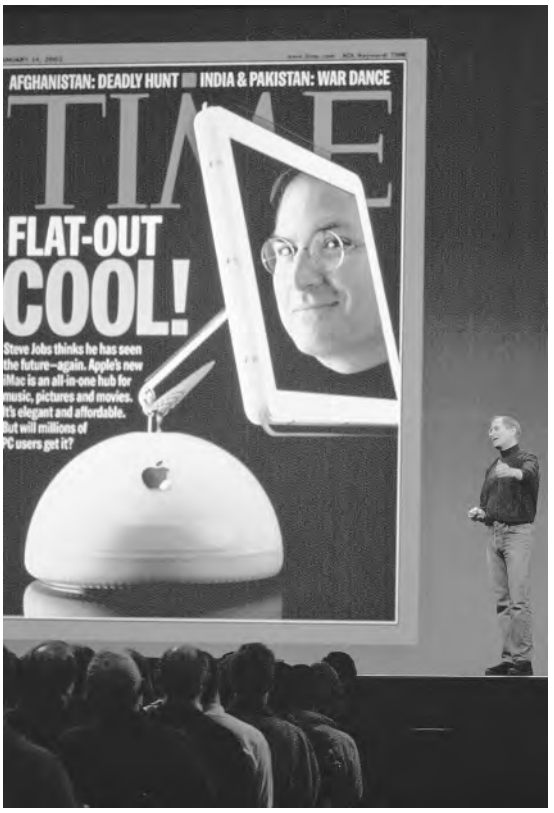
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the 1970s, PBS was offering quality children's programming such as *Sesame Street* and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood.*

Newsmagazines

The first televised newsmagazine, *60 Minutes,* appeared on September 24, 1968, on CBS. It was anchored by Mike Wallace (1918–) and Harry Reasoner (1923–1991), news correspondents whose strengths balanced one another. Although fewer than one in five viewers watched the first segment, ratings eventually climbed as producers experimented with different time slots. In November 1979, *60 Minutes* hit number one in the ratings. It became one of the longest-running and highest-rated series in television and featured the talents of correspondents Dan Rather (1931–), Morley Safer (1931–), Ed Bradley (1941–2006), and Diane Sawyer (1945–).

Similar newsmagazines appeared on television over the years, mixing hard news with lighter, more general interest segments. One of the most popular and well-known correspondents was Barbara Walters (1929–). She began her career as a writer at *CBS News* and joined NBC's *Today Show* in 1961, where she worked with anchorman Hugh Downs (1921–). Walters joined the newsmagazine *20/20* in 1979, where she reteamed with Downs for a successful fifteen-year run.



Time *magazine was the first magazine to focus solely on current events and other news.* AP IMAGES

Cable and Internet

The 1980s brought about cable television, and the debut of Cable News Network (CNN) on June 1, 1980, changed the nature of news programming. CNN revolutionized the structure of mass communication by offering around-the-clock transmission of news to viewers across the world.

The introduction and growth of the **Internet** and the World Wide Web (WWW) in the 1980s and throughout the 1990s transformed the media industry. Magazines, newspapers, and even television shows can now be

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President Bill Clinton's veto of a bill in 1995 was broadcast live on CNN. CNN transformed the structure of mass communication by offering 24/7 transmission of news to television viewers around the world. AP IMAGES

found online. E-zines (electronic magazines) have been developed by self-made publishers who not only create and develop content but also build interactive communities that meet online to share thoughts and write commentary.

The WWW is host to millions of weblogs, known as blogs. Developers of these blogs are able to post text, photos, sound, and video. In the event of groundbreaking news, these blogs can post stories and accompanying photos or video more quickly than any major news media. Although some blogs are little more than online diaries or random thoughts, many have garnered the respect of traditional media and reporters for their professional content and quality.

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Toward the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, MSNBC.com was the Web's most popular news site. It is a partnership of Microsoft and NBC News. In addition to reporting news stories, it hosts blogs it believes are worthy of its reputation and provides links to blogs and other Web sites.

While print, radio, and television media will probably never be completely replaced by blogs and interactive news communities, consumers have appreciated the competition. Those frustrated with the simplified presentation of news found in traditional media have welcomed the various perspectives and challenges that blogs and interactive communities provide.

Nineteenth Amendment

On August 18, 1920, American women were given suffrage (the right to vote) with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution**. **Women's suffrage** rights had not come quickly or easily. Women had fought for suffrage for seventy-two years, beginning with the **Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention** in **New York** in 1848. That conference marked the beginning of what would be a national revolution.

As America grew to be dependent upon industry in the mid- to late nineteenth century, middle and upper classes formed. This prosperity created a never-before-seen class of women who had time on their hands. Able to focus on social and cultural issues that mattered to them, many of the most dedicated women supported suffrage.

Among the more famous suffragists were **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (1815–1902) and **Susan B. Anthony** (1820–1906), considered the mothers of the suffrage movement. Lucy Stone (1818–1893) and **Lucretia Mott** (1793–1880) were among the earliest women's rights activists, and Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947) and Alice Paul (1885–1977) led the movement after Stanton and Anthony died.

America was slow to accept the idea that women should be recognized as first-class citizens. It was an era when men ran business and politics while women raised children and busied themselves within the home. Women were considered too fragile to understand and deal with anything political. Men could think of no reason to allow women to cast a vote.

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Two organizations—the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association—joined forces in 1890 to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association. America's entry into **World War I** (1914–18) helped forward the women's movement as Alice Paul asked President **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) how he could fight for democracy overseas while denying women in his own country the right to vote.

Ninth Amendment

When the U.S. **Constitution** was written in 1787, it contained few guarantees of individual freedom and liberty. **Federalists** were people who argued that such guarantees were unnecessary because the Constitution did not give the national government power to violate individual freedoms. In contrast, **Anti-Federalists** argued that unless individual freedoms were specifically protected in the Constitution, the government would not be able to resist using its power to violate those freedoms. To convince the Anti-Federalists to adopt the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights** to protect individual freedoms from the government.

The Ninth Amendment was the ninth of ten amendments included in the Bill of Rights, which the United States adopted in 1791. It reads, "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

When the lawmakers were debating whether it was wise to include a bill of rights in the Constitution, some opponents argued that listing specific rights runs the risk that the government could say that the people do not have any rights that are not listed. To allay this concern, the Ninth Amendment declares that the people do not give up any rights that are not listed in the Constitution.

One problem with the Ninth Amendment is that it remains unclear what rights the people

The Right of Local Self-government

The United States is often called a system of **federalism**. This means that the federal and state governments share the responsibility for administering government for the people.

Under the doctrine called the right to local self-government, people in local communities retain the right to adopt local laws, even if such laws are contrary to state and federal laws. Courts addressing the issue usually have found against the doctrine, ruling that local governments are creatures of the states and so are completely subject to state control. But many people believe that the right to local self-government is one of the rights retained by the people under the Ninth Amendment and one of the powers retained by the people under the **Tenth Amendment**.

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retained, and how they can enforce them. Although people often have referred to the Ninth Amendment in support of various rights, federal courts have not relied much on the amendment as the source of enforceable rights.

Richard M. Nixon

Richard Milhous Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, **California** on January 9, 1913. He grew up in a struggling middle-class household. As a boy, he worked long hours in the family's grocery-gasoline store. Although highly intelligent, Nixon was unable to secure a job with a major law firm or the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI). Practicing law left him unfulfilled, so he tried his hand at various business schemes.

Nixon served in the U.S. **Navy** as a supply officer in the South Pacific. When he returned to civilian life, he returned to practicing law but soon broke into politics with the **Republican Party** nomination for his California district in the U.S. House of Representatives. Nixon won the election and then won the 1950 Senate race as well.



President Richard Nixon focused on foreign policy, but his presidency collapsed following the Watergate scandal. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In 1952, **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) selected Nixon as his running mate in the presidential election. They won. Nixon worked hard to make the vice presidency more important than it had been in previous decades, but his relationship with the president was uneasy throughout their eight years in office.

Loses, then wins, the presidency

In 1960, Nixon ran unsuccessfully for president against U.S. senator **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) of **Massachusetts**. In 1962, Nixon ran for governor of California and lost. Having served in Congress and as vice president for over a decade, Nixon had simply lost touch with state politics.

After his defeat for the California governorship, Nixon moved to New York City, where he took a job in a leading law firm. By 1968, his

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years of networking among the Republicans paid off as he was nominated for the presidency. He ran amidst the **antiwar movement**, a time of great protest during the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). Nixon's traditional values appealed to socially conservative Americans. He and his running mate, former **Maryland** governor Spiro Agnew (1918–1996), narrowly defeated Vice President Hubert Humphrey (1911–1978). Nixon became the country's thirty-seventh president.

A presidency of conflict

While he was president, Nixon proposed measures to reform the welfare system, Social Security, the postal service, the military draft, and the tax code. Nixon was also responsible for introducing job-training programs that are still in place in the twenty-first century. But the president's primary concerns were with foreign policy, and he focused his energies there. One key figure of the Nixon administration was **Henry Kissinger** (1923–), the national security advisor and secretary of state. Kissinger and Nixon worked closely together to develop foreign policy and build the White House staff.

President Nixon found the **news media** to be untrustworthy, and he did his best not to communicate with the press. In his first four years in office, Nixon held just thirty-one news conferences, compared to Eisenhower's hundred and **Franklin D. Roosevelt**'s (1882–1945; served 1933–45) five hundred. Nixon relied on his staff to keep him abreast of news and current events, and in doing so, he cut himself off from the American public.

The Vietnam War

Nixon took office while the Vietnam War was in full swing. America's involvement in the war divided the United States, as war often does. Nixon knew there were limits to what Americans would support, and they were quickly reaching the end of their patience with what would eventually be the longest military conflict in American history.

Nixon visited Vietnam in 1969 and met with President Nguyen Van Thieu (1923–2001). He agreed to a policy that became known as "Vietnamization," in which American troops would be replaced with South Vietnamese troops. America's involvement declined steadily until 1973, when all U.S. troops were withdrawn. While this plan made the

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president look good to the American people, it actually secured the defeat of South Vietnam because their troops were not big enough or strong enough to fight North Vietnam on their own. But they were not defeated until 1975, by which time Nixon was out of office.

Inflation

War is always hard on a country's economy, and the 1970s were marked by one of the most severe inflationary spirals in history. Inflation is an increase in the cost of goods and services. To add to the problem, oil-producing nations drastically raised prices in 1973, creating an oil crisis. Gasoline rationing began throughout the country as Americans were inundated with an advertising campaign telling them "Don't Be Fuelish."

The year 1973 proved a difficult one for the vice president as well. On October 10, Agnew resigned. He had been accused of bribery, tax evasion, and money laundering (from before he was vice president). Nixon chose U.S. representative **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006) of **Michigan** to replace Agnew.

Relations with China

America's relations with China had been strained over the years for various reasons. When the People's Republic of China split from the Soviet Union, its longtime ally, Nixon saw an opportunity to align with China and shift the balance of power to the West. He relaxed trade controls and allowed tourists to enter China. Nixon visited China in 1972 and was granted a visit with Chairman Mao Zedong (1893–1976), China's ruler. This was a major sign of respect, and Nixon was able to repair nearly twenty-five years of conflict. In addition to an increase in trade that resulted in higher profits for American merchants, the success with China raised Nixon's approval rating with the American public.

SALT talks

America's relations with the Soviet Union were also strained. The Soviet Union was America's main competitor and considered a major threat to peace because of its nuclear arms. In an effort to ward off nuclear war, Nixon sought a lessening of tensions with the Soviet Union. Nixon and Kissinger managed to work with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) and developed two treaties. The Strategic Arms Limitation

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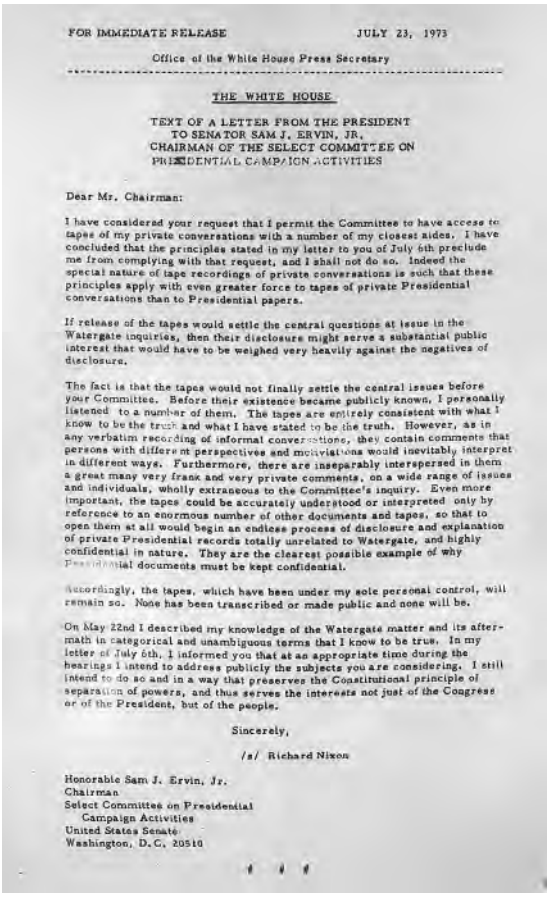
Talks (SALT I) treaty limited both countries to no more than two antimissile missile sites and to no more than two hundred antimissile missiles. The Interim Agreement imposed a five-year halt on the production of nuclear weapons as well as a maximum number of missiles each country could have.

In 1972, Nixon was reelected president. The progress he had made in foreign relations was largely responsible for his victory, but the good relationship between the president and his public would be short-lived.

Watergate

On June 17, 1972, five men were arrested for breaking into the Democratic campaign headquarters at the Watergate, a hotel-apartment-office complex in **Washington, D.C.** It was later discovered that the crime was committed at the request of the Committee to Reelect the President. The purpose of the Watergate break-in was to place wiretaps on the Democratic headquarters telephones. Nixon endorsed wiretapping and had relied on its illegal use before 1972.

Nixon discussed the arrests over the phone with various White House officials in the days following the incident. His conversation with the chief of staff on June 20 was recorded on tape but was later found to have an eighteen-and-a-half-minute gap, an erasure Nixon blamed on mechanical failure. Another conversation between the men, held on June 23, recorded the president and the chief of staff agreeing to order the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) to interrupt the FBI investigation of the break-in. This was a clear order for obstruction of justice, and this conversation tape would come to be known as the Smoking Gun. The five burglars and others who were involved were indicted (formally accused of a crime) by September 1972. At this point, the public was still unaware that the president was involved.



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JULY 23, 1973

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO SENATOR SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
CHAIRMAN OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have considered your request that I permit the Committee to have access to tapes of my private conversations with a number of my closest aides. I have concluded that the principles stated in my letter to you of July 6th preclude me from complying with that request, and I shall not do so. Indeed the special nature of tape recordings of private conversations is such that these principles apply with even greater force to tapes of private Presidential conversations than to Presidential papers.

If release of the tapes would settle the central questions at issue in the Watergate inquiries, then their disclosure might serve a substantial public interest that would have to be weighed very heavily against the negatives of disclosure.

The fact is that the tapes would not finally settle the central issues before your Committee. Before their existence became publicly known, I personally listened to a number of them. The tapes are entirely consistent with what I know to be the truth and what I have stated to be the truth. However, as in any verbatim recording of informal conversations, they contain comments that persons with different perspectives and motivations would inevitably interpret in different ways. Furthermore, there are inseparably interspersed in them a great many very frank and very private comments, on a wide range of issues and individuals, wholly extraneous to the Committee's inquiry. Even more important, the tapes could be accurately understood or interpreted only by reference to an enormous number of other documents and tapes, so that to open them at all would begin an endless process of disclosure and explanation of private Presidential records totally unrelated to Watergate, and highly confidential in nature. They are the clearest possible example of why Presidential documents must be kept confidential.

Accordingly, the tapes, which have been under my sole personal control, will remain so. None has been transcribed or made public and none will be.

On May 22nd I described my knowledge of the Watergate matter and its aftermath in categorical and unambiguous terms that I know to be true. In my letter of July 6th, I informed you that at an appropriate time during the hearings I intend to address publicly the subjects you are considering. I still intend to do so and in a way that preserves the Constitutional principle of separation of powers, and thus serves the interests not just of the Congress or of the President, but of the people.

Sincerely,

/s/ Richard Nixon

Honorable Sam J. Ervin, Jr.
Chairman
Select Committee on Presidential
Campaign Activities
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

# # #

A copy of President Richard Nixon's letter in which he refused to release tapes of his conversations to the Senate committee investigating the Watergate burglary and cover-up. The scandal caused Nixon to resign on August 9, 1974. AP IMAGES

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The **Watergate scandal** continued to haunt Nixon, and in February 1973, a committee was established to investigate the break-in. That same month, Nixon and his counsel, John W. Dean III (1938–), made arrangements to cover up the involvement of the administration. They did this by paying those convicted to stay silent on the issue. One of the burglars indicated that the trial had been fixed through pressure to plead guilty. He implicated Nixon advisers in the crime by saying they gave their approval for the break-in.

Several key White House officials resigned. Nixon fired Dean, who in turn willingly provided documentation proving Nixon's role in the scandal. Nixon maintained his innocence even after it came to light that there were recorded phone conversations that would prove the president's guilt. Although adamant about his innocence, the president refused to hand over the tapes. By late July 1974, the House of Representatives voted to impeach (formally remove from office) Nixon. The transcript of the June 23, 1972, conversation was released on August 5, 1974. Four days later, a tearful Nixon resigned from office.

Post-presidency

Because of his criminal activity, Nixon was disbarred (forbidden to practice law) in the state of **New York**. He surrendered his other law licenses soon afterward. The former president spent his later years as a statesman who never stopped trying to improve foreign relations, and he even acted as a consultant to successors of both political parties.

After suffering a stroke and falling into a coma, Nixon died on April 22, 1994. He was eighty-one years old.

Normandy Invasion

See **D-Day**

North Atlantic Treaty

The North Atlantic Treaty was a treaty of military alliance committing the United States and eleven other nations to the principle of common security on a regional basis. The purpose of the treaty was to promote the common values of its members and unite their efforts for collective defense. Signed on April 4, 1949, the treaty was unusual in that it was the

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What the North Atlantic Treaty Does

Every peace treaty has articles that define its purpose or point. The North Atlantic Treaty has fourteen:

1. Peaceful resolution of disputes.
2. Pledges the parties to economic and political cooperation.
3. Development of the capacity for defense.
4. Provides joint consultations when a member is threatened.
5. Promises the use of members' military forces for collective self-defense.
6. Defines the areas covered by the treaty.
7. Affirms the members' obligations under the United Nations Charter.
8. Safeguards against conflict with other treaties of member countries.
9. Creates a council to manage the implementation of the treaty.
10. Describes admission procedures of other interested nations.
11. States the ratification (approval) procedure.
12. Allows for reconsideration (review) of the treaty after it has been in force for ten years.
13. Outlines withdrawal procedures for countries that no longer wish to be members of the North Atlantic Treaty.
14. Calls for official copies of the treaty to be kept in the U.S. Archives.

first peacetime alliance America had ever entered into with a European power. The other participating nations were: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United Kingdom.

The year 1949 marked the beginning of a period in history known as the **Cold War** (1949–1991). In a cold war, there is no physical warfare, just intense military rivalry and political tension. In this case, the Cold War was between the Soviet Union and the United States, the world's two primary superpowers. The reason America considered the Soviet Union an enemy is because it was a communist nation. **Communism** is a political system in which the government controls all resources and means of producing wealth. By eliminating private property, this system is designed to create an equal society with no social classes. However, communist governments in practice often limit personal freedom and individual rights. The United States had feared the spread of communism for years.

Under the terms of the North Atlantic Treaty, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed. Its initial purpose was to de-

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fend Western Europe against possible invasion by communist countries. Over the years, other countries joined NATO.

After the end of the Cold War in 1991, NATO extended an invitation to join to former members of the Warsaw Pact. The pact was a communist military alliance established in 1955 by the Soviet Union in response to NATO. In 1999, former Warsaw Pact members Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic (formerly Czechoslovakia) joined NATO. The organization's membership now included nineteen countries. Seven more countries joined in 2004.

As the years passed, NATO extended its peacekeeping efforts beyond Europe. In 2003, peacekeeping forces were deployed to Afghanistan, where U.S. and British troops had been fighting a war on terrorism since October 2001. (See **Afghanistan conflict**.) The American name for the conflict was Operation Enduring Freedom; it was still being fought in mid-2008.

North Carolina

North Carolina was admitted to the Union on November 21, 1789, as the twelfth state. Located in the southeastern United States, it is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, **South Carolina**, **Georgia**, **Tennessee**, **West Virginia**, and **Virginia**.

Italian navigator Giovanni da Verrazano (c. 1485–c. 1528) discovered the North Carolina coast in 1524. Several Native American tribes, including the Iroquois, Cherokee, and Algonquin nations, already inhabited the region. As Europeans settled in later centuries, they brought disease and waged war. These two factors, combined with federal laws that forced the Cherokee to move to what was called **Indian Territory** (present-day **Oklahoma**), decimated the Native American population by 1838.

Roanoke Island was founded in 1585, and an all-male colony of Englishmen was established there. Relations between the settlers and the Native Americans were hostile. When supply ships from England landed on the coast, all but fifteen colonists chose to return to England. Those fifteen men were told to hold the island. This proved an impossible task, as the Indians attacked their foes. The men fled by boat and were never heard from again.

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Another colony—this one including women and children—was established on Roanoke in 1587. The governor, an English artist named John White, left **Roanoke colony** to collect supplies in England. His return was delayed for years by war, and when he reached Roanoke Island in 1590, all the settlers had disappeared. To this day, no one knows for certain what happened to the "Lost Colony."

North Carolina sent more troops than any other state to fight in the American **Civil War** (1861–65). More than one-fourth of all deaths in the **Confederate States of America** claimed the lives of soldiers from North Carolina. Following the war, the state's Conservative Party, which called itself the Democrats, passed laws to ensure the power of landlords over tenants and sharecroppers. They also supported the move to develop and construct **cotton** mills as quickly as possible, a trend that established North Carolina as an industrial state by 1880.

Industry and population

Industry continued to grow throughout and beyond **World War II** (1939–45). More manufacturing plants moved to North Carolina than to any other state between 1897 and 1990.

Nearly nine million people lived in North Carolina in 2006, making it the tenth most populated state in the country. Whites made up 71.4 percent of the total population; African Americans comprised another 21 percent. Most residents lived in or near small to mid-sized cities and towns.

Once an agricultural economy based on **tobacco** production, by the early twenty-first century the state relied on industry, particularly textiles, cigarettes, and furniture. Because of the high percentage of workers in industrial sectors, North Carolina experienced higher unemployment rates than many other states in times of economic recession.

North Carolina was the first state to establish a state university when the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill opened in 1795. It also became home to a number of other reputable colleges, including North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University and Duke University. The state became known for its commitment to the arts and was the first state to fund its own symphony, to establish a state school of the arts, and to endow its own art museum.

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North Dakota

North Dakota joined the Union as the thirty-ninth state on November 2, 1889. With a total area of 70,703 square miles (183,121 square kilometers), it is the nineteenth-largest state. North Dakota lies in the western part of the northcentral United States and is bordered by **South Dakota**, **Montana**, **Minnesota**, and Canada.

Sioux and Ojibwa tribes lived in present-day North Dakota in the seventeenth century. European fur traders came to the region in 1738, and in the early nineteenth century the American Fur Company traded there as well.

Scottish settlers moved to North Dakota in 1812 and established the first white farming settlement. Soon, people of mixed ancestry, particularly Native American and European, joined the Scots. By 1872, most Native Americans were confined to reservations, and white settlers began arriving in large numbers. This was called the Great Dakota Boom, and it ended in the mid-1880s.

A drought chased away many of the original settlers, but they were replaced by Norwegians, Germans, and other European immigrants to whom the federal government had promised the opportunity to thrive if only they worked hard. The Second Boom occurred between 1898 and 1915.

Hardship and recovery

The 1920s brought more drought, bank failures, and political conflict, all of which led to a decrease in the state's population as residents packed their few possessions and moved in hopes of a better life elsewhere. The **Great Depression** (1929–41) made matters worse, but the postwar economy after **World War II** (1939–45) allowed North Dakota to prosper for several decades.

North Dakota suffered yet another drought that began in 1987 and lasted well into the 1990s. More than 5 million acres of land were destroyed or damaged, and flooding followed the drought in 1994. After that came more drought, again followed by floods in 2000.

North Dakota in 2006 claimed 635,867 residents, 91.5 percent of them white, 4.9 percent American Indian or Alaska Native, and 1.4 percent Latino or Hispanic. Twenty-seven percent of residents were between

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the ages of twenty-five and forty-four, and another 29 percent were between the ages of forty-five and sixty-four. Although English was the primary language, some residents spoke German or Spanish as their primary language.

Despite the extreme weather conditions, North Dakota has always been and remains primarily an agricultural state. Wheat production represented one-fourth of the state's total agricultural revenues in the early twenty-first century. Coal mining and oil drilling were industries that experienced growth in the state toward the start of the twenty-first century. The leading industries in the state included industrial machinery, food and wood products, and computer electronic equipment.

NOW

See **National Organization for Women**

Nuclear Bomb

See **Atomic Bomb; *Enola Gay***

Nuclear Energy

Nuclear power, an important source of electricity, can be obtained by two types of nuclear reaction: nuclear fission, the splitting of the nuclei of atoms; and nuclear fusion, the uniting of the nuclei of atoms. Both types of nuclear reactions release huge amounts of energy. Nuclear power plants are able to produce energy by splitting uranium or plutonium atoms in controlled fission reactions, using a device called a nuclear reactor. The heat energy released from the nuclear fission is captured and used to generate electricity. In 2007, there were 435 nuclear power plants in operation worldwide and 37 plants under construction. Nuclear power provided about 17 percent of the world's electricity.

The United States had 104 operating nuclear power plants in 2007, the most of any country in the world. However, public concern over safety issues brought the construction of new nuclear power plants to a virtual halt. Besides the possibility of accidents occurring in nuclear plants, Americans were concerned that other countries might use nuclear power plants, materials, technology, and knowledge to secretly develop nuclear weapons.

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U.S. historical background

In 1954, the U.S. government authorized private ownership of nuclear reactors, paving the way for utility companies to build nuclear power plants. There were fears early on, mainly because most Americans' sole experience of nuclear power had been the devastating atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in 1945, near the end of **World War II** (1939–45), which destroyed the cities, killed an estimated 150,000 people, and injured another 200,000 or more.

By the 1960s, the United States was using increasing amounts of electrical energy produced by burning fossil fuels, such as coal, oil, and natural gas, which created air pollution. Despite safety fears, many people came to support the idea of building nuclear energy plants, which promised to provide cheaper and cleaner energy.

Energy shortage

In 1973 and 1974, countries in the Middle East, the largest supplier of oil to the United States, took part in an oil embargo—a refusal to ship their oil to countries that supported Israel in its conflicts with other nations in the Middle East. The embargo resulted in severe shortages of electricity, gasoline, and heating oil in the United States. Factories and schools shut down, commercial airlines cancelled flights, and long lines at gas stations frustrated drivers. The embargo made it clear that the United States depended too heavily on other countries for its energy.

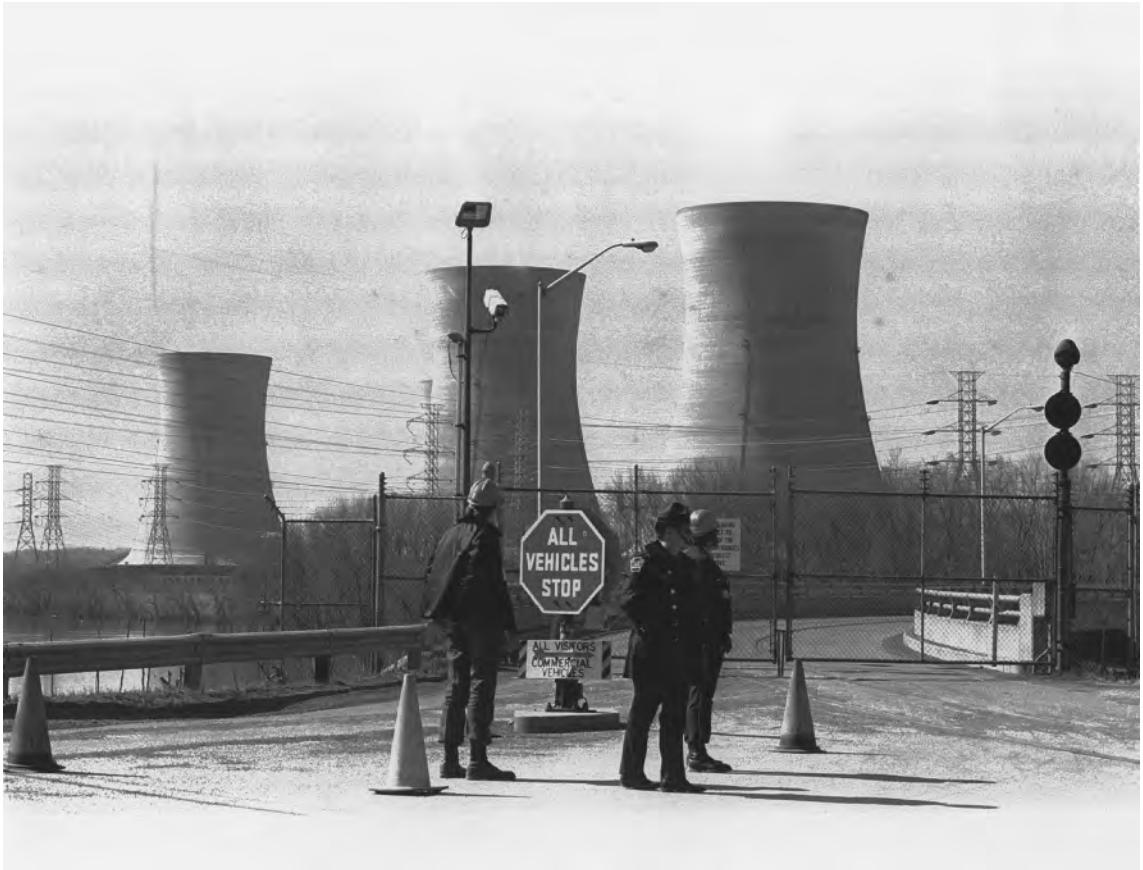
The energy shortage was made worse by the extravagant quantities of oil the United States was consuming. Few U.S.-made cars got more than 10 miles to the gallon, and homes and businesses were poorly insulated and inefficiently designed, and therefore extremely costly to heat or cool.

Utility companies, foreseeing the coming energy shortage, had prepared by constructing nuclear reactors. By 1973, there were twenty-seven functioning reactors in the United States, providing about 5 percent of the nation's power. More than a hundred more plants were in development, though many of these were never built.

Safety issues

Safety remained a pressing issue with nuclear energy. During the 1970s, fires at several different nuclear reactors underscored the potential for a disastrous accident. In 1975, the Union of Concerned Scientists pre-

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Three policemen stand guard at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant after an accident caused a partial core meltdown in 1979. AP IMAGES

sented the White House with a petition signed by two thousand scientists that called for a reduction in the construction of nuclear facilities due to safety issues. Environmental groups challenged the construction of nuclear projects, delaying them and driving up their start-up costs by demanding extensive safety precautions.

In spring 1979 an accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Harrisburg, **Pennsylvania**, resulted in a partial core meltdown. A meltdown in a nuclear reactor is an accident that impedes the cooling of the reactor's core. Without proper cooling, the radioactive fuel (material that gives out harmful radiation) inside the reactor begins to overheat and melt. If it gets hot enough, under certain circumstances the radioac-

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tive fuel could escape in liquid form into the environment, causing untold injury to humans and other life forms. Fortunately, no one was injured at Three Mile Island, but the accident terrified the public and placed the future of the nuclear industry in jeopardy.

Chernobyl

On April 26, 1986, one of four nuclear reactors at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station in the Ukraine exploded. Engineers there accidentally had started an uncontrolled chain reaction in the reactor's core during an unauthorized test. They also had unlawfully turned off the reactor's emergency systems. The reactor exploded with such force that the roof of the building was completely blown off. Eight tons of radioactive materials were scattered about the region immediately surrounding the plant. Airborne radioactivity from the blast rained down on northern Europe. Fallout contaminating farm produce was measured as far away as Scotland. In the immediate aftermath of the catastrophe, more than thirty people lost their lives. Moreover, an estimated twenty thousand more people would eventually die as a result of their exposure to radiation, which can cause cancer and other serious health problems.

Supporters of nuclear energy argued that the accident had little to do with U.S. nuclear systems. The United States did not use the same kind of technology that had been employed at Chernobyl. Furthermore, the Chernobyl reactor lacked a containment building—a safety component required for all U.S. reactors. Nevertheless, many Americans remained uneasy, noting that operator error and equipment failure were always possible. In the nuclear industry, it seemed, the consequences of a single major mistake could be catastrophic.

Anti-nuke movement

During the 1980s, scores of "anti-nuke" organizations warned of the hazards of nuclear energy and protested plant construction and operation. In Seabrook, **New Hampshire**, protesters rallied to oppose the building of two nuclear reactors. By 1987, the utility that owned Seabrook was near financial collapse, in part due to the safety precautions that the protesters demanded. Many other nuclear facilities under construction at that time were shut down before they had even opened, largely due to the excessive costs.

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Nuclear waste disposal

Another problem the industry faced was the disposal of nuclear waste, the radioactive products of nuclear fission. Some parts of nuclear waste can remain hazardous for thousands of years, so it must be kept well out of contact with any living environment. In 1982, Congress passed the Nuclear Waste Policy Act, which called upon the Department of Energy to find a suitable site to bury radioactive waste. But as the United States proposed disposal sites for the waste in the 1980s, local communities raised an uproar.

Ongoing research brought about many new ways to treat nuclear waste. Before it is stored, much nuclear waste today is put through processes that stabilize it into a form that will not decay for many years. There are nuclear-waste disposal sites throughout the world. Research continues to seek the best ways to dispose of nuclear waste.

Besides safety factors, nuclear waste poses a problem because it can be used to create certain types of nuclear weapons, such as the "dirty bomb." A dirty bomb is a crude nuclear device created from radioactive nuclear waste material and conventional explosives that can be set off to spread radioactive material in a targeted area. One of the key factors in nuclear waste storage is making sure it is not possible for enemies to raid the storage site for material to build weapons that can be used against the United States or its allies.

Regulating nuclear weapons development

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union entered into an arms race, with both sides developing thousands of nuclear weapons. During this arms race, in the early 1950s, President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61) decided to try to separate the development of nuclear energy from the development of nuclear weapons. In an address delivered before the United Nations in 1953, he outlined his "Atoms for Peace" proposal to extend the benefits of nuclear technology to all countries in return for their guarantees that such assistance would be used for peaceful purposes only.

In 1957, the United Nations created the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to accelerate the development of nuclear energy throughout the world. The IAEA helps its member countries acquire the necessary skills and materials to share in the benefits of nuclear power.

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An important issue in nuclear energy concerns the disposal of nuclear waste. Low-level nuclear waste, such as the kind shown here, can be disposed of in metal drums whereas some parts of nuclear waste can remain hazardous for thousands of years.
MICHAEL MELFORD/THE IMAGE BANK/GETTY IMAGES

One of IAEA's objectives is to ensure that the materials, services, equipment, facilities, and information that the IAEA makes available for nuclear energy plants are not used for military purposes.

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which was passed by the United Nations in 1968 and came into force in 1970, greatly aided the task of the IAEA. Under the NPT, states without nuclear weapons agreed to accept IAEA safeguards on all their peaceful nuclear activities. These safeguards include detection of the removal of significant quantities of nuclear material from nuclear energy plants for the possible manufacture of nuclear weapons. To ensure that this does not happen, nuclear plants are required to provide strict accounting and reporting in connection with nuclear materials.

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The NPT did not impose this reporting duty on countries that already have nuclear weapons, but the United States voluntarily offered to allow its nuclear facilities to be overseen by the IAEA. Other countries followed suit, and today the IAEA applies its safeguards under voluntary agreements to China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom as well as the United States.

Secret nuclear programs

Secret nuclear weapons development was discovered in places such as Iraq and North Korea during the 1990s. By mid-1997, the IAEA could provide the international community with early warning about the possible removal of nuclear materials from energy plants for weapons purposes. Still, the organization relies on the international community to force nations to comply.

In the aftermath of the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks** on the United States, the IAEA approved a plan to upgrade worldwide protection against acts of terrorism involving nuclear and other radioactive materials.

In the early 2000s, Iran's ambitious plans to construct nuclear power plants raised concerns in the international community about the country's possible plans to produce nuclear weapons.

The future of nuclear power

In the United States in 2007, the issue of constructing more nuclear power facilities remained at a standstill. Proponents argued that construction of new plants should be undertaken to meet growing electricity demands. Coal-fired plants presently produce most of the world's electricity, but release air pollution and greenhouse gases (gases, such as carbon dioxide, ozone, or water vapor, that contribute to the warming of the Earth's atmosphere by reflecting radiation from the Earth's surface). Nuclear power, its advocates argue, does not release these substances.

Opponents of nuclear power respond that greater reductions in air pollution and greenhouse-gas emissions could be achieved by spending the same money on nonnuclear technologies such as efficiency improvements and renewable energy sources such as solar and wind power. They also argue that a massive increase in the number of nuclear power plants

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will bring increased risks of nuclear accidents and of introducing nuclear weapons to countries that do not have them yet.

Nullification Controversy

Just before **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37) was elected president in 1828, Congress passed an extremely high protective tariff. A tariff is a tax applied to imported products—in this case, goods coming into the United States from other countries. Since tariffs raise the prices of imported goods, they make them less competitive within the market of the importing country. Within the United States, the 1828 tariff protected the prices of goods manufactured in the industrial North. The South had no such protections for its agricultural products. Southern farmers and plantation owners were squeezed at both ends, forced to buy manufactured goods from the North at a protected, higher price, and forced to compete on an unprotected, or open, international market with their **cotton** or **tobacco** exports.

Most Southerners hated the tariff, but the cotton planters of **South Carolina** were especially angry. Trade reprisals (acts of retaliation, such as not buying U.S. products) from Europe had taken away the South's best market. South Carolina was already facing an economic disaster. Its land was becoming depleted because of the adverse effects of cotton on the soil, while the rich cotton land in the U.S. Southwest was increasing competition. South Carolina felt it could not withstand the damage the proposed tariff would do to its economy.

Calhoun proposes nullification

South Carolina's most prominent politician, Vice President **John C. Calhoun** (1782–1850), turned to the U.S. **Constitution** to find a way for his state to avoid the tariff. In 1829, he secretly wrote and distributed copies of *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest,* a pamphlet with an unusual interpretation of the Constitution. Calhoun argued that the Union had not been formed directly by the people of the United States; it had been formed through the individual states, of which the people were citizens. The states themselves were the indivisible units of government that had formed the Union for their mutual benefit. According to Calhoun, it was the states, and not the federal government, that were sovereign, or supreme in power.

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Obviously, South Carolina was not benefiting from the Tariff of 1828. Calhoun argued that when a state objected to a law passed by a majority in the Union, as South Carolina objected to the tariff, it had the right to nullify the law (block its enforcement) within its borders until three-quarters of the other states overruled its decision. At the time it was overruled, the state could choose to yield to the will of the other states, or to secede (withdraw) entirely from the Union.

The *Exposition* did not have much immediate effect in the South. As Jackson came into office, it was clear that he was an ardent supporter of the Union, and he voiced his outrage at the concept of nullification. The South had supported him in 1828, and after his election Southerners fully expected him to pull the tariff rates down. But they were mistaken. Jackson did sympathize with Southerners, but he also wanted to preside over a debt-free nation, and tariff revenues were an element in his plan. When Congress passed a new tariff in 1832, its rates were somewhat less than those of the Tariff of Abominations, what the 1828 tariff had come to be known. But they were still considered outrageous in South Carolina.

South Carolina was ready for drastic action. In the state elections of 1832, the "nullies" won a two-thirds majority, and the new state legislature promptly announced that the existing federal tariff was null and void within the borders of South Carolina. It further threatened to withdraw from the Union if the federal government attempted to collect the duties by force.

Jackson responds

President Jackson declared that if South Carolina refused to collect the tariff and send the proceeds to **Washington, D.C.**, he would personally lead an army into the state. For a brief moment, violence loomed. But no other states joined South Carolina. U.S. senator **Henry Clay** (1777–1852) of **Kentucky** proposed an 1833 compromise tariff that would reduce the tariff's existing rate. Despite bitter debate, the tariff was eventually squeezed through Congress.

Neither Jackson nor the "nullies" won a clear victory in this contest, though South Carolina did come away with a lower tariff. After the conflict had subsided, Jackson expressed fears that the next logical step in the assertion of states' rights (the idea that the powers of the federal government are limited and should not be allowed to interfere with the powers

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of the states to govern themselves) was **secession**. His fears proved well founded in 1860, when South Carolina became the first state to secede from the Union at the outset of the American **Civil War** (1861–65). In the end, only the tragedy of the war was able to permanently resolve the question of secession raised in the nullification controversy. In its far-reaching and disastrous consequences for the United States, the concept of nullification became perhaps the most significant issue of Andrew Jackson's presidency.

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O

Barack Obama

Barack Obama is the third African American to serve in the U.S. Senate since the mid-1800s. In 2008, he became the first African American to be considered a serious contender for the office of president of the United States.

Obama was born on August 4, 1961, in **Hawaii**. His father was an African American from Kenya, and his mother was a white woman from **Kansas**. Obama's father returned to his homeland to work for the government while his son was still young, and Obama was raised by his stepfather and mother in Indonesia from the age of six to the age of ten. At that point, he returned to Hawaii to live with his grandparents.

After graduating from Columbia University in 1983, Obama moved to Chicago, **Illinois**, to work as a community organizer on the city's South Side, an area known for its intense poverty. While there, he decided to become a lawyer. He attended Harvard Law School, where he became the first African American president of the reputable *Harvard Law Review.* Obama graduated magna cum laude in 1991 and became a civil rights lawyer in Chicago. At the same time, he taught constitutional law at the University of Chicago Law School.

Active in politics

Obama married Michelle Robinson in 1992. The couple had two daughters. In 1996, Obama was elected to the Illinois Senate as a Democrat. While there, he authored landmark legislation to end racial profiling and sponsored a bill to expand medical coverage for uninsured children. He earned a reputation as an intelligent, charismatic politician with a strong

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Senator Barack Obama is the first African American to win the presidential nomination of a major party. AP IMAGES

work ethic. His vision of progress allowed him to work with members of both the **Democratic Party** and **Republican Party**.

In March 2004, Obama was elected to the U.S. Senate with 53 percent of the vote. He defeated his Republican opponent, Alan Keyes (1950–), another African American. It was the first time in history that two African Americans ran against one another in a Senate general election. Just months later, the Democratic Party invited Obama to be the keynote speaker at its national convention.

While serving in the U.S. Senate, Obama continued to impress fellow politicians and private citizens alike with his ability to find common ground. He distinguished himself as a man who was able to retain civility even as he disagreed with others. His personal philosophy was the basis for his 1995 book titled *Dreams from My Father.* His 2006 book, *The Audacity of Hope,* was a best-seller.

Runs for president

Obama announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president in February 2007. His Democratic rivals included former First Lady and U.S. senator **Hillary Rodham Clinton** (1947–) of **New York** and former U.S. senator John Edwards (1953–) of **North Carolina**. Edwards eventually dropped out of the race, and Obama continued to win key primaries and caucuses over Clinton throughout the early months of 2008. He averaged $1 million in campaign donations per day, making his one of the most-funded campaigns in American political history.

Obama's campaign was relatively clear of scandal, and he maintained a respectful tone throughout. In March 2008, Obama's church, the Trinity United Church of Christ, was highly criticized as anti-American and racist, and it reflected badly on Obama. The church's minister, Reverend Jeremiah Wright (1941–), was often featured in the media because of his controversial sermons. At various times throughout his career, Wright had preached sermons accusing the federal government of

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crimes against African Americans, including perpetuating racism and creating the HIV virus to infect them. Following the release of soundbites of some of Wright's controversial speeches, Obama publicly rejected Wright's racially charged comments but defended him as a friend and mentor. He urged Americans to use the controversy to examine race relations. But further controversial comments made by Wright in speeches in April 2008 resulted in Obama calling Wright's words "a bunch of rants." He distanced himself from Wright and said he was "outraged by the comments."

Obama on the issues

Obama and Clinton took similar stances on nearly ever issue, from educational reform to abortion rights. Where they differed was in their opinions regarding the **Iraq invasion**, which had been raging since 2003. Clinton had initially voted to send American troops to war but changed her mind and later decided that America needed to pull out of Iraq. Obama had consistently voted against waging war in Iraq. Supporters of Obama saw this consistency as proof of the candidate's good judgment.

The race between Obama and Clinton remained incredibly close into the spring. On June 3, Obama gained enough votes to reach the required 2,118 delegates needed to win the nomination. He could then concentrate on campaigning against the Republican nominee, U.S. senator **John McCain** (1936–) of **Arizona**.

Sandra Day O'Connor

Sandra Day O'Connor was born in 1930 in El Paso, **Texas**. She spent much of her childhood on a family ranch in **Arizona**, where she rode horses and helped herd cattle. O'Connor graduated from high school at the age of sixteen and entered Stanford University to study economics and law. There she met her husband, John Jay O'Connor, whom she married shortly after her graduation in 1952.

O'Connor turned to work in government when she realized law firms were hesitant to hire female attorneys. She began work as a deputy attorney for San Mateo County in **California** and then followed her husband to Frankfurt, West Germany, where she worked as a civilian quartermaster corps attorney. When their stint abroad was over, the couple moved to Phoenix, Arizona. They eventually had three sons.

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O'Connor did not work full time while raising her children, but she re-entered the work force as the state's assistant attorney general in 1965. She kept that position for four years.

O'Connor's career centered around state government until she was nominated to the U.S. **Supreme Court** in 1981. Before that, she served in various capacities, including Arizona state senator. O'Connor earned a reputation as hard working, fair, tough, and thoughtful. She was in favor of the death penalty, limited government spending, and access to abortion. She was the first woman to serve as a state senate majority leader in the United States.



Justice Sandra Day O'Connor becomes the first woman to sit on the Supreme Court on September 25, 1981. Chief Justice Warren Burger (left) swears her in as her husband, John O'Connor, watches. AP IMAGES

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In 1974, O'Connor ran for Superior Court judge of Arizona's Maricopa County and won. Five years later, she was appointed to the state court of appeals. In this position, she gained national attention by expressing her judicial philosophy: If state courts have already given a matter full and fair treatment, federal judges should refuse to intervene or hear appeals. She published her thoughts in an article in the Summer 1981 issue of *William and Mary Law Review.* The article communicated clearly O'Connor's belief in states' rights.

O'Connor was the first woman to sit on the Supreme Court. President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) chose her because of her mostly conservative views and her ability to gain public and congressional support. At first, **feminists** supported her for what they believed were her pro-women stances on various issues. But by her second year on the Court, feminists were not as supportive of O'Connor. Although she refused to support the prohibition of abortions, she did uphold a series of laws curbing women's access to legal abortion.

O'Connor retired in 2006 after serving twenty-four years as a Supreme Court judge. Later that year, she was listed among "America's Best Leaders" by *U.S. News & World Report* and the Center for Public Leadership at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Ohio

Ohio joined the Union as the seventeenth state on March 1, 1803. Nicknamed the Buckeye State, Ohio lies in the eastern portion of the northcentral United States and is bordered by **Pennsylvania**, **West Virginia**, **Kentucky**, **Indiana**, **Michigan**, Canada, and Lake Erie.

The European exploration of Ohio began with French nobleman René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle (1643–1687) in 1669. At that time, four Native American tribes lived in the area: the Wyandot, Delaware, Miami, and Shawnee.

The French and the English both claimed ownership of Ohio. This conflict led to the **French and Indian War** (1754–63), which ended in victory for the British. The first permanent settlement was Marietta, established in 1788 by veterans of the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

Ohio reflected the nation's stance on **slavery** in 1861: the northern region of the state opposed slavery while the southern region supported

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it. Ohio sent 320,000 **Union** Army volunteers to fight in the American **Civil War** (1861–65). The Union's most respected generals—**Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885), **William Sherman** (1820–1891), and Philip H. Sheridan (1831–1888)—came from Ohio.

Industry and population

Ohio's manufacturing industries flourished due to war demands, and soon industrial revenues surpassed those of agriculture. The city of Cleveland became home to the Standard Oil Company of **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937) in the 1870s, and Akron was the site of the B.F. Goodrich tire company, which made the city the "rubber capital of the world." Automobile production further developed the oil, rubber, and glass industries throughout the 1920s, but Ohio suffered along with the rest of the nation in the 1930s through the **Great Depression** (1929–41). As happened across the country, the economy in Ohio prospered during the years following **World War II** (1939–45).

Cleveland elected the first African American mayor in U.S. history when it put Carl B. Stokes (1927–1996) in office in 1967. This caused a great deal of tension and unrest in a city already plagued by controversial attempts at integration (the mixing of races). On May 4, 1970, the nation fell into disbelief when thirteen students at Kent State University were shot by the National Guard during a protest against America's involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). Four students died as a result of the **Kent State shooting**.

The 1980s found Ohio turbulent with economic and social upheaval. Unemployment was high, pollution was a major concern due to the heavy industry of the state, and neighborhoods were deteriorating. By the end of the twentieth century, Ohio had begun addressing these and other concerns through federally funded programs and local social services.

Nearly 11.5 million people lived in Ohio in 2006. Whites made up 84.3 percent of the population, African Americans accounted for 11.5 percent, and Hispanics or Latinos comprised another 2.3 percent. Columbus was the largest city, with Cleveland coming in second.

Manufacturing remained the state's primary industry in the early twenty-first century, with transportation equipment and industrial machinery employing the greatest number of people. Ohio was the nation's leader in machine-tool manufacturing and the second-leading

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producer of steel. Despite the emphasis on industry, agriculture continued to be an important economic sector. Grain was a primary crop, and large cattle and hog farm operations were found in the northern-central and western parts of the state.

The Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, the Center of Science and Industry, amusement parks, and numerous state parks and beaches attracted hundreds of thousands of visitors each year.

Oklahoma

Oklahoma, also known as the Sooner State, entered the Union on November 16, 1907, as the forty-sixth state. It is located in the western southcentral United States, surrounded by **Texas**, **New Mexico**, **Colorado**, **Kansas**, **Missouri**, and **Arkansas**. With a total area of 69,956 square miles (181,185 square kilometers), Oklahoma is the eighteenth-largest state in America.

The first explorers to visit Oklahoma were **Spanish conquistadors**, led by **Hernando de Soto** (c. 1500–1542) and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (c. 1510–1554) in the sixteenth century. At that time, very few Native American tribes lived there. In the eighteenth century, French fur trappers paddled up the rivers of Oklahoma.

All of present-day Oklahoma became part of U.S. territory as part of the 1803 **Louisiana Purchase**. By that time, many Native American tribes, including the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole, had been ordered by the federal government to relocate from the southeast United States into the Oklahoma region. These tribes prospered in their new home because the soil was rich, enabling them to grow vast food crops.

Congress opened up the western part of Oklahoma to white settlers in 1889. Soon, homesteaders took control of that portion of the state while Native Americans retained control of the eastern region.

Oklahoma was an oil-producing state when it entered the Union, and it remained the U.S. leader in oil production until 1928. The state experienced great social unrest throughout the 1920s as nearly one hundred thousand residents joined the white supremacist group, the **Ku Klux Klan**. The following decade brought economic depression and drought, causing many residents to leave for **California** in hopes of finding work.

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Oklahoma increased its wealth throughout the 1960s and into the early 1980s as it reemerged as a leader in the oil and gas industry. That changed in 1983, when the oil boom ended and prices fell. Farmers and bankers found themselves in financial straits while industries such as transportation and light manufacturing continued to prosper.

On April 19, 1995, **domestic terrorism** struck Oklahoma when the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City was bombed. The **Oklahoma City federal building bombing** claimed the lives of 168 people, including children. A memorial to the victims of the bombing was erected in April 2000.

Oklahoma's population in 2006 had reached nearly 3.6 million, with 75.4 percent white, 7.4 percent American Indian or Alaska Native, and 6.6 percent Hispanic or Latino.

Agriculture dominated the state until midway through the twentieth century. At that point, manufacturing led the growth areas, followed by wholesale and retail trade, services, and finance. The oil and gas industry continues to contribute to state revenues. The state's military installations—Fort Sill and Tinder Air Force Base—are two of the top five employers in Oklahoma.

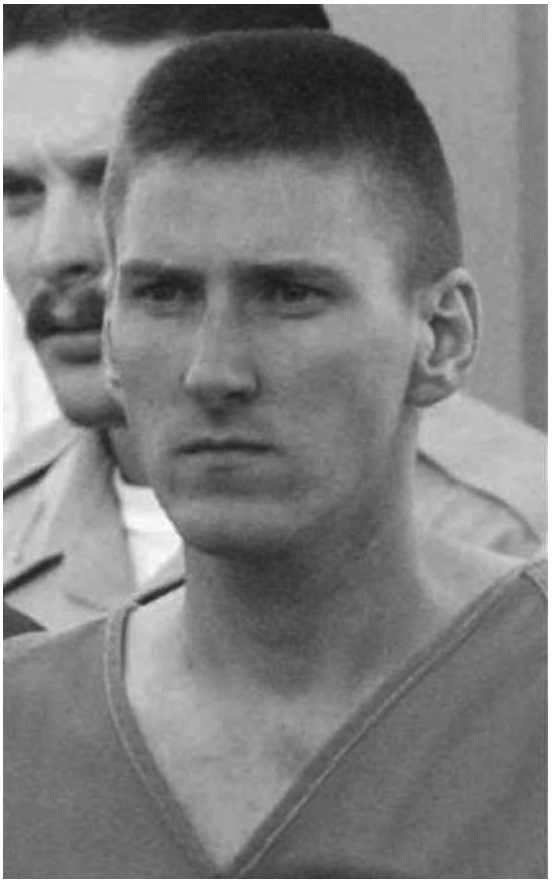
Oklahoma City Federal Building Bombing

On the morning of April 19, 1995, a truck bomb destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, **Oklahoma**. The nine-story building housed fifteen federal agencies, including offices of the Social Security Administration, Housing and Urban Development, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, as well as several defense department offices and a government-run day care center.

The bomb detonated at 9:02 AM, leaving a crater (a bowl-shaped hole) eight feet deep and thirty feet wide and ripping away the front half of the building. All floors fell to ground level, trapping many victims in the rubble. Windows shattered blocks away and other buildings in the area were badly damaged. The nearby YMCA day care center was also destroyed, leaving many children inside seriously injured.

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Rescue efforts began immediately, and more than 3,600 people participated, including police, firefighters, and members of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Quickly assembled medical teams provided first aid, surgery, and counseling. Architects and engineers were brought in to evaluate the stability of the remains of the building and to shore up parts of it with beams. The Oklahoma National Guard worked with police to keep spectators at a distance, and over 1,400 **American Red Cross** volunteers provided aid to families and meals to rescue workers. Rescuers used cranes, hydraulic lifts, and trained dogs to find victims. The nation watched the tragedy unfolding on the television news. One photograph in particular brought home the horror of the bombing—a photo of a firefighter carrying the bloody body of one-year-old Baylee Almon, who died in the blast. When the damage in human lives was later assessed, 168 people—19 of them children—were reported killed and another 800 injured.



American citizens Timothy McVeigh, seen here, and Terry Lynn Nichols were both charged with murder and conspiracy. Timothy McVeigh was put to death by lethal injection on June 11, 2001.
AP IMAGES

The terrorists

The press and public were quick to suspect foreign terrorist organizations of the bombing. Rumors of Arab terrorists circulated. But it was not long before the prime suspects were known, and they were American citizens. Timothy McVeigh (1968–2001), a drifter and former soldier who grew up in a suburb of Buffalo, **New York**, and his former army buddy Terry Lynn Nichols (1955–) of **Michigan**, were both charged with murder and conspiracy. Co-conspirators and friends of McVeigh, Michael and Lori Fortier of Kingman, **Arizona**, struck deals with prosecutors to become government witnesses against him.

McVeigh and Nichols had met in the army. McVeigh had earned distinction during the **Persian Gulf War** in 1991. After his discharge, he developed extremist beliefs that were heavily informed by his reading of the 1978 novel *The Turner Diaries* by Andrew MacDonald, the pseudo-

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The Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, after being destroyed by a truck bomb on April 19, 1995. One hundred sixty-eight people—nineteen of them children—were reported killed and another eight hundred injured. AP IMAGES

nym of William Luther Pierce III (1933–2002), a leader of a neo-Nazi group promoting racism, anti-Semitism, and antigovernment extremism. In the novel, a truck bomb blows up a federal building in circumstances almost identical to those of the Murrah Building bombing.

McVeigh's violence was also motivated by his outrage at the government siege and eventual fire at the Waco, **Texas**, compound belonging to the Branch Davidian religious cult on April 19, 1993, in which eighty-two Branch Davidian members were killed. (See **Domestic Terrorism**). He may have chosen to bomb the Murrah Building because he thought (incorrectly) that the personnel involved at Waco worked in that building. Since the destruction of the Waco compound and the

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Murrah Federal Building both occurred on April 19th, it is likely that his attack was intended as retaliation for the Waco incident.

The aftermath

About six weeks after the bombing, the remains of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building were razed. The site was grassed over to remove the most visible scar of the deadly incident, and the fence surrounding the area became a gathering point for victims and sympathizers. On the fifth anniversary of the bombing, April 19, 2000, a three-acre memorial opened on the site. Visitors to the memorial enter through a gate, where a clock is set forever at 9:01 AM—one minute before the bombing. Inside are 168 empty chairs set up for each one of the people who lost their lives in the bombing. North of the chairs, the Survivor Tree, an elm tree that made it through the blast, is dedicated to the survivors.

On December 23, 1997, a federal jury in Denver, **Colorado**, convicted Nichols of conspiracy and involuntary manslaughter for his role in the 1995 bombing, and he was sentenced to life in prison without parole. In the first federal execution in thirty-eight years, McVeigh was put to death by lethal injection on June 11, 2001. He never showed any remorse for his acts.

The Oklahoma City Federal Building bombing was the worst terrorist attack on U.S. soil until the **September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks**.

Open Door Policy

In the first few years of the twentieth century, several of the world's major countries were trying to establish international influence. Japan, Germany, and France were in competition with the United States to become the supreme dominating power.

In an effort to guarantee that Chinese ports would remain open to American business (at the time, China was not recognized as a sovereign [self-governing] nation among the major powers), President **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) authorized an "Open Door" policy to China. This policy put China on equal status with the United States in terms of trade and business. There would be no restrictions or tariffs (taxes) on Chinese products sold in the United States or vice versa, and the United States would support an independent China.

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The policy became useless at the end of **World War II** (1939–45), when China was recognized as an independent nation. As such, no country had the right to influence or attempt to exclude it from trade. By 1949, China had become a communist country, and the Open Door policy was rejected. **Communism** is an economic theory in which all goods and services are owned and controlled by the government. There is no private ownership of business and no competition. The government did not wish to promote foreign trade or investment. Despite its demise, the Open Door policy remains one of the most important foreign policies ever issued by the federal government.

J. Robert Oppenheimer

J. Robert Oppenheimer is known as the father of the **atomic bomb**. A highly talented physicist, teacher, and administrator, Oppenheimer made significant scientific discoveries and headed the U.S. project that created the bomb that America used against Japan in **World War II** (1939–45). His interest in **communism** early in life and his opposition to nuclear weapons after World War II led to trouble with the U.S. government during the **Red Scare** of the 1950s.

Early life

Julius Robert Oppenheimer was born in New York City on April 22, 1904. His parents were Julius S. Oppenheimer, a German emigrant who became wealthy importing textiles in America, and Ella Friedman, a painter. Oppenheimer's one sibling was Frank, who was eight years younger and also became a physicist.

Oppenheimer showed intellectual talent as a boy, joining the New York Mineralogical Society at eleven years old and delivering a paper to the organization at twelve. He attended the Ethical Culture School in **New York** and then completed his undergraduate degree in three years at Harvard University, graduating in 1925. In just two more years, he earned a doctoral degree in Europe, where he also conducted postdoctoral studies.

Teaching and research

Oppenheimer became a professor of physics at both the California Institute of Technology and the University of California at Berkeley. His

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courses were demanding but popular, and he rose through the academic ranks at both institutions.

Between 1926 and 1942, Oppenheimer conducted research that led to many significant discoveries in theoretical physics, especially in particle physics, which is the study of the elementary particles of matter, and quantum mechanics, the science of the energy of particles.



Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer made significant scientific discoveries and headed the federal U.S. project that created the atomic bomb that America used against Japan to end World War II. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Manhattan Project

With U.S. participation in World War II on the horizon, physicists were working on how to split the nucleus of an atom to release its energy. By October 1941, Oppenheimer had calculated that a critical mass of 220 pounds (100 kilograms) of pure uranium would enable a massive explosion.

Early in 1942, Oppenheimer headed a group of theoretical physicists hired by the U.S. government to work at a secret location near Los Alamos, **New Mexico**. Their task—named the **Manhattan Project**—was to develop an atomic bomb for use in the war. Using plutonium as the radioactive material, the physicists first tested an atomic bomb in a remote New Mexico desert on the morning of July 16, 1945. Oppenheimer later wrote that on seeing the explosion, he thought of the line "I am become death, the Shatterer of Worlds" from the Hindu text the Bhagavad Gita.

Oppenheimer served on a panel of four physicists assigned to help the military consider whether to begin an armed invasion of Japan or launch an atomic attack. The invasion would cost many American lives, while the atomic attack would kill many Japanese civilians. The panel recommended the atomic attack. Oppenheimer later regretted the advice, feeling it was wrong to kill so many civilians.

Later life and career

After the war, Oppenheimer continued to serve the U.S. government, including as an advisor to the Atomic Energy Commission.

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Oppenheimer personally opposed a nuclear arms race. He was against developing the hydrogen bomb and in favor of international treaties limiting nuclear arms.

Oppenheimer's opinions made him enemies in **Washington, D.C.** The 1950s were the time of the Red Scare, when fear of Soviet Union communism gripped much of the country. In the 1930s, Oppenheimer had been affiliated with communist organizations. U.S. officials, angered by Oppenheimer's stance against nuclear weapons, used this to hold a hearing in 1954 to revoke his security clearance to work on secret federal projects. The panel in charge of the hearing found Oppenheimer to be a loyal citizen, but revoked his clearance due to "defects of character."

Oppenheimer worked as a physicist for the remainder of his life. In 1963, he received the prestigious Enrico Fermi Award from President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63). It was awarded to Oppenheimer in recognition of his life's work and to try to mend relations between him and the U.S. government. A lifelong smoker, Oppenheimer died of throat cancer on February 18, 1967.

Oregon

Oregon, also known as the Beaver State, entered the Union as the thirty-third state on February 14, 1859. It is the tenth-largest state in America, with a total area of 97,073 square miles (251,418 square kilometers). Located on the Pacific coast of the northwestern United States, Oregon is surrounded by **Washington**, **Idaho**, **Nevada**, **California**, and the Pacific Ocean.

Historians believe the first European to visit Oregon was **Francis Drake** (c. 1540–1596) in 1578. In 1778, British captain James Cook (1728–1779) explored the Northwest and named numerous Oregon capes. The **Lewis and Clark Expedition** traveled to Oregon and spent the winter of 1805–6 there. The first permanent white residents established a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811, and Oregon became a popular hunting ground for beaver.

Oregon's population grew steadily in the twentieth century and the state became a leading lumber producer. After **World War II** (1939–45), the state's economy grew due to expansion of the aluminum and tourism

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industries as well as the development of an electronics industry. Despite these changes, state revenue still remained largely dependent upon Oregon's natural resources.

In the late 1990s, Oregonians suffered from high unemployment rates (the third highest in the nation) because the state had been counting on the construction of high-technology plants to boost the economy. When those plans fell through, poverty rose from less than 10 percent in 1990 to over 15 percent in 1999.

The 1990s saw a decline in logging, which heavily impacted Oregon's rural regions and resulted in a major decrease in tax money for education. By 2003, the state was facing a $2.5 billion budget deficit. Environmental protection had become a major concern as the state's forests were not being renewed or sustained. By 2005, unemployment was still higher than the national average.

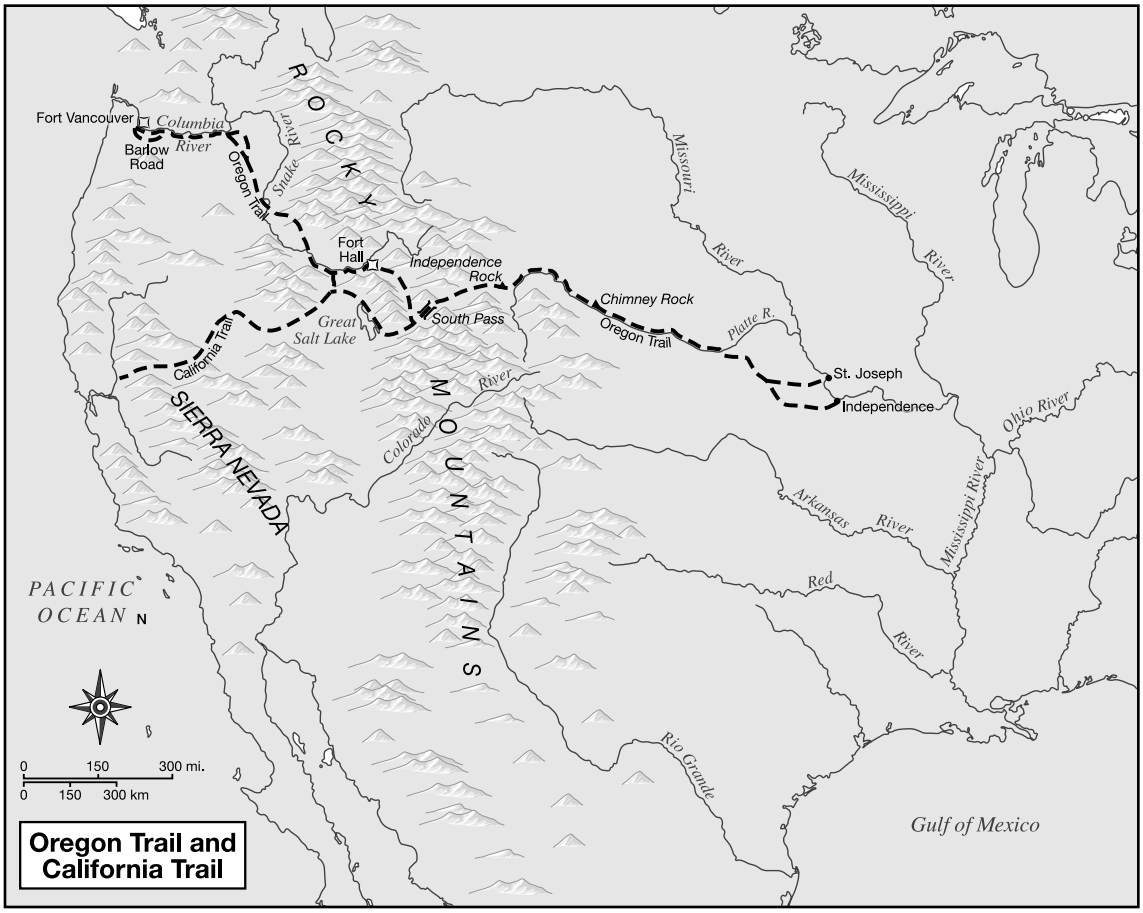
Oregon's total population in 2006 was just over 3.7 million. Portland was the biggest city, followed by the capital city of Salem. The population is overwhelmingly white (86.8 percent); 9.9 percent is Hispanic or Latino and 3.6 percent is of Asian descent.

Almost half (48 percent) of Oregon is covered in forests; more than 60 percent of those forests are publicly owned. The state's abundance of natural features and recreational opportunities make it a major tourist attraction. In fact, travel and tourism combined is the state's third-largest employment sector. Visitors enjoy fishing on the coast and in many of the 225 state park systems.

Oregon Trail

The Oregon Trail was a 2,000-mile route running overland across the North American continent from the Missouri River in the East to the Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest. It was used primarily from the 1840s through the 1870s for migration by wagon, horse, or foot to Oregon Territory, which comprised present-day **Oregon**, **Idaho**, **Washington**, and parts of **Montana** and **Wyoming**. Travelers going to **California** could take the Oregon Trail to Idaho, where a connecting trail would take them into California. Most of the early travelers along the route sought a new home and better opportunities in the West.

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A map showing the Oregon Trail, which was a 2,000-mile route from the Missouri River in the East to the Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest. THE GALE GROUP

The trailblazers

The Oregon Trail originated in the routes established by extensive Native American trade networks that had existed for centuries. Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) and William Clark (1770–1838) were the first U.S. explorers to use the Indian trails to find their way across the continent to the Pacific Coast in 1803. The route established by the **Lewis and Clark expedition**, though, was too rough to be traveled by wagon. It was primarily fur trappers and frontiersmen on horseback and on foot who forged the Oregon Trail from the earlier routes.

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The first people to travel the Oregon Trail in covered wagons were missionaries. Presbyterian missionaries Marcus Whitman (1802–1847) and Narcissa Whitman (1808–1847) made the trip with three other missionaries in 1836, settling among the Cayuse Indians in the Walla Walla River valley in present-day Washington State. The Methodist Church sent missionaries to Oregon in 1837 and 1840. Though the missionaries had little effect on the religious beliefs of the Native Americans, their success in getting to Oregon via the overland route made a large impact on friends and family back home.

Westward fever

In 1841, a few small wagon trains set off from Independence, **Missouri**, on the Oregon Trail. They were heading for California, then a sparsely populated region of Mexico. Only about 35 people finished the long, difficult journey. The next year, 125 people in wagons made the trip to Oregon, which the United States and Britain jointly occupied. These overland successes launched the spirit of westward fever. Suddenly in 1843, the Oregon Trail was crowded with travelers. That year 1,000 people in 120 wagons set out on the Oregon Trail. In 1844, 1,500 people made the trip, arriving in either Oregon or California. The numbers continued to dramatically increase. In 1846, there were so many U.S.settlers in Oregon that England knew it could not defend its claim there and, after lengthy negotiations, ceded the territory to the United States.

Prior to 1849, most of the travelers on the Oregon Trail were heading for Oregon. This changed after 1848, following the **California gold rush** and after the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) had resulted in Mexico ceding California and **New Mexico** to the United States. Thousands poured into California—most by sea, but many using the Oregon Trail and the California connecting route.

The route

Most people planning to migrate west on the Oregon Trail were people of middle income—many of them families. The migration usually started in early spring with the sale of their house or farm. With the proceeds, they outfitted their wagon with hundreds of pounds of food—enough to last them through the difficult six-month journey. They also needed oxen to pull the wagon, and possibly other livestock for food. They loaded their wagons with tools, equipment, and a few family treas-

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ures, and, leaving behind everything they had ever known for an unknown land, set off for the closest port on the Missouri River.

When they reached a port, the travelers boarded their wagon on a steamship and sailed to a "jumping-off point"—usually Independence, St. Joseph, or Westport in Missouri or Omaha or Council Bluffs in **Nebraska**. Each spring, thousands of wagons would gather in these towns. Arriving travelers arranged to join a wagon train, an organized caravan of wagons with a guide to lead the way across the continent. After enough members of a new wagon train had assembled at the jumping-off point, they would meet to elect officers, adopt rules of conduct, and select their guide. On an agreed-upon day, the wagon train began its journey. The route would become so crowded with wagons that the first several days were often spent simply getting all the wagons on the road.

From Independence, Missouri, the wagon trains traveled northwest to Fort Kearny, Nebraska. From there, they followed the Platte and North Platte Rivers west and northwest to Fort Laramie in southeast **Wyoming**. Continuing westward along the North Platte, travelers arrived at South Pass, located on the southeastern end of the Rocky Mountains' Wind River Range. The Oregon Trail then ran southwest to Fort Bridger, Wyoming. There the Mormon Trail diverged to the southwest into **Utah**. (See also **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**.) Travelers bound for the Pacific Northwest continued along the Oregon Trail, following the Snake River through Idaho. The route turned northwest to Fort Boise, Idaho. From there, settlers made the difficult crossing through the Blue Mountains to Walla Walla, Washington. The last leg of the journey followed the Columbia River west to Fort Vancouver and into the Willamette Valley of Oregon.

Life on the trail

The 2,000-mile journey on the Oregon Trail was exhausting and dangerous. The covered wagons were uncomfortable and crowded. People slept in the wagons or in tents next to them. They got up early and were traveling by 7:00 AM. Except for the drivers, most people walked, and the wagon trains plodded along at walking pace, covering 15 to 25 miles on a good day. In the evening, the wagons in the train formed a large circle, with the livestock inside, to keep them from wandering off or being stolen by Native Americans. River crossings presented dangerous and

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difficult breaks in the daily routine.

As long as a caravan was simply passing through, Indian attacks were rare, but the danger of accidents—particularly drownings and wagon accidents—and disease, especially cholera, caused by infected drinking water, was very high. One out of ten settlers who started out for Oregon did not reach their destination, most because they had died en route.

From the first days of Oregon Trail migration, several forts offered emigrants advice, provisions, and links to home. Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger in present-day Wyoming, Fort Hall and Fort Boise in present-day Idaho, and Fort Walla Walla in present-day Washington were places to get new livestock and resupply wagons, leave messages that might be taken east, and talk with people who knew the trail.

The rise of the railroad

It is impossible to estimate how many settlers used the Oregon Trail over the years. By 1860, about fifty-three thousand had traveled overland to Oregon—ten thousand of them in 1852 alone. Gold strikes in Idaho and the beginnings of settlement in central and eastern Oregon kept the trail busy in the 1860s. Then in 1869, the transcontinental railroad system was completed, linking eastern railroads with California for the first time. As more people traveled across country by train, the importance of the Oregon Trail greatly diminished. By the end of the nineteenth century, parts of the road had vanished from disuse.

Organized Crime

Organized crime refers to highly organized businesses devoted to illegal activities. Gangs, known as cartels or families, maintain secrecy, loyalty, and special favors through the threat and use of violence. With bribery, or buying favors, gangs manage to protect their activities from law enforcement. Illegal businesses operated by organized crime gangs involve drugs, gambling, prostitution, and, during **Prohibition** (1920–33), alcohol.

While alcohol was illegal during Prohibition as a result of the **Eighteenth Amendment** of the U.S. **Constitution**, there was little popular support for the law. Demand for alcohol actually increased, and supplying liquor became a lucrative business. Making, transporting, and delivering alcohol required manpower. Because each step needed to be

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carefully coordinated with the next, gangs of criminals formed in highly organized businesses. Their success encouraged competition, and organized crime flourished.

As organized crime gangs competed for more business, violent encounters became common. In cities like Chicago, **Illinois**, gangs became powerful influences in many other businesses and in politics. Leaders of gangs became famous and popularly recognized. Al Capone (1899–1947) and Bugs Moran (1891–1957) are still well-known nearly a century after their criminal activity. Although Prohibition ceased to exist following passage of the **Twenty-first Amendment**, which repealed the Eighteenth Amendment, organized crime became well-established and continues to this day.

Organized crime existed in small pockets of the United States before Prohibition, but that era allowed organized crime to spread across the nation. By 1934, powerful independent organizations from across the nation's cities were uniting into a national syndicate. Bootlegging was replaced by other illegal endeavors. Selling narcotics or stolen goods and managing gambling, prostitution, and other activities provide organized crime units with business today.

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Pacific Theater

During **World War II** (1939–45), the United States fought battles in several regions of the world. These regions were called theaters. Battles with the Japanese mostly occurred in the Pacific Theater, the waters and islands of the Pacific Ocean.

The battles in the Pacific Theater were difficult and costly for American forces. At first, American war efforts were focused on stopping the Germans in Europe, and American forces in the Pacific were expected to perform with less manpower and supplies. As a result, many American soldiers lost their lives. The major battles occurred on the islands of Midway, Bataan, Coral Sea, Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa. (See **Battle of Midway** and **Battle of Iwo Jima**.)

Beginning in February 1943, however, the Americans began to force the Japanese back to Japan through an "island-hopping" campaign. The Americans concentrated their efforts and their few resources on one island at a time, advancing island by island, liberating each one from Japanese forces.

Progress was slow at first, but with time and determination the American forces advanced. More men and supplies became available as American troops also gained ground in Europe. By the fall of 1944, the Americans in the Pacific had pushed the Japanese back to the Philippines. They gathered full control of the islands by early 1945. American forces were then in position to attack Japan itself. By then, the Japanese forces were severely weakened and hardly fought back.

Through great skill and determination, the American troops in the Pacific overcame the lack of manpower and supplies to defeat the

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Japanese aggressors. The battles in the Pacific Theater are notable not only for their difficulty, but also for America's eventual successes in spite of the odds. The battles in the Pacific Theater came to an end in early August 1945 after the United States dropped **atomic bombs** on Japan's mainland cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and Japan surrendered.

Panama Canal

For years, American naval leaders wanted to build a passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans through Central America. The United States owned territory on both sides of the isthmus (a narrow strip of land that is bordered on two sides by water that connects two larger land areas), so a canal took on even greater importance as it would drastically reduce the amount of shipping and travel time.

Building of the canal across the Isthmus of Panama (then a territory of Colombia) had officially begun in 1878 by Ferdinand-Marie de Lesseps (1805–1894), the French engineer who had built the Suez Canal in Egypt. Construction came to a halt when laborers contracted tropical diseases and engineering problems arose. Even so, a French company retained rights to the project, so no one else could continue the construction. President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) offered to buy those rights for $40 million. He also offered to pay $10 million for a 50-mile stretch across the isthmus, but Colombia refused. Roosevelt correctly predicted a revolution in Panama against Columbian rule. He then sent a naval ship and military troops to support Panama's rebellion. When Roosevelt presented the rebels with the $10-million offer, they happily accepted, and the United States had total control of a 10-mile canal zone.

Thousands of workers began digging the canal. For ten years, thirty thousand workers, most from the West Indies, were paid 10 cents an hour for ten-hour shifts. Many died of yellow fever, a disease carried by mosquitoes. Many Americans felt Roosevelt had acted in an unconstitutional manner in obtaining the canal zone. They did not approve of the fact that the president negotiated with rebels and they felt he took advantage of the conflict going on in Panama to get what he wanted. Still, work continued. On August 15, 1914, the Panama Canal opened for business. In addition to building the canal, workers also constructed three railroads and created a man-made lake.

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On August 15, 1914, the Panama Canal, which cost $400 million, opened and was considered one of the world's greatest engineering projects. AP IMAGES

The project cost $400 million and was considered one of the world's greatest engineering projects. By 1925, more than five thousand merchant ships had traveled the Panama Canal. The waterway shortened the trip from San Francisco, **California**, to New York City by nearly 8,000 miles. Equally as important, the canal became a major military asset that made the United States the dominant power in Central America.

The Panama Canal remained an American asset until December 31, 1999, at which time it (and its surrounding land) was handed over to Panamanian authorities. During his presidency, **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) had signed a transfer agreement. For the twenty years between the signing of the agreement and the actual transfer, a transitional committee ran the canal. An American leader led the committee during the first decade, followed by a Panamanian leader for the second. Along with the canal, Carter offered Panama his apologies and acknowledged that although Roosevelt's vision was to be praised, the feelings of

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American colonialism (control by one power over a dependent area or people) in Panama created controversy. The agreement Carter worked out holds that the United States can interfere in the operation of the canal if it loses its neutrality or threatens American interests in any way.

Panic of 1893

Not since the depression of 1873 had America experienced economic hardship like that felt by Americans of all socioeconomic classes in 1893. A depression is a long-term economic state characterized by high unemployment, minimal investment and spending, and low prices. This depression was one of the worst in American history. The unemployment rate (percentage of the total working population that was out of a job) exceeded 10 percent for half a decade, something that had never happened before and would not happen again until the **Great Depression** (1929–41). No city or region was left unscarred. One of every four workers in **Pennsylvania** was unemployed; in Chicago, **Illinois**, one hundred thousand people were sleeping in the streets.

Causes of the depression

The depression in 1893 was ushered in with financial panic as the value of American currency (money) weakened. Since the time of President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97), the U.S. monetary system had been based on bimetallism, or the use of both gold and silver coins. But the **California gold rush** in 1849 resulted in the discovery of such large quantities of gold that its value decreased. Before 1849, gold had been sixteen times more valuable than silver.

People soon began melting their silver dollars and using the metal for other purposes, such as jewelry. In 1873, Congress ceased making silver coins, and America was placed on a "gold standard." A series of silver strikes in the San Juan Mountains of **Colorado** and nearby regions that began in 1875 and continued throughout the 1880s caused the price of silver to fall even further. In spite of this decrease in value, silver mining as an industry continued to grow. Farmers, however, were going further into debt as prices per bushel of their crops continued to decrease quickly because of increased foreign competition and supply. In order to remain competitive, farmers had to continue lowering their prices, yet

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they still had monthly payments to make on expensive farm equipment and mortgages.

The Sherman Silver Act

To help balance the economy, President **Benjamin Harrison** 1833–1901; served 1889–93) agreed to buy 4.5 million ounces of silver every month at market price. The U.S. Treasury, in turn, would issue notes that could be redeemed in either gold or silver.

This plan was known as the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. The legislation was named after the Republican who initiated it, U.S. senator John Sherman (1823–1900) of **Ohio**. Although the idea may have been solid, in reality the act did not work very well. The increased supply of silver forced down the market price. Mine owners tried to make up for their loss by cutting the wages of their miners and laborers, a move that led to unrest and violence throughout the mining regions. As holders of the notes understandably redeemed them for gold rather than silver (thereby getting more money for each note), the federal gold reserve was steadily drained.

Three weeks after **Grover Cleveland** (1837–1908; served 1885–89 and 1893–97) was sworn in as president for the second time in 1893, the gold reserves dipped below $100 million. This event weakened an already unsteady trust in the federal government. The Sherman Act was repealed, but it was too late. Silver mines were shut down across the mining regions. The price of silver per ounce dropped from 83 cents to 62 cents in one four-day period. Banks failed by the hundreds, and property values decreased to nearly nothing. The American economy was in serious trouble.

Trouble on the rails

Another factor in the 1893 depression was a decrease in the amount of money being invested in railroads. Between 1870 and 1890, the **railroad industry** accounted for 15 to 20 percent of all federal investments. Tens of thousands of miles of track were laid, and loans were approved for additional construction and equipment purchase.

Private investors in America and Europe bought stock in U.S. railroads. It seemed like a sure thing—an easy way to make money. Stocks were bought for a particular amount, and if the company did well, each

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stock earned money. With the increase in **immigration**, the explosion in the railroad construction industry, and the increasing settlement of the West, investors believed they could not lose. But they did lose, and in a big way.

The railroad system was overbuilt and overfunded. Companies were often mismanaged. In 1892, just 44 percent of all railroad stocks offered investors received a return (profit) on their investment. European investors pulled out before the situation got worse. The Philadelphia and Reading Railroads were the first companies to file for bankruptcy (a legal declaration that a company cannot pay its debts. By May 1893, more railroads shut down; 156 railroads would fail before the crisis was over. Without the railroads, industries like iron, steel, and farming had no way of shipping their products. America fell into a serious economic depression marked by high unemployment rates and tens of thousands of business failures.

Plight of the farmer

Farmers were perhaps the hardest hit by the depression of 1893. Prior to that year, the agriculture industry had enjoyed expansion and increased profits, thanks to improved farming methods, the introduction of machinery that could do a worker's job in half the time, and the railroads, which opened new regions to business. Between 1870 and 1890, the number of U.S. farms rose to 4.5 million, an increase of nearly 80 percent. By the end of the nineteenth century, that number increased yet again by 25 percent. Across the nation, about 29 percent of farmers were paying on mortgage loans (money loaned to them by banks so that they could live on and farm their property). One expert estimated that by 1890, 2.3 million farm loans were worth more than $2.2 billion. During that year, **Kansas**, **Minnesota**, **Nebraska**, **North Dakota**, and **South Dakota** had more farm mortgages than they did families.

But the depression was preceded by six years of bad weather and drought. Crop seasons were shortened, or in some cases, nonexistent. Before farmers understood the importance of sustainable farming methods (which includes crop rotation to decrease the chances of disease and to maximize crop output), they farmed land in such a way that it no longer produced healthy or big crops. The combination of nature and ignorance proved too much for many farmers. On top of that, they were

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expected to take into consideration the dismal economic conditions across the country and accept lower prices for their product. Wheat prices fell 20 cents per bushel in 1892. When crop prices dropped below the cost of production, farmers chose instead to use their crops for firewood.

Different regions, different hardships

The depression did not affect all farmers in the same way. Those in the West and on the Plains suffered most in that they were unable to obtain credit from banks and stores. Weather in this region was harsher than climates elsewhere, so the chances for making a profit were uncertain, and lenders knew that. They developed tougher standards regarding farm loans, and most farmers did not meet those standards. Unable to pay their existing loans, farmers knew it would be impossible to get new loans. Creditors began foreclosing on (taking away) farms. Between 1889 and 1893, more than eleven thousand Kansas farms went into foreclosure. Western farmers were being evicted from (thrown out of) their homes and farms; many were homeless.

Other farmers went into tenancy, meaning they no longer owned their own farm, but they farmed someone else's land and were paid a share of the harvest. Farm tenancy increased from 25 percent across the country in 1880 to 36 percent by 1900. The very farmers who had been encouraged to borrow money as the Plains and western regions were being settled spent the last decade of the nineteenth century losing their farms or farming for someone else. It was a miserable existence.

The situation in the South was somewhat different. Once slaves were freed after the American **Civil War** (1861–65), they usually refused to work land in gangs under the supervision of an overseer. It reminded them too much of the slave conditions they had just escaped. With this attitude, commercial farming was out of the question. Most wanted to own their own land and equipment. The problem was not that land was not available; it was. Huge plantations had been broken into smaller properties. The outlawing of **slavery** made money scarce, however, so freedmen had nothing with which to purchase a plot of land.

Many landowners let freedmen farm the land and agreed to accept a portion of the crop, rather than money, as rent. These owners also became merchants who sold farmers seed, equipment, and other neces-

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sities. As collateral (something of value used to insure repayment of debt), farmers signed a mortgage on their crop. Because the only crop most landowners wanted was **cotton**, farmers were without food for their families. They had to buy food from local stores. After 1870, cotton prices fell, and farmers did not earn enough to settle their debts. The merchant landowners then forced them into signing yet another mortgage on the next year's crop. It was a never-ending cycle that led farmers only further into debt.

This system made tenant farmers of both African American and white men in the South. For the whites, tenancy was especially demeaning because it forced them into a status historically associated with slaves. It also represented a loss of freedom that hurt their pride. With credit nearly impossible to attain and few skilled laborers in the region, the South's economy was uncharacteristically hopeless.

Farmers in the Midwest and Northeast, though affected by the depression, faired better than those in other regions. These farmers had been able to pay off their mortgages because of the inflation of the Civil War economy. During the war, there was a general increase in the price of goods, including crops. Farmers were getting more money per bushel. Even though there was less money in circulation at the time, people still had to eat, so farmers were making money.

These farmers had another advantage because they lived among a more developed railroad system. They were less likely to be charged higher rates than their fellow farmers in the West and South were. These lower rail costs allowed the farmers to plant grain, which grew well in nearly any soil. Because they lived near cities and growing urban areas, the farmers of the Midwest and Northeast were also able to engage in dairy farming. Cows could survive on land that had been overused. Milk could be transported before it had time to spoil, because the distance from the farms to the cities was short.

Obtaining credit was much easier in these regions as well. Most farmers had lived in the area their entire lives. They knew the bankers and the local agricultural conditions. They knew how to successfully farm in those local conditions and knew which crops would sell.

Recovery from the depression began in mid-1897, but the American economy was not prosperous again for another year.

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Paris Peace Accords

By 1967, the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) had been going on for thirteen years and Americans were more against their country's participation than ever before. Five hundred thousand American troops were overseas, fighting a war few believed was winnable. (The Vietnam War had pitted the Democratic Republic of Vietnam [North Vietnam] against the U.S.-backed Republic of Vietnam [South Vietnam]).

In 1968, North Vietnam agreed to enter into peace talks with the United States, led by President **Lyndon Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69). The talks, which took place in Paris, France, were not going well, and within eight months **Richard Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) had taken over the U.S. presidency. Throughout his campaign, Nixon had promised "peace with honor," yet the talks stalled for three-and-one-half years.

In February 1970, national security advisor **Henry Kissinger** (1923–) began secret one-on-one meetings with North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho (1911–1990). These meetings were not part of the formal peace process. Like the peace talks, however, progress was slow. By the summer of 1972, Nixon wanted to put Vietnam behind him so that he would be free of it for the next presidential election. For the same reason, the president was working on improving relations with China and the Soviet Union. North Vietnam worried that it would be isolated in international politics if the three larger countries worked through their tensions. Peace would also mean that Vietnam could rid itself of U.S. military presence.

By October 1972, a tentative cease-fire agreement was reached. The accord, or agreement, promised the withdrawal of American troops and freedom for American prisoners of war. The United States would provide economic assistance as Vietnam rebuilt its infrastructure. Nixon suspended all bombing north of the twentieth parallel on October 22. It looked as if peace had finally arrived.

Nguyen Van Thieu (1923–2001), leader of South Vietnam, had not been consulted during these negotiations, and he was furious. Talks broke off on December 13 when Thieu demanded changes to which North Vietnam could not agree. Nixon, tired of the situation, promised Thieu $1 billion in military equipment and assured him that the United

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States would come to his aid if North Vietnam did not adhere to the agreement.

To ensure North Vietnam understood the seriousness of the United States's commitment to South Vietnam, Nixon bombed the country relentlessly for twelve consecutive days and nights. Known as the Christmas bombing, the event included 35,000 tons of bombs that wiped out warehouses, oil tanks, factories, power plants, transportation terminals, and airfields. Eighty percent of North Vietnam's electrical capacity was destroyed.

Talks resumed in Paris on January 8, 1973, and the Paris Peace Accords was signed on January 27. The accords did not end the Vietnam War, however, as hostilities continued between North and South Vietnam. It was not until the fall of Saigon (the capital of South Vietnam) on April 30, 1975, that hostilities finally ended and the countries were united as one.

Rosa Parks

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white passenger on a racially segregated bus in Montgomery, **Alabama**. Her simple action led to the successful **Montgomery bus boycott** by African American riders that forced the city to desegregate its bus system.

Parks was born Rosa McCauley on February 4, 1913. For most of her childhood, she lived with her mother, brother, and grandparents in Pine Level, Alabama. Her mother and grandparents worked hard to provide her with the necessities of life while attempting to shield her from the harsh realities of racial **segregation**. Parks attended the Montgomery Industrial School for Girls, graduated from the all-black Booker T. Washington High School in 1928, and attended Alabama State Teachers College in Montgomery for a short time.

Active in the early civil rights movement

In 1943, Parks became one of the first women to join the Montgomery chapter of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP). She worked as a youth adviser and served as secretary for the local group from 1943 to 1956. In addition, she worked with the Montgomery Voters League to increase black voter registration. During the summer of 1955, Parks accepted a scholarship for a workshop for

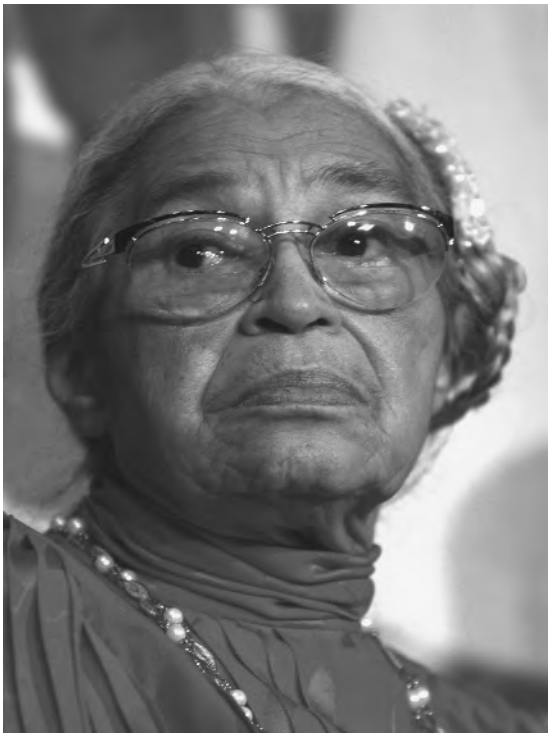
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community leaders on school integration at the Highlander Folk School in **Tennessee**. It was an important experience for Parks. She learned the practical skills of organizing and mobilizing and experienced harmony among blacks and whites that motivated her activism for years to come.

December 1, 1955

City buses in Montgomery were segregated in the 1950s. White passengers were given the front seats. Even if no white riders boarded, African Americans were not allowed to sit in those seats. If white passengers filled their allotted seats, black riders—who had to pay the same amount of bus fare—had to give their seats to the whites. Bus drivers were instructed to have African Americans who disobeyed the rules arrested and fined.

Parks was working at a department store as a tailor's assistant in 1955 and took the bus home from work, as usual, on the night of December 1. She took a seat directly behind the white section. When the white section filled, she was asked to yield her seat to a white passenger. Parks refused. The bus driver threatened to have her arrested but she remained where she was. He stopped the bus and Parks was arrested.



By refusing to give up her bus seat, Rosa Parks inspired a successful boycott of the Montgomery buses that forced the city to desegregate its bus system. PAUL J. RICHARDS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

The boycott

Certainly Parks's case was not unique; African Americans had been arrested for disobeying the segregation laws many times before. However, the 1954 **Supreme Court** decision in ***Brown vs. Board of Education***, which ruled that segregation in public schools was illegal, had encouraged African Americans to fight more boldly for the end of racial segregation in every area of American life. Parks, who was active in the **civil rights movement**, knew that her action on the bus could be the start of a protest movement in Montgomery. Indeed, when news of Parks's arrest spread, NAACP officials and Montgomery church leaders quickly decided it was time to take action. They asked Montgomery's black riders—who comprised over 70 percent of the bus company's busi-

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ness—to stop riding the buses until the company revised its policies toward African American riders.

Meeting at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, the Montgomery ministers and their congregations formed the Montgomery Improvement Association and elected the young Rev. **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) as president. Parks was actively involved in sustaining the boycott and for a time served on the executive committee of the Montgomery Improvement Association. For over a year, black people in Montgomery carpooled, took taxis, and walked to work. The boycott hurt the bus companies financially, brought the nation's attention to the problem of segregation, and resulted in a ruling by the Supreme Court that segregation on city buses was unconstitutional. It was one of the early successes in the African American civil rights movement, encouraging the nonviolent protest movement that followed.

Life in Detroit

Parks lost her job as a result of the boycott and moved to Detroit, **Michigan**, in 1957. There, John Conyers (1929–), an African American member of the U.S. House of Representatives, employed her as his receptionist and then staff assistant for twenty-five years. She continued her work with the NAACP and another civil rights organization, the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC). She also served as a deaconess at the Saint Matthew African Methodist Episcopal Church. She participated in numerous marches and rallies, including the 1965 **Selma to Montgomery civil rights marches**.

Parks became known as the mother of the civil rights movement. She won many awards, including, in 1999, the Congressional Gold Medal, the nation's highest civilian honor. In December 2000, the 50,000-square-foot Rosa Parks Library and Museum, featuring a life-size bronze sculpture of Parks, opened in Montgomery.

Parks died at the age of ninety-two in Detroit. The cities of Montgomery and Detroit both honored her passing by reserving the front seats of the city buses with black ribbons. Her casket was taken by city bus to **Washington, D.C.**, where it lay in state in the Capitol. More than fifty thousand people lined up to view the casket. Thousands more showed up to honor her funeral procession in Detroit.

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PATRIOT Act

See **USA PATRIOT Act**

George Patton

General George Patton served on behalf of the Allied forces (**Allies**) during **World War II** (1939–45). His leadership was marked by bold and imaginative campaigns through Sicily, France, and Germany. He inspired troops under him to perform with courage that was often repaid with success and victory.

Early years

George Smith Patton Jr. was born in San Gabriel, **California**, on November 11, 1885. His family was one of the wealthiest in the state, and his father was both a lawyer and prominent politician. As a result, the younger Patton enjoyed an education at private schools. Eventually, he attended the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, where he graduated in 1909. His love of horses led him to enter the cavalry as a second lieutenant.

In May 1910, Patton married Beatrice Ayer, daughter of a wealthy Boston, **Massachusetts**, textile magnate. They had three children. In 1912, he went to the Olympic Games in Stockholm, Sweden, where he placed fifth in the military pentathlon, an event consisting of cross-country riding, marksmanship, fencing, swimming, and a 5,000-meter foot race.

Early military career

Patton quickly became noticed for his eccentric and brave command. He was well known for speaking his mind and leading with shock and finesse. As an unofficial aide to General **John J. Pershing** (1860–1948) in 1916, he participated in the U.S.-led expedition against revolutionary leader Pancho Villa (1878–1923) in Mexico. Patton was noted for leading the first motorized patrol in combat and killing three of Villa's bodyguards in a gunfight.

In May 1917, Patton sailed to France to learn the skills necessary for using tanks, a newly introduced weapon, in battle. He was the first officer detailed to the Tank Corps in **World War I** (1914–18) and was

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responsible for the American organization and leadership of the new 304th Brigade of the Tank Corps. On September 26, 1918, he was wounded in battle and was unable to return to service. He ended the war as a colonel and was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for his contributions to tank warfare. He also earned the Distinguished Service Cross for his courage and presence of mind under the stress of battle and injury.

Patton continued to lead the Tank Brigade, but he was frustrated by the little attention that tanks and armored warfare were given by the army. In 1921, he returned to the cavalry. During the next two decades, he attended several military programs to further his leadership skills. He graduated from the Cavalry School at Fort Riley in 1923, the Command and General Staff College in 1924, and the Army War College in 1932. He also served in Boston, **Hawaii**, and the office of chief of cavalry in **Washington, D.C.**

World War II

In the early German offensives against Poland and France during World War II, the power of armored vehicles in warfare became clear. The United States began to organize its own armored force in 1940, and Patton returned to the armored division to lead a brigade of the Second Armored Division at Fort Benning, **Georgia**. He quickly rose through the ranks of leadership. In 1941, he became the division commander, and in January 1942 he rose to commanding general of the First Armored Corps. By the end of 1942, he was in command of the Western Task Force, the equivalent of four divisions built under his First Armored Corps headquarters. In October 1942, Patton sailed from Norfolk, **Virginia**, to lead his first operations overseas.

During World War II, Patton became widely known for his hard-driving aggressiveness in combat. He led the American forces during the landing at Casablanca, Morocco, in 1942, the invasion of Sicily in 1943, and the drive across northcentral France in 1944. His daring assaults, rapid marches, and imaginative use of armor brought American victories. His personal impulsiveness, however, and overwhelming self-assurance embroiled Patton in controversy. In September 1945, these controversies came to a head, and Patton was removed from command of the Third Army, which he had led for over a year.

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Patton's new position was as leader of the Fifteenth Army, a largely paper force. Patton had little opportunity to redeem himself. On December 9, 1945, he suffered a broken neck in an automobile accident in Germany. He died on December 21 and was buried in the United States Military Cemetery in Hamm, Luxembourg.

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See **Personal Computers**

Pearl Harbor Attack

December 7, 1941, was called a "day which will live in infamy" by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45). On that day, Japan conducted a surprise attack on the U.S. naval fleet stationed at Pearl Harbor, **Hawaii**. Though the United States had avoided participating militarily in **World War II** (1939–45) up to that point, the attack destroyed the U.S. fleet and provoked the United States to enter the war.

The importance of Pearl Harbor

The United States has a naval base on the south coast of the Hawaiian Island of Oahu at Pearl Harbor. In 1887, before Hawaii was an American territory, the Hawaiian government granted the United States exclusive rights to use this area as a naval fueling and repair station.

Gradually over the years, the United States expanded Pearl Harbor to include naval, military, and aircraft bases. The bases had ammunition dumps, machine shops, radio towers, fuel oil storage facilities, and barracks for the military and naval personnel stationed there. By 1941, Pearl Harbor was large enough to accommodate the entire U.S. fleet in the Pacific Ocean. It served as an important defense post for Hawaii and for the west coast of the United States.

Tensions with Japan

Throughout the 1930s, Japan pursued an aggressive policy of expansion into China. In pursuit of natural materials for its industries, Japan seized Manchuria, on China's eastern seaboard. Eventually it moved to attack the mainland of China, and by 1939 Japan had gained power over much of it.

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As the Western world was distracted by German aggression in Europe, Japan began to consider further attacks. With the signing of the Tripartite Pact in September 1940, Japan officially became part of the **Axis** alliance with Germany and Italy. By summer 1941, Japan had gained power in Indochina, and was threatening to take Thailand, Russia's Siberian provinces, the British bastion of Singapore, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, and the Philippines.

As Japan extended its influence in Asia, the United States was unwilling to oppose Japan by force. The United States wanted to avoid military conflict in Asia and was more concerned with the threat of Germany in Europe. Trying to avoid a two-ocean war, the United States instead attempted both diplomatic talks and economic sanctions in Japan. It imposed an embargo on shipping aviation fuel to Japan in August 1940, followed by similar restrictions on the export of scrap iron and steel in September.

On October 18, 1941, an even more militant Japanese government took power. At this time, diplomatic efforts between the two countries began to fail. The United States's economic sanctions were forcing Japan to choose peace or war within a year, when its oil reserves would be depleted.

Meanwhile U.S. intelligence gathered bits of evidence that the Japanese were planning a surprise attack against the United States. While there were few specific details about the plan, it was known that Japan would attack when diplomatic efforts failed. On November 10, 1941, the Japanese presented a final proposal to the United States. The United States felt it was unacceptable and on November 26 made an alternative offer. Japan rejected it, and diplomacy came to an end.

Japanese military actions

Evidence suggests that the Japanese had expected diplomatic efforts to fail. Though talks lasted through 1941, early that year the Japanese began tactical preparation for an attack on Pearl Harbor. Pilots began training for the attack by September. To cope with the shallow waters of Pearl Harbor, Japan devised wooden torpedoes and new methods for their delivery. Abundant intelligence was gathered about the movements of the U.S. Pacific fleet, and extensive measures were taken to preserve secrecy.

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In early November, while final negotiations continued with the United States, a special task force of thirty-one Japanese vessels gathered in the southern Kurile Islands northeast of Japan. Six aircraft carriers carried 432 airplanes. Their movements continued to a place 275 miles north of Pearl Harbor, where they awaited final orders. On December 2, the plan was confirmed and the fleet advanced.

December 7, 1941

At 7:55 AM on December 7, the first wave of Japanese bombers began to attack U.S. airfields and the Pacific fleet, particularly battleships, anchored in the harbor. Another wave came at 8:50 AM with attacks on the harbor, airfields, and shore installations. The Americans fought courageously, but they were tragically unprepared. Virtually the entire U.S. Pacific fleet of ninety-four vessels, including eight battleships, was concentrated at Pearl Harbor at the time. The unprepared state of the troops, airplanes, and antiaircraft guns made effective defense nearly impossible.

The resulting destruction crippled the Pacific fleet. Casualties were 2,403 dead and 1,178 wounded. Three battleships sank, another capsized, and four more were damaged. Several smaller warships also sank, and others were seriously crippled. Almost all combat aircraft were damaged or destroyed. Three carriers of the Pacific fleet were not in the harbor that day and were spared.

War

President Roosevelt appeared before a joint session of Congress the next day. Roosevelt asked for recognition of a state of war, which Congress granted with only one dissenting vote. Declarations of war from Germany and Italy followed quickly. World War II was now a reality for Americans. The United States was confronted with the war on two oceans that it had so hoped to avoid.

Penicillin

Penicillin was one of the first antibiotics developed. Through a fortunate series of events in 1928, an English bacteriologist first realized the potential of the mold *penicillium notatum.* Other scientists harnessed the cur-

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Sir Alexander Fleming

Sir Alexander Fleming was born on August 6, 1881, at Lochfield, Ayrshire, in Scotland. He was one of eight children of Hugh Fleming, a farmer. Alexander Fleming claimed that being surrounded by nature helped him to develop his powers of reasoning and observation. Forced to leave Scotland to establish a career, he eventually pursued medicine. He entered St. Mary's Hospital Medical School, which later became part of the University of London.

In 1906, Fleming received his license from the Royal College of Physicians. He joined the Inoculation Department and worked under Sir Almroth Wright (1861–1947), a physician dedicated to vaccine therapy. In 1908, Fleming passed his final medical examinations and won the Gold Medal of the University of London. His thesis was awarded the Cheadle Medal.

During **World War I** (1914–18), Fleming served in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He specialized in the treatment of wounds. His observations led to important improvements in the use of antiseptics and cleansing of wounds.

In 1921, Fleming became the assistant director of the Inoculation Department. His work between 1921 and 1927 was devoted to a chemical substance found in human tears and mucus. He named the substance lysozyme and developed the idea that bodily secretions removed microbes through chemical means. He also published papers that proposed that antiseptics could destroy this ability. His work was not well received at the time.

In 1928, Fleming noticed the effects of penicillium notatum. His work to extract the powerful agent that killed bacteria began soon after. It was a challenge to find an effective method for doing so, and he invited other scientists to the task. Building on his work, other scientists were able to produce the agent, and penicillin was created. As a result, Fleming's work earned the Nobel Prize in 1945. He was hailed as a hero for all the lives his medicine saved.

In 1946, Fleming became director of the Wright-Fleming Institute. He held the position until 1954, when he left to conduct his own research. Fleming died on March 11, 1955, of a heart attack.

ative effect of the mold into a powerful medicine. Penicillin and its derivatives remain important life-saving medications today.

An accidental discovery

In 1928, Scottish bacteriologist Sir Alexander Fleming (1881–1955) was working in the Inoculation Department at the University of London. His work focused on finding ways to destroy infectious bacteria without weakening the body's own defenses. Fleming made several important finds in this line of work, but his most memorable started with an accident.

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The accident was a culture of staphylococcus bacteria that had been left uncovered for several days. Fleming noticed the culture had undergone unusual changes. As a result of specks of mold that had gotten into the culture, the bacteria had disappeared in places. Fleming cultured and identified the mold as penicillium notatum, a mold related to a kind that grows on stale bread.

Fleming conducted experiments with the mold. He was able to show how the mold affected some, but not all, bacteria. It was not poisonous to white blood cells and held promise as a medicine. Fleming, however, encountered difficulty in trying to isolate the particular agent that killed the bacteria. When he reported his findings to the medical community in 1929, there was remarkably little interest in it. It was not until the medical stresses of **World War II** (1939–45) that others took an interest in penicillin.

In 1939, a team of researchers from Oxford University began to study penicillin. Howard Florey (1898–1968), a pathologist, collaborated with a biochemist, Ernst Chain (1906–1979), to isolate the antibacterial agent of the mold. By 1941, they had succeeded, and they traveled to the United States to promote large-scale production of the agent. There was great support, and by 1943 factories were making it for military use. In 1944, it became available to civilians. By 1945, pharmaceutical manufacturers were producing a half-ton per month.

Penicillin greatly improved medical care for the soldiers of World War II. Many lives were saved as a result of the drug. To this day, penicillin remains an important medicine in the fight against infectious bacteria. Fleming, Florey, and Chain were awarded the 1945 Nobel Prize in medicine for their work.

William Penn

William Penn is best known for his establishment of **Pennsylvania**. Penn created it as a "holy experiment," a place for his **Quaker** brethren to set up a safe, supportive community away from religious persecution in Europe. Quaker ideals of equality, justice, and individual rights shaped the formation of government for the colony and influenced the founding ideals of the United States.

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William Penn is best known for his establishment of Pennsylvania as a place for the Quaker community to relocate in, away from religious persecution in Europe. TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

Early years

William Penn was born to a privileged family in London, England, in 1644. His father, Sir William Penn, was an admiral in the Royal Navy, a friend of royalty, and an owner of much land. His mother was Margaret Jasper Vanderschuren, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. In 1656, political and religious turmoil in England prompted Admiral Penn to move the family to Ireland.

In 1660, William Penn attended Christ Church College at the University of Oxford. There Penn realized his need for a more personal faith than the Anglican Church, the religion in which he was raised, provided. In the spring of 1662, the college expelled Penn for not attending the required chapel services.

Disappointed by his son's increasingly rebellious religious thought, Admiral Penn sent the young man to Paris, France, to be steeped in the worldly society of royal courts. Penn, however, left the court life to attend a Protestant academy, where he stayed a year and a half. It was at the academy that Penn started to find support for his principles of peace and his inward spiritual faith.

Religious awakening

By 1666, Penn was back in Ireland to handle issues concerning his father's land. During this time, Penn spent time with a family acquaintance and Quaker minister, Thomas Loe. Convinced by Loe's sermons, Penn began attending Quaker church services, called "meetings."

At that time, Quakerism was a new Protestant religion. Quakers believe that every person contains the inner light of God, which gives him or her guidance on how to live a holy, peaceful life. In the seventeenth century, English authorities considered Quakers to be extremists who threatened the (Anglican) Church of England, the officially established Christian church in England, and royal authority. Hence Quakers were prosecuted and jailed for practicing their faith.

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Penn was imprisoned for a time for attending Quaker meetings, and this experience inspired him to write. His first work, which called for religious tolerance and challenged the unjust treatment of Quakers, appeared soon after his prison term.

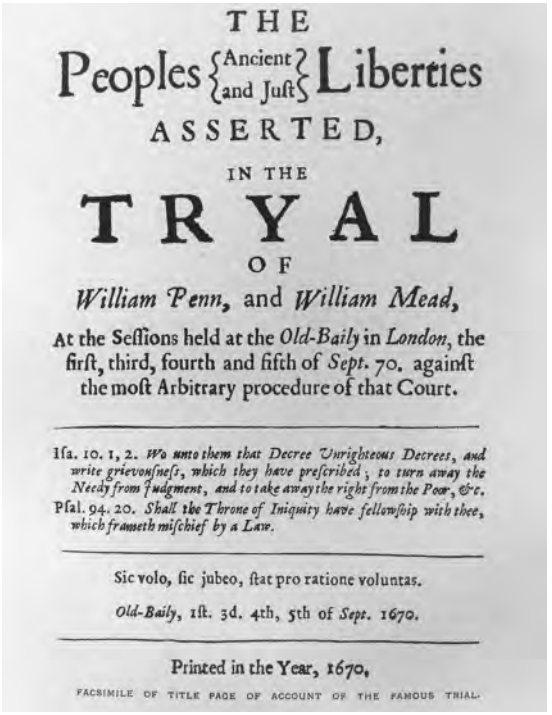
Penn's father called his son back to London to reintroduce him to proper society. Penn, however, refrained from socializing with his father's circle of friends. Instead, he kept company with Quakers and, at twenty-four, became a minister.

Penn was jailed again, this time for his sermons and public writings. In 1670, he was arrested for preaching with another Quaker in the streets. Penn argued their defense in court and won. As a result, Quakers often called upon Penn to argue their defense in later court cases.

Penn's father died in 1670, leaving his son a fortune that included a debt owed to his father by the English Crown. Soon after, Penn took a missionary journey across Germany and Holland to spread the Quaker faith. He would later encourage converts in these places to come to his Quaker colony, Pennsylvania, which Penn established in the new American colonies in 1681. After returning to England, Penn married Gulielma Maria Springett on April 4, 1672.

William Penn was jailed, on more than one occasion, for his sermons and public writings. In 1670, he was arrested for preaching with another Quaker on the streets; he successfully argued their defense at trial and won the case. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Between 1675 and 1680, Penn devoted himself to religion and related politics. His struggle for liberal, tolerant, government led him to participate in two political campaigns for a friend's election to Parliament and to continue his political writings. He continued his missionary journeys as well, establishing relationships in America, Holland, and western Germany. His interest in America gained momentum when he became involved in managing the Quaker-established colony of **New Jersey**. That colony's constitution, the Concessions and Agreements, was the fairest colonial charter up to that time, and it is believed to have been written mostly by Penn.


THE
Peoples {Ancient and Juſt} Liberties
ASSERTED,
IN THE
TRYAL
OF
William Penn, and *William Mead*,
At the Seſſions held at the *Old-Baily* in *London*, the firſt, third, fourth and fifth of *Sept.* 70. againſt the moſt Arbitrary procedure of that Court.

Iſa. 10. 1, 2. *Wo unto them that Decree Unrighteous Decrees, and write grievouſneſs, which they have preſcribed; to turn away the Needy from Judgment, and to take away the right from the Poor, &c.*
Pſal. 94. 20. *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have fellowſhip with thee, which frameth miſchief by a Law.*

Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.

Old-Baily, 1ſt. 3d. 4th, 5th of *Sept.* 1670.

Printed in the Year, 1670.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE PAGE OF ACCOUNT OF THE FAMOUS TRIAL.

Penn's colony

In 1680, Penn approached King Charles II (1630–1685) about the debt the Crown still

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owed to him. Rather than money, Penn requested and received a grant of land north of **Maryland** in 1681. He secretly intended to create a refuge there for persecuted fellow Quakers, founded on Quaker ideals. He invited Quakers throughout Europe to settle the colony.

Penn set up a liberal government for his colony based on ideals of civil liberty, religious freedom, and economic opportunity. The people had a constitution and code of laws created with their participation. Penn skillfully negotiated treaties with Native Indians that maintained trust and peace through his lifetime. As a result, no provisions for forts, munitions, or militia were necessary. This government succeeded for seventy years.

Final years

Penn traveled to Pennsylvania in 1682 to help set up the colony. Less than two years later, he was called back to England to help his fellow Quakers, who were suffering renewed persecution and needed his influence at court. His friendly relationship with the king, James II (1633–1701), enabled him to secure the release of nearly thirteen hundred Quakers.

The overthrow of James II in 1688 meant the end of Penn's connection with the Crown and the renewal of personal troubles. Accused of disloyalty, Penn went into partial retirement to wait for the suspicion to subside. In 1692, the new monarch revoked Penn's ownership of Pennsylvania, then restored it two years later, after Penn's name was cleared of treason.

Penn's first wife, Gulielma, died in 1694. Before returning to Pennsylvania in 1697, Penn married Hannah Callowhill. Though Penn hoped to become a permanent resident of Pennsylvania, he managed to return there only briefly. He was called back to England to prevent Parliament from claiming Pennsylvania and other colonies for the Crown, and he never returned.

Penn's final years in London were spent managing conflicts in Pennsylvania and debts that threatened to ruin him. He spent time in debtors' prison in 1707 rather than pay some of the debts. He died in 1718 after a series of strokes.

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Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania, a state named after its founding father, **William Penn** (1644–1718), entered the Union on December 12, 1787, as the second state. Located in the northeastern United States, Pennsylvania is bordered by **Ohio**, Lake Erie, **New York**, **New Jersey**, **Delaware**, **Maryland**, and **West Virginia**.

Pennsylvania was home to several Native American groups, including the Iroquois and Algonquin. The first European visitor is believed to have been a Dutchman named Cornelis Jacobssen May, who sailed into the Delaware Bay in 1614. Swedes began farming along the Delaware River in 1638. Although the Dutch took control of Pennsylvania from the Swedes in 1655, they kept it for just nine years before surrendering it to the British.

The British gave the region to William Penn in 1681. Penn, a **Quaker** (a follower of the Quaker religion, which stresses nonviolence and the equality of all people), wanted to make Pennsylvania a safe haven for people who were being persecuted for their religious beliefs. Although he was the founding father, Penn did not rule the colony; instead, he gave power to landowners and let them establish their own government and laws.

Most Pennsylvanians came from the British Isles and Germany. As the colony grew, boundaries came into dispute. In 1763, Pennsylvania and Maryland agreed to have Charles Mason (1728–1786) and Jeremiah Dixon (d. 1777) establish the famous Mason-Dixon line separating the U.S. North and South.

After the British won the **French and Indian War** (1754–63), Pennsylvania moved quickly toward independence. The **Continental Congress** began meeting in Philadelphia in 1774, and the **Declaration of Independence** was signed there on July 4, 1776.

Industrialization began in the late eighteenth century. The first iron furnace was built in Pittsburgh in 1792, and by the early nineteenth century, a canal and rail system connected Philadelphia with Pittsburgh. Irish immigrants flocked to Pennsylvania in the 1840s, and many found work in the anthracite coal mines. (See **Irish Immigration**.)

Pennsylvania was the United States's chief producer of coal, iron, and steel from 1890 to 1900, and it was the nation's primary source of

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petroleum and lumber as well. As industry developed, residents relocated to urban areas to find work, and Philadelphia and Pittsburgh became cultural centers of the arts and education.

By 1958, Pennsylvania ranked fifth in the nation in manufacturing. Cities continued to flourish as markets, banks, factories, and skilled labor remained abundant. By the mid-1980s, the state was struggling with making the transition from manufacturing to service industries. Within a decade, though, steel was no longer the cornerstone of Pennsylvania's industry, and Philadelphia had become a center of high-technology industries. Pittsburgh became the site of many companies' corporate headquarters.

Pennsylvania was home to more than 12.4 million people in 2006. The population was predominantly white (84.6 percent), followed by African American (10.1 percent) and Hispanic or Latino (4.0 percent). In 2005, Philadelphia was by far the state's most populated city, with nearly 1.5 million residents. Pittsburgh was a distant second with just under 317,000 people.

Pennsylvania's history of religious tolerance attracted large populations of Mennonites, and it is home to the highest concentration of Amish in the United States. The Amish have branches and sects with different beliefs, but all shun modern life and its trappings in hopes of avoiding sin and retaining goodness. Most Amish do not own cars or have electricity in their homes. They live in rural parts of the state, primarily in Lancaster County, and are a self-governing population.

The state's economy in the twenty-first century is dependent upon coal and steel production, although not to the extent it once was. Tourism, machinery production, and the growth of service-related trades add to the economic mix. Coal remains the state's most valuable mineral commodity and accounts for more than two-thirds of all mining income.

Hundreds of millions of tourists visit Pennsylvania each year. Because of Philadelphia's ties to the Declaration of Independence, the city is a major tourist attraction, home to the **Liberty Bell** and Independence Hall. Just north of the city is Bucks County, a region steeped in craft and antique shops and home to many artists. Lancaster is known as Pennsylvania Dutch country and features tours and exhibits of Amish farm life. Gettysburg is another big attraction, and visitors to the state also stop at Hershey Park and Valley Forge National Historic Park.

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Pentagon Papers

The Pentagon Papers was a government study of U.S. involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). Commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (1916–), the top-secret study resulted in a seven-thousand-page, forty-seven-volume report spanning the years 1945 to 1968. Analysts who had access to classified documents conducted the study, which was completed in 1969.

The study revealed miscalculations and deception on the part of the U.S. government. Officials had misled the American public repeatedly and continually about the level and intensity of U.S. military involvement throughout Southeast Asia. For example, President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) had been secretly sending military troops to Vietnam while publicly declaring that he had no long-range plans for war.

In 1971, one of the investigation's analysts, Daniel Ellsberg (1931–), leaked the content of the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times,* which began publishing a series of articles about the study. Although the Justice Department tried to get a court order prohibiting the publication of the Pentagon Papers on the grounds that doing so threatened national security, the **Supreme Court** ruled in favor of the newspaper. In its decision, the Court said that freedom of the press overrode any other considerations.

The leaking of the Pentagon Papers caused a serious breach of trust between the American public and its government, and fueled an already growing **antiwar movement**.

John J. Pershing

John J. Pershing was a general in the U.S. **Army** who led two million men to victory in **World War I** (1914–18).

Early years

Pershing was born in the small southern town of Laclede, **Missouri**, in 1860. Although the family was prosperous, it suffered financial difficulties in 1873, a year of economic depression. Pershing's plan to attend college was replaced with the need to work on the family farm. The Pershings were unable to pay the mortgage and lost the farm to the bank.

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Needing to find work, Pershing took the state's teaching examination and passed. He got a job teaching in Laclede's school for African Americans.

Within months, Pershing landed a higher-paying job at a school near Laclede. Pershing divided his time between teaching and studying at a two-year college for teachers. He still clung to his dream of going to college, and eventually he entered West Point, a military academy.

At West Point, Pershing earned a reputation as a leader. After graduation, at which point he was a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, Pershing spent the next few years in the southwest, fighting Apache leader Geronimo (1829–1909) and his tribe. In late 1890, Pershing and the Sixth Cavalry were sent to the Dakotas to fight the Sioux nation. They remained there until mid-1891.

War and marriage

From late 1891 to 1898, Pershing spent most of his time as a military instructor. He first taught at the University of Nebraska and then at West Point, where he got into trouble for being too hard on his students. He was not popular among the cadets he instructed.

Pershing served in the **Spanish-American War** in 1898, where his courage on the battlefield earned him a promotion to major and an assignment to the Philippines. The Philippines had been under Spanish rule but the United States assumed control after the war. Tired of being ruled by outsiders, the islanders began a revolt. Pershing's job was to impose order. He did so, and in 1902 he was promoted to captain and given command of a small outpost there.

Pershing married in 1905 and moved his family around the country as his assignments changed. In 1915, while he was in **Texas**, his family home in San Francisco, **California**, burned down while his family was inside. His wife and three daughters died; son Warren was the sole survivor.

World War I

Great Britain, France, Russia, and other countries (known as the **Allies**) had been fighting the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey) in World War I for nearly three years before America joined the fight in 1917. When Pershing and his men arrived in

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France, he was immediately asked to turn over command of his troops to Allied commanders so that the American soldiers could be trained quickly. Pershing refused and promised that his men would be an effective fighting force all on their own.

Pershing decided he wanted one million troops in France by mid-1918, with more to follow. He got his men and trained them by the summer of 1918. In the Meuse-Argonne Offensive in France, Pershing's First Army captured sixteen thousand prisoners and almost five hundred German artillery guns. Pershing then moved some of his troops 60 miles (97 kilometers) to launch another offensive. It was more than the Central Powers could handle, and a cease-fire was signed on November 11, 1918.

Home again

Pershing led a victory parade in **Washington, D.C.**, in September 1919. The same year, he was promoted to general of the armies, a rank created just for him. He served as army chief of staff from 1921 until his retirement in 1924. Pershing died on July 15, 1948.

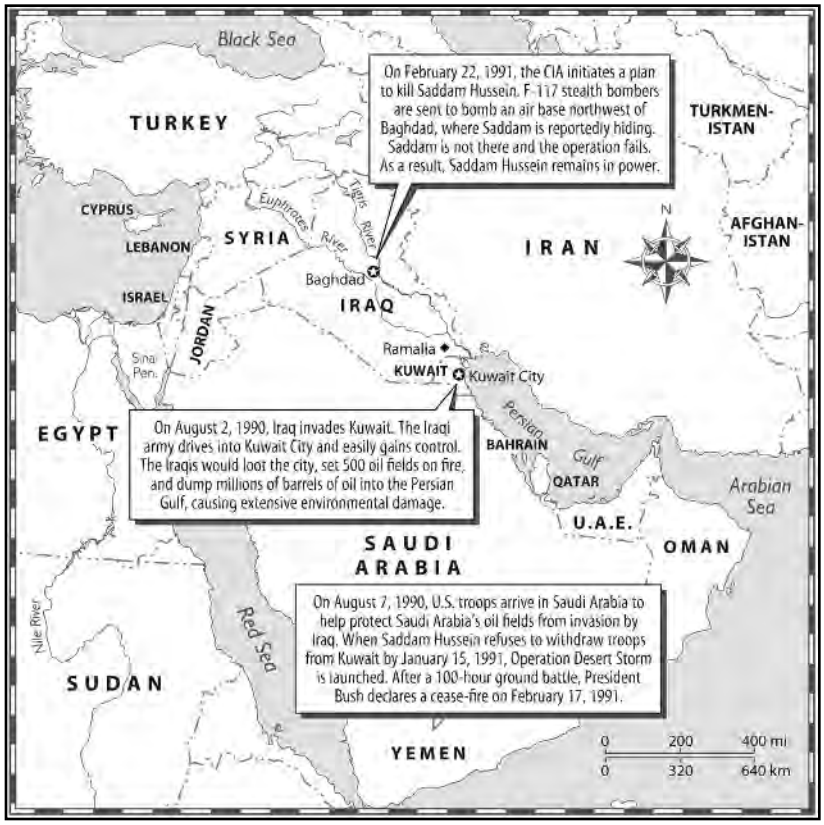
Persian Gulf War

On August 2, 1990, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein (1937–2006) led his country in an invasion of its southern neighbor, Kuwait, beginning an Iraqi occupation of the small, oil-rich nation. Six months later, Operation Desert Storm—a U.S.-led and United Nations–approved coalition of thirty nations—was launched to defend Kuwait from Iraqi aggression.

Iraq-Kuwait conflict

Iraq had recently emerged from the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88) as the dominant military power in the Persian Gulf region. At the conclusion of the conflict, Iraq's military consisted of more than one million men. During the war, Iraq had invested heavily in defense industries, particularly in the development of missiles—rockets that can carry nuclear or nonnuclear bombs—and in chemical weapons production. Chemical weapons are toxic substances, such as nerve gas or mustard gas, specifically designed to cause death or other harm; usually only small amounts are required to kill large numbers of people. By 1990, Iraq's military

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A map of events during the brief Persian Gulf War, which lasted from the end of 1990 through the beginning of 1991. THE GALE GROUP

power and its defense industries placed Hussein in a strong position in the Persian Gulf, and he had growing ambitions to be the leader of the Arab world.

To pursue his goals, Hussein needed money. Iraq had emerged from the war with an enormous debt and needed billions of dollars to repair the damage inflicted by Iran. A significant portion of the Iraqi national debt was owed to Kuwait, and the Iraqis felt that the Kuwaitis should erase the debt because Iraq had, in essence, protected Kuwait from Iran. But Kuwait would not forgive the debt.

Hussein knew that if he could combine the lucrative oil fields of Kuwait with Iraq's own substantial oil reserves, he would control more than 20 percent of the world's oil. Ownership of the Rumaila oil field was especially disputed because it stretches across both Iraqi and Kuwaiti territories. Iraq accused Kuwait of pumping from the Rumaila oil field and selling the oil at considerable profit during the Iran-Iraq War. Hussein

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demanded that the border between the nations be revised to give Iraq the entire Rumaila field, and that Kuwait pay Iraq $2 billion for the oil it had already pumped from the field. Kuwait rejected these claims.

The invasion

In mid-July 1990, Hussein threatened action against Kuwait as Iraqi forces gathered along the Kuwaiti border. Nonetheless, the invasion on August 2, 1990, was sudden and unexpected. Within hours, Kuwait was overrun. Most of its ruling family escaped to Saudi Arabia. Initially, the Iraqis claimed that the Kuwaiti opposition had invited Iraq into Kuwait, but no credible Kuwaitis were willing to verify this story. Thus, the Iraqi authorities simply asserted their claim to Kuwait and prepared to annex the entire country.

Following the invasion, the Iraqis looted the entire country of furniture, cars, Kuwait's gold reserves, industrial equipment, and even treas-



Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell frequently briefed the press on the status of various operations during the Persian Gulf War. TERRY ASHE/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

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ures from the Kuwaiti museum. Approximately half of Kuwait's citizenry, along with substantial numbers of Asian and Palestinian workers employed in Kuwait, fled the country. The Iraqis ruthlessly crushed resistance by any who remained. A great number of arrests, tortures, and executions followed, and a large portion of Kuwait's male population between the ages of eighteen and forty-five was taken back to Iraq as hostages.

The world responds

Meanwhile, the international community reacted swiftly. The United States had had friendly relations with Iraq for many years, and had provided it with arms and intelligence during the Iran-Iraq War. But after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, President **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93) feared Iraqi control of the world's oil and decided to take action. After ordering a U.S. economic embargo (prohibition of trade with a country) of Iraq, Bush organized an international coalition (alliance) of forty-three nations, thirty of which sent military or medical units to help liberate Kuwait. Western European states and Japan also embargoed Iraq. Bush worked to convince the United Nations to support his actions, and on August 6, 1990, the United Nations Security Council ordered a global economic embargo against Hussein's regime.

Continuing his forceful actions, Bush sent U.S. military forces to nearby Saudi Arabia, commencing Operation Desert Shield. Forces of several Arab powers and other members of the international community soon joined U.S. forces. On August 25, the United Nations authorized the use of military force to impose the embargo against Iraq. The crisis mounted through the fall, as the United States and its Desert Shield partners poured troops and military equipment into Saudi Arabia. Bush sent nearly one-half million U.S. troops to the region. By November 1990, a massive military presence had been established in the Persian Gulf region. Hussein threatened to use chemical and biological weapons against his enemies if his country was attacked.

Operation Desert Storm

U.N. and American diplomats set a deadline in January 1991 for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. The date passed unheeded, and on January 16, 1991, the U.S.-led coalition unleashed an air attack on Baghdad and other military installations inside Iraq.

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Operation Desert Storm began with a spectacular aerial bombardment of Iraq and Kuwait. For five weeks, satellite television coverage via Cable News Network (CNN) enabled Americans at home to watch "smart" bombs (self-guiding weapons) hitting Iraqi targets and U.S. Patriot missiles intercepting Iraqi Scud missiles (a type of missile designed in the Soviet Union) aimed at Israel. On February 24, after five weeks of bombardment, the commander of the Coalition Forces, General Norman Schwarzkopf (1934–), sent hundreds of thousands of allied troops into Kuwait and eastern Iraq. Hussein had warned that Americans would sustain thousands of casualties in the "mother of all battles" if they attacked on the ground, but Iraq's army put up little resistance, and its threat to use biological and chemical weapons was never realized. By February 26, Iraqi forces were retreating from Kuwait.

End of the battle

After only one hundred hours of fighting on the ground, Iraq accepted a U.N.-imposed cease-fire. Iraq's military casualties numbered more than 25,000 dead and 300,000 wounded; U.S. forces suffered only 148 battle deaths and 467 wounded. Exactly six weeks into the war, the residents of Kuwait City welcomed the multinational liberating army as it paraded through the streets. A few weeks later, Desert Storm troops began returning to the United States, receiving a hero's welcome. General Schwarzkopf and Colin Powell (1937–), the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, became instant celebrities; George Bush earned the highest approval rating ever accorded an American president.

All was not well in Kuwait and Iraq, though. Kuwait sustained severe environmental damage as retreating Iraqi troops set fire to its oil fields, which burned uncontrollably for several days, sending noxious plumes of black smoke into the atmosphere and polluting the fragile desert environment.

Bush chose not to send U.S. forces to Baghdad to capture Saddam Hussein. Leaving Hussein in power meant that rival sects in Iraq, the Kurds and the Shi'tes, would face continuing oppression at the dictator's hands. But foreseeing the possibility of a prolonged civil, and perhaps regional, war, Bush ruled out further military action. Instead, he brought about international economic sanctions against Iraq, many of which remained in effect until the **Iraq invasion** in 2003. Saddam Hussein

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remained in power in Iraq, proud and defiant even with his military power severely reduced.

Under the terms of the United Nations' Security Council Resolution 687, Iraq had to accept the boundary with Kuwait assigned by an international commission. Iraq was also required to accept the presence of U.N. peacekeepers on its borders and to reveal and cooperate in the destruction of all its chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, including missiles. U.N. inspectors found that Hussein's scientists and engineers had built more than twenty nuclear facilities. They found more than 100 Scud missiles, 70 tons of nerve gas, and 400 tons of mustard gas, and they destroyed everything they found.

Personal Computers

Since they were introduced in the 1970s, the rapid-fire innovations in personal computers (PCs) have continuously changed the way Americans live. Hundreds of individuals, companies, and institutions were involved in the innovations, but by the 1990s and early 2000s, two corporations, Microsoft and Apple, and the two men at their helms, Bill Gates (1955–) and Steve Jobs (1955–), stood out.

IBM

In the early 1950s, International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) moved away from its punch card systems of calculating and began to market business computers. IBM originally specialized in manufacturing mainframe computers, computers as big as a room—sometimes larger—and requiring specially trained employees to program and enter data into the computers through punch cards. IBM's new computers were smaller and featured transistors (tiny electronic switches) instead of vacuum tubes (devices in older electronic systems that amplified signals). In 1965, IBM introduced a line of small, fast business computers with their own exclusive software. (Software consists of programs that operate the computers, a set of coded instructions that tell a computer what tasks to perform). From 1965 to 1975, IBM sold 65 percent of all U.S. computers.

Intel and computer chips

In the 1960s, integrated circuitry was introduced. An integrated circuit, also called a computer chip or microchip, is a small electronic device

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made out of a semiconductor material that contains thousands or even millions of transistors and other components. These chips were originally designed for use in calculators. In 1968, a new company called Intel began to produce computer chips.

In 1969, a Japanese calculator company asked Intel to produce twelve computer chips for the different functions of its calculators. After some experimenting, Intel came up with one chip that could do all functions. Realizing that this tiny chip, only a tiny fraction of an inch long, could process as much data as a room-sized business computer, Intel bought back their design. By the end of 1971, Intel was selling its computer chip for $200, making computer power (but not yet the computer itself) affordable enough for the general public for the first time.

Altair

The Intel chip caught the attention of Ed Roberts (1942–), who owned Micro Instrumentation and Telemetry Systems (MITS), a company that sold kits for assembling electronic devices. He decided to create a kit for building a home computer based on the Intel chip. Before he had quite finished his new product (which he called Altair after a character from the *Star Trek* television series), *Popular Electronics* magazine published a cover story about it. The Altair home computer came out in 1975. Considered the first personal computer, it was very limited, lacking a keyboard and video display. Nonetheless, orders for the $397 computer kit poured in.

Microsoft and the software business

Two young men were keenly interested in Altair: William H. (Bill) Gates, a nineteen-year-old sophomore at Harvard University, and Paul Allen (1953–), a twenty-one-year-old fellow computer enthusiast. They wrote a Basic All-purpose Symbolic Instruction Code (BASIC) Interpreter for the Altair—the first computer language program written for a personal computer.

Forming a partnership called Microsoft, Gates and Allen entered a contract with MITS regarding the Altair computer. Under the contract, Roberts retained rights to sell the hardware, or physical parts of the computer, and could use and market the BASIC software with it. Microsoft retained ownership of the computer language and software. This rela-

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From left to right, Apple Computer cofounder Steve Jobs, CEO John Sculley, and cofounder Steve Wozniak at a convention in 1984. They worked together to build and sell reasonably priced personal computers. AP IMAGES

tionship between a software developer and a hardware manufacturer became a model for future software licensing agreements.

By the end of 1976, Gates had dropped out of Harvard and set about convincing corporations of the future of the small computer, licensing BASIC to companies such as General Electric and Citibank, among others. Microsoft then developed two other programming languages, FORTRAN (1977) and COBOL (1978), becoming the leading distributor for microcomputer languages.

Enter Apple

In 1975, twenty-year-old Steve Jobs teamed up with Steve Wozniak (1950–) in a partnership for building and selling reasonably priced personal computers. Wozniak brought brilliant engineering skills to the partnership, while Jobs understood the business and marketing end.

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Jobs and Wozniak formed Apple Computer Company in 1976 and released their first product, a desktop computer. Apple I was little more than a circuit-board layout. Buyers had to hook the computer up to a teletype (a kind of printer) or a television for a display, and input was accomplished by flipping switches.

Jobs imagined building a more useful product: a complete computing unit, consisting of a keyboard for input, a central processing unit for calculation, and a video screen for display. Wozniak was able to design such a unit. When Wozniak's Apple II was introduced in April 1977, it was a huge hit.

Disk drives

In the mid-1970s, minicomputers (as personal computers were then called) had little access to software. Such programming tools as BASIC were accessed in three ways: they were typed in, as on the early Apples; they were encoded onto a tape and read into the computer, as on the later Altairs; or they were encoded into a read-only-memory (ROM) chip on a circuit board. With BASIC as a programming tool, the usefulness of the computer was limited to a small group of specialists.

Wozniak changed this forever when he engineered a disk drive that allowed small computers to read and store large amounts of data from an outside source, allowing independent programmers to produce programs for the Apple. The computer became useful to nonprogrammers for the first time. Tens of thousands of ordinary people began to buy minicomputers and the programs that made them work.

The Macintosh

In 1979, Jobs oversaw the development of a radically new kind of personal computer. The first attempt, called the Lisa, sold for $10,000 when released in 1983—too high a price for most consumers. When the Macintosh was released in 1984, though, it brought personal computing to the masses with its easily understood graphics and point-and-click mouse. Rather than typing in complicated commands, users could simply click on an icon, or picture, on the screen.

Despite the great innovations, so much of Apple's money had been spent on development, the company began to falter financially. In 1985, both Jobs and Wozniak left Apple.

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IBM comeback

In 1980, IBM hired Microsoft to develop a computer language and operating system for its new line of minicomputers, which were introduced to the public in 1981 as the IBM Personal Computer. The operating system used for the IBM-PC was called MS-DOS, short for Disk Operating System. It would become an international industry standard. Soon IBM began to create connections between personal computers and a larger mainframe computer. These computer networks were popular in businesses and other institutions. The entry of IBM changed the image of microcomputers from that of a hobbyist's toy to a serious business machine.

Microsoft takes the lead

Microsoft became the first major company to develop products for Apple's Macintosh when it was introduced to the public in 1984. In 1983, Microsoft introduced its first mouse, its first full-featured word processing program (Word), and Windows.

Windows extended the features of the MS-DOS operating system by providing users with a graphical user interface (GUI). The GUI was designed with visual icons that were easily recognizable. It was at least



Bill Gates, founder of Microsoft, holds up a Microsoft software box. Despite accusations of being a monopoly, Microsoft has boomed and Gates became a billionaire by the age of thirty-one. AP IMAGES

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partially based on the Apple interface used in the Lisa and Macintosh systems. In 1988, Apple sued Microsoft, claiming that Microsoft had infringed on the copyright of the Macintosh GUI. Years in court and a hostile rivalry between Apple and Microsoft followed. Despite the trouble, Windows, in its many updates, was a success and by 1986 thirty-one-year-old Gates was a billionaire.

During the late 1980s and 1990s, Microsoft released one popular new product after another, such as the spreadsheet program Excel for Windows; Windows 3.0; Encarta, the first multimedia encyclopedia designed for a computer; and Windows 95. Internet Explorer 2.0, released in 1995, provided easy **Internet** Web browsing on the home computer. In 1996, Microsoft acquired FrontPage, a tool for creating and managing Web pages without programming. And in July 1996, MSNBC, a twenty-four-hour news and information cable network, debuted as the result of a joint venture between Microsoft and NBC News. MSN, the Microsoft Network, was reorganized to offer content on the World Wide Web.

Microsoft monopoly trials

By 1991, Microsoft provided the operating systems for about 90 percent of the world's personal computers. The U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and then the U.S. **Department of Justice** opened investigations of Microsoft as a possible monopoly (a company that maintains an exclusive right to produce a particular product or service by unduly hampering its competition). To settle, Microsoft agreed to make it easier for personal computer makers to install its rivals' software.

In October 1997, the Justice Department sued Microsoft for "bundling" its Internet browsing software, or providing Internet Explorer free of charge with its operating system. This supposedly violated the 1994 agreement by forcing PC manufacturers to use its Web browser. After extensive legal maneuvering, a trial began in October 1998. In June 2000, a federal judge ordered the breakup of Microsoft. A year later, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the judge's ruling that Microsoft was a monopoly but threw out the order to break up the company. The Justice Department reached a settlement with Microsoft whereby the company was prevented from making exclusive deals that could hurt competition and required the company to change several of its policies to compete more fairly.

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The return of Apple

By mid-1997, Steve Jobs had returned to the financially weak Apple and was essentially running it again. To shore up the company, he formed a surprising alliance with archrival Microsoft. For $205 million, Microsoft received a 5 percent stake in Apple and an agreement to distribute its Internet Explorer Web browser with Apple's Macintosh computers. Soon, Apple was making great strides again.

In 1998, Apple introduced the popular iMac, a personal computer with a streamlined design and array of bright colors. A number of new products followed, some of which, like the iBook and PowerMac laptop computers, were extremely successful.

Jobs decided to tackle the digital music industry, which had been in a state of confusion after court rulings against "sharing" music files over the Internet (which bypassed the artists' copyright privileges). In 2001, Apple launched its portable digital music player, the iPod. Comparable to MP3 players introduced by other companies, the iPod allowed users to download music from CDs or from online sites. In 2003, Jobs opened the iTunes Music Store. Customers could download any of the two hundred thousand songs for just ninety-nine cents each. In the first week, one million songs were downloaded, with the total exceeding fifty million after one year. By 2004, almost half of the digital music players bought by consumers were iPods.

In 2007, explaining that Apple was not just a computer company anymore, Jobs introduced the new iPhone, a lightweight mobile camera-phone that also featured a widescreen iPod multimedia player with touch controls and Internet communications including e-mail, searching, and Web browsing. Customers lined up at the Apple stores for the June launch, and sales met the high expectations. Apple once again took its seat at the top of the industry.

Philippine-American War

After winning the **Spanish-American War** (1898), the United States purchased the Philippine Islands for $20 million in 1899 in order to expand its empire. By that time, the Filipinos had been fighting against Spanish rule for three years, and they were not happy about having yet another country take over.

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In February 1899, war broke out between the Filipinos and the twenty thousand American troops occupying the island. President **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) believed it was his duty to educate the islanders and bring them to Christianity, which he thought would make them capable of self-rule. Many members of his administration encouraged him to allow the Filipinos to rule themselves; McKinley believed they were incapable of taking on such responsibility.

From the Filipinos' perspective, the was no difference between being ruled by Spain or the United States. When their leader, Emilio Aguinaldo (1869–1964), proposed Philippine independence with a U.S. protectorate (authority assumed by the United States in which it would protect the Philippines from invasion and share management of its affairs), America rejected the idea and chose instead to go to war to assert its power.

The islanders proved more adept at defending themselves than the United States had predicted. What the Americans had thought would be a brief uprising ended up being a full-scale war that lasted (officially) until 1902, when Filipino leaders were captured. By the war's end, the conflict cost more than four thousand American lives and around sixteen thousand Filipino soldiers' lives. Historians estimate that between two hundred thousand and five hundred thousand Filipino civilians died during the war, either from disease or crossfire. Fighting continued to erupt on several of the islands for years to come.

Franklin Pierce

Franklin Pierce served as president during the turbulent years leading up to the American **Civil War** (1861–65). A loyal member of the **Democratic Party**, Pierce supported **slavery** and believed it was sanctioned by the U.S. **Constitution**. He was the rare New Englander whom Southerners trusted.

Pierce was born on November 23, 1804. He grew up in a distinguished **New Hampshire** family. His father was a veteran of the **American Revolution** (1775–83) and a two-term state governor. Pierce graduated fifth in his class at Bowdoin College and then studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1827 and gained a seat in the New Hampshire legislature in 1829.

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Franklin Pierce served as fourteenth president of the United States during the turbulent years leading up to the American Civil War. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Political rise

In March 1833, though not yet thirty years old, Pierce was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives; four years later, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. He owed his success mainly to his father, but also to the Democratic Party. From the start, he remained steadfastly loyal to the party. His service was undistinguished, but he was well-liked and made good political contacts while in Congress. Moreover, he strongly supported the Southern view on slavery; he even formed a close friendship with **Jefferson Davis** (1808–89), the future president of the **Confederate States of America**.

Making an uncontroversial name

When the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) broke out, Pierce volunteered as a private but, due to his connections, he gained the rank of brigadier general before he had donned his uniform. His combat record was undistinguished. After the war, Pierce became involved in New Hampshire politics. He helped rid the state party of an antislavery candidate for governor and thereby improved his reputation in the South. In 1851, his name was raised as a possible presidential candidate.

At that time, the **Whigs** and the Democrats were the two major political parties in the United States. Whigs favored a strong federal government that actively supported internal improvement through the use of a national bank. Democrats generally opposed federally funded improvements and supported states' rights. Both parties had pro- and antislavery constituents, and many politicians feared this division might one day split the Union. The federal government sought to patch up the most troublesome aspects of the slavery question with legislation called the **Compromise of 1850**, a series of laws that regulated how new territories came to be slave states or free states.

A temporary and very delicate spirit of national unity followed the Compromise of 1850. The political parties sought presidential candidates for the 1852 election who were not known for holding strong positions

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and would support the Compromise. Late in the process, the Democrats nominated Pierce. Few issues were raised during the presidential campaign. Pierce made no formal speeches. According to the custom of the time, he allowed his supporters to campaign for him. They also had to work to overcome the accusations that Pierce was a drunkard, a coward, and anti-Catholic. Pierce narrowly won the general election.

Pierce was in the process of organizing his administration when his eleven-year-old son Benjamin was killed in a train accident. Pierce entered office in a state of deep mourning. His wife, Jane Pierce, locked herself in her bedroom, seldom even appearing for public functions. Her inconsolable grief added to his burdens.

Uninformed presidency

Pierce entered the presidency determined to adhere to old-line Democratic policy and to promote expansionism—adding new territory to the nation. The issue of slavery in the new territories was contentious, but he believed he could ignore the North's increasingly strong opposition to the institution.

In 1854, the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** destroyed any remaining spirit of national compromise. The act created two new territories, **Kansas** and **Nebraska**, with the condition that each territory could decide whether to allow slavery within its borders. Nebraska's population primarily consisted of people opposed to slavery, but Kansas, with settlers on both sides of the issue, became the scene of a showdown between "free state" (antislavery) advocates and the proslavery contingent. Violent confrontations between the two sides led to lawlessness and chaos.

Pierce seemed incapable of providing effective direction. Even as blood was being spilled in Kansas over a conflict that was a national issue, he left the question of slavery up to the warring settlers. His lack of leadership at a crucial time heightened the bitter tensions. His inaction pleased no one; when the Democratic National Convention met in 1856, it chose **James Buchanan** (1791–1868), then the minister to Great Britain and former secretary of state, as its candidate.

Post-presidential years

When the Civil War erupted, Pierce first supported the **Union** effort, but he quickly reverted to his pro-Southern position. In a July 4, 1863,

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speech, he blasted the civil rights and emancipation policies of President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), proclaiming that the attempt to preserve the Union by force was futile. While he spoke, word filtered through the crowd of the Union victory at the **Battle of Gettysburg**. Pierce lived another six years, but played no further public role.

Pilgrims

In 1606, a small group of villagers in Scrooby, England, formed a congregation separate from the Church of England, the English Separatist Church. It was a radical faction of Puritanism, and its members eventually came to be called Pilgrims. As **Puritans**, they sought to simplify the traditions and organization of the Church of England. However, unlike many of the Puritans, they decided to leave the Church of England entirely to establish an independent church. Neighbors rejected their extreme Puritan beliefs and their separatist church, and political authorities harassed them. Determined to pursue religious freedom, the Pilgrims emigrated to Holland in 1607.

Although their congregation continued to increase over the next decade, the Pilgrims were not happy. Their work was hard, their incomes small, and their economic outlook discouraging. By living in Holland, their children were losing touch with their English background. Members lacked the civil autonomy, or independence, they deemed necessary for their purity and proper growth.

In the winter of 1616, several members of the congregation decided to voyage to the New World to establish their own community. By 1619, they had received a charter from the Virginia Company to establish a colony in **Virginia**. They negotiated an agreement to set up the colony as a distinct body with its own government.

As the Pilgrims awaited a grant of religious toleration from England, a group of London merchant adventurers approached them. The merchants proposed a partnership that would enable the Pilgrims to receive the funding they needed for their plan. In exchange, the merchants would sail with the Pilgrims. After some negotiations and delays, in September 1620 a group of thirty-five Pilgrims from Holland joined sixty-six other passengers and forty-eight crew members from England to

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sail for the New World. Their journey aboard the ***Mayflower*** took sixty-six days.

Abandoning their charter for Virginia, the Pilgrims decided instead to settle at Massachusetts Bay at **Plymouth Colony**, where the *Mayflower* had landed. To manage conflict with the merchants, the Pilgrims drafted an agreement called the Mayflower Compact. Under its terms, the settlers agreed to establish a political body that would submit to majority rule in establishing and enforcing laws. Religious leader John Carver (1576–1621) was elected governor. By December, a site for the colony had been established, and work began. A new patent from the Council for New England created the Plymouth Plantation on June 11, 1621.

The winter of 1620–21 was mild, but the first year was still difficult for the Pilgrims. By April, forty-four Pilgrims, including Carver, had died from illness. The presence of the merchants challenged the Pilgrims' desire for a pure Christian community. In November 1621, more colonists arrived, adding strain to already limited resources. Fortunately, the Wampanoag Indians, who had previously settled the lands, were friendly and helpful advisors in agricultural matters.

In 1624 Governor **William Bradford** (1590–1657) changed the communal system of agriculture that had been based on shared ownership of lands. Under the new system, every family was granted its own parcel of land. In 1626, the Pilgrims bought the merchants' shares of land and claimed the colony for themselves. The Plymouth Colony remained independently governed by the Pilgrims according to their religious beliefs until 1691, when it became part of the **Massachusetts Bay Colony**.

Plains Indian Wars

Clashes between Native Americans and settlers had occurred since the 1600s. Tribes in the Northeast forged respectful relationships with fur traders and missionaries, but English settlers lived in constant fear of attacks. After the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the new government had to deal with a major problem: how to convince the Native American tribes in the Northwest Territory (land north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River) to leave their land so white settlers could move in.

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After many battles, the Treaty of Greenville was signed in 1795 and the tribes left **Ohio** for **Indiana**. The treaty allowed tribes to retain hunting rights to the land, and it promised them an immediate payment of $20,000 in the form of everyday goods. Tribes would also receive another $9,500 in goods annually, to be split among them. But settlers soon began moving in on Native American lands in Indiana, too. This breach of contract angered the tribes, and they formed a confederacy led by Shawnee chief **Tecumseh** (1768–1813). His death in the **War of 1812** (1812–15) ended the threat from the Northwest Territory, and the U.S. government was able to develop a policy for removing Native Americans from the region.

By 1860, most Native Americans had been relocated across the Mississippi River, but the tribes did not leave their homelands willingly or without a struggle. In addition to many smaller conflicts, the reloca-



Plains Indians, including these Cheyenne Indians, depended on buffalo for their livelihood. White settlers, however, killed the buffalo near the point of extinction. UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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tion program resulted in the First Seminole War (1817–18), the Black Hawk War (1832), and the Second Seminole War (1835–42). (See **Seminole Wars**.) These wars marked the beginning of more than twenty years of battles between Native Americans and whites.

Relocating the Native Americans did not end the conflicts between the tribes and the settlers and military; it simply changed the setting. The battles were now taking place west of the Mississippi River, primarily on the Great Plains, and they came to be known as the Plains Indian Wars (1866–90). The Great Plains covers all or parts of **New Mexico**, **Texas**, **Oklahoma**, **Colorado**, **Kansas**, **Nebraska**, **North Dakota**, **South Dakota**, **Wyoming**, **Montana**, and some Canadian provinces. Territory this vast was the homeland for numerous Native American tribes, but the dominant groups were the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Crow.

Plains tribes were mostly peaceful and lived together with little conflict. But as white settlers moved into the region, the Native Americans grew increasingly distraught and angry. The settlers slaughtered buffalo herds to the point of near-extinction. The tribal peoples depended on the buffalo for their way of life. They respected the buffalo and hunted it with great appreciation, killing only what they needed and using every part of the animal for food, clothing, and weapons. The mindless slaughter by white settlers led to the first conflicts between the tribes and the white men.

Hunting was not the only point of contention between the two groups. Corruption among Indian agents (representatives of the U.S. government who worked with Native Americans) created distrust and resentment between the Native Americans and outsiders. The responsibility of these agents was to respond to Native American concerns, but some agents stole supplies intended for the **Indian reservations** (federal land allotted to and managed by Native Americans), and others stole money that was supposed to go to the Native Americans as outlined in various treaties and agreements.

In addition to corrupt agents, the Native Americans also were expected to tolerate prospectors (gold miners) trespassing on sacred tribal grounds. Railroads posed another problem when they began interfering with traditional hunting practices. Overall, the Native Americans' way of life was destroyed.

Hostilities peaked between 1869 and 1878. More than two hundred battles were fought during those years. By the late 1870s, the goal of the

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federal government became the Americanization of the "savages." Hiram Price (1814–1901), the commissioner of the **Bureau of Indian Affairs**, wrote in his annual report for 1881 that to "allow them to drag along year after year … in their old superstitions, laziness, and filth … would be a lasting disgrace to our government."

Mighty men

The Plains Indian Wars featured many heroes. These warriors demonstrated their prowess in battle as well as an ability to lead and influence entire nations of Native Americans in what would turn out to be their darkest period in history.

Geronimo Geronimo (1829–1909) was an Apache warrior whose birth name was "Goyakla," which means "one who yawns." Mexican soldiers game him the name "Geronimo."

Although Geronimo was never a chief, he often acted as spokesman for his brother-in-law, an Apache chief with a speech impediment. Mexican soldiers butchered Geronimo's wife, three children, and mother in 1858 when they raided the Apache camp. From that point on, Geronimo was on a mission of vengeance.

Highly respected among the Apache, Geronimo's courage and aggressiveness in battle were honorable traits. Legend has it that he had special powers and could walk without leaving footprints. With such powers, he earned the title of medicine man.

Geronimo and his people fought against the U.S. government fiercely as it tried to force them into an unnatural way of life. He surrendered in 1886 in **Arizona** and was sent, along with 450 of his tribe, to **Florida**, where they remained captive until 1888. They were forcibly moved several times after that, and in 1909, Geronimo died while a prisoner of war at Fort Still, Oklahoma.

Sitting Bull Sitting Bull (c. 1831–1890) was a highly respected Lakota Sioux chief whose visions of the defeat of General George Armstrong Custer (1839–1876) and his own death came true. Another warrior who would not go quietly, Sitting Bull and his tribe fought the government throughout the Plains Wars until it became clear they could never win.

The most famous battle Sitting Bull ever fought in was the Battle of the Little Bighorn (1876), also known as **Custer's Last Stand**. He led the

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Sioux and other tribes in a major victory against Custer and the Seventh U.S. Cavalry. Sitting Bull and his warriors killed Custer and all of his men.

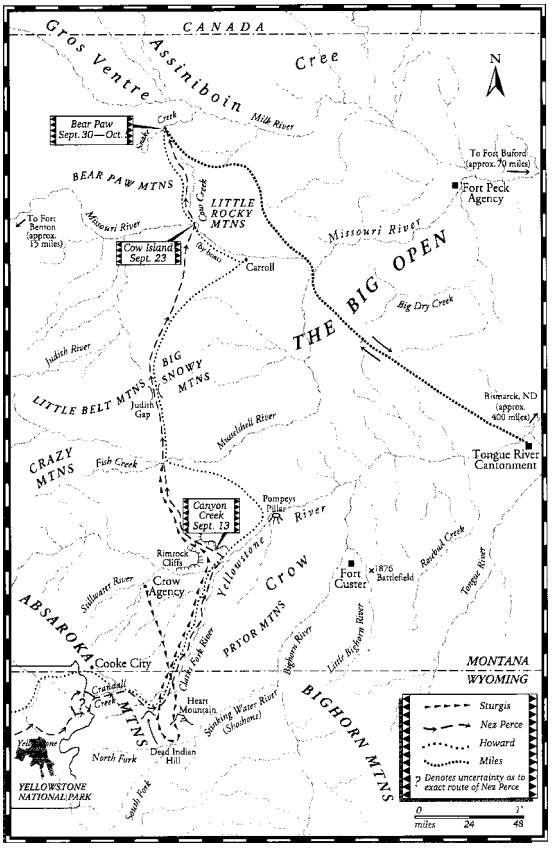
Sitting Bull surrendered in 1881 and was sent to Standing Rock Reservation in the Dakota Territory. When it became apparent that he was still quite a powerful influence, federal agents moved him and his followers to Fort Randall (in present-day South Dakota), where they lived for two years as prisoners of war. In 1883, Sitting Bull returned to Standing Rock, where he spent the remainder of his life. The great chief was murdered accidentally by one of his own tribesmen in 1890, an event he had predicted five years earlier.

Chief Joseph

Chief Joseph (c. 1840–1904) belonged to the Nez Perce tribe. Born in **Oregon**, he became chief around the age of thirty, upon the death of his father. Unlike other mighty chiefs, Joseph's reputation was based not in his great ability as a warrior, but in his deep wisdom and diplomacy.

Joseph managed to keep his tribe's lands despite the continuing influx of white settlers into their valley. In 1877, the U.S. Cavalry threatened to attack the Nez Perce, and only then did Joseph reluctantly agree to move to **Idaho**. Not all of the members of the tribe were so willing to cooperate, however, and twenty young warriors broke away from the tribe to attack a white settlement. From that point on, the army was in pursuit of the Nez Perce. Joseph was against the war, but he was even more against being bullied by the white man.

Throughout the next three months, the Nez Perce, who numbered around seven hundred (of whom just two hundred were warriors), marched more than 1,400 miles and fought off about 2,000 soldiers in more than four major battles. Even the most experienced American generals considered the Nez Perce courageous and skilled.



During the Nez Perce War of 1877, the Nez Perce were able to fight off two thousand soldiers but were forced to surrender and relocate.
PUBLIC DOMAIN

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Joseph and the Nez Perce surrendered in October 1877 with the promise that they would be taken home, but instead, they were forced into Kansas and from there, to what is now Oklahoma. Many of his people died of disease. It was not until 1885 that Joseph and his remaining people were allowed to return to the Northwest, and even then, they were made to live on a non–Nez Perce reservation apart from the rest of their tribe. Joseph died in 1904, still in exile from his homeland.

A bloody end

The Plains Indian Wars ended with the **Wounded Knee massacre** on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. On December 29, 1890, the U.S. Army slaughtered around three hundred Native Americans, two-thirds of them unarmed elderly, women, and children. Twenty-five U.S. soldiers were killed, the majority of them from friendly fire. Although fighting between Native Americans and whites continued into January, Wounded Knee officially marked the end of the Plains Wars.

Plessy v. Ferguson

In 1890, **Louisiana** passed a law requiring African Americans to ride in railroad cars separate from whites. To protest the law, a light-skinned African American named Homer Plessy (1862–1925) boarded a whites-only train car. He was immediately arrested, tried, and convicted by a local judge of violating the state's racial **segregation** laws.

Plessy appealed the ruling, and his case eventually went to the U.S. **Supreme Court** in 1896. The Court determined that Plessy had not been denied his rights because the separate railroad car provided for blacks was equal to the cars provided whites. It held that separation of the races was not illegal, and that "separate but equal" accommodations did not indicate that blacks were inferior to whites.

Only one judge on the Supreme Court dissented (disagreed) with the verdict. Justice John Marshall Harlan (1833–1911) was a former slave owner who had changed his opinion after the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Harlan insisted that the U.S. **Constitution** was color-blind, that all citizens were equal under the law, and that the forced separation of the races degraded African Americans.

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The separate-but-equal doctrine allowed states to restrict African Americans from public areas and services. Soon, signs reading "Whites Only" and "Colored" appeared everywhere. Curfews were established for African Americans, and they were forced to use separate entrances and exits at places such as libraries and theaters.

The *Plessy* ruling stood for over sixty years until the landmark ***Brown v. Board of Education*** Supreme Court ruling of 1954. It said that separate schools for blacks and whites denied blacks the same kinds of educational opportunities afforded to whites.

Plymouth Colony

In 1620, a group of nearly one hundred English colonists arrived along the coast of New England aboard the ***Mayflower***. Although they intended to settle farther south, they established a settlement off the rocky coast of what became **Massachusetts**. The colony of Plymouth was the first European settlement in New England.

Many of the passengers aboard the *Mayflower* were inspired to come to the New World in search of religious freedom. They were part of a group of **Puritans** known as **Separatists**. As Puritans, they sought to simplify the traditions and organization of the Church of England. However, unlike many of the Puritans, they decided to leave the Church of England entirely to establish an independent church. As Separatists, they were inspired to lead a fully Christian life purely according to the Bible's rules, rather than those of a church. Coming to the New World, they sought to build a community built on their Puritan values.

The Puritans aboard the *Mayflower* were part of a group that had first moved from their homes in England to Leiden, Amsterdam, to establish the English Separatist Church. Although their church was thriving, limited economic opportunities and fears of losing their English heritage prompted many of them to seek their own community in the New World. The Virginia Company of Plymouth (known as the Plymouth Company) provided the charter for lands in the New World as well as funding for passage. In return, the Puritans would work for the company by establishing trade and harvesting natural resources of the New World.

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English colonists landing in 1620 in New England, where they founded the Plymouth Colony. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

In September 1620, the Puritans joined other passengers, mostly investors in the Plymouth Company, to set sail for the New World. These Puritan settlers would eventually come to be called the **Pilgrims**. Their arrival in December was 200 miles north of where the charter established a right to settle. The passengers decided to settle in the area anyway. Since the laws of the charter were not valid in the new area, the freemen of the voyage signed an agreement, the Mayflower Compact, to establish a common government acceptable to all.

The first winter was challenging for the colonists, and nearly half of them died. The survivors were fortunate, however, to find the lands of a local Native American tribe that had recently been devastated by disease. The dead Native Americans left behind cleared fields for farming and

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stores of corn. By the following autumn, the colonists had established a good supply of their own food and trade with other local Native Americans for shipping back to England.

Valid titles to the Plymouth Colony's lands were obtained in 1621 and 1630. In 1627, the merchants sold their interests in the settlement to the Pilgrims and withdrew from the venture. Although Plymouth was the only settlement in the area for a decade, others were soon established, and the colony widened into the colony of New Plymouth. In 1691, it was absorbed by the larger **Massachusetts Bay Colony**.

Pocahontas

Pocahontas was a Native American friend of the settlers at **Jamestown, Virginia**. She was the first Native American woman to marry an Englishman, John Rolfe (1585–1622). She is well remembered for helping the settlers in many ways.

An Indian princess

It is believed that Pocahontas was born around 1595 in the area of present-day **Virginia**. She was the daughter of Chief Powhatan, or Wahunsenacah, the chief of the Powhatan people. Though she was called Pocahontas, for "playful one," her real name was Matoaka.

A colony's friend

In 1607, a group of English arrived in the area of Pocahontas's home to establish a settlement at Jamestown. Pocahontas was known to visit the colonists regularly and formed a friendship with Captain **John Smith** (c. 1580–1631). It is thought that she often brought food to the hungry colonists and warned them of Indian attacks, though there is some question as to whether the story is true.

It is also said that Pocahontas saved the life of Captain Smith in 1608. Captured by the Powhatans during an exploratory expedition, Captain Smith was to be executed. Pocahontas stopped the event by throwing herself on Captain Smith and convincing her father to spare Smith's life. Her actions may have saved the colony of Jamestown. Afterwards, she continued to visit the colony, and relations with the Indians remained good. When Smith returned to England in 1609, her

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visits stopped, and the relationship between the two communities deteriorated.

In 1613, English captain Samuel Argall (c. 1572–c. 1626) took Pocahontas captive while she was visiting another tribe. He took her prisoner in hopes of securing the release from the Powhatans of several Englishmen and stolen supplies and weapons. She was taken to Jamestown while bargaining ensued. While several men were released, the Powhatan chief refused to return the supplies and weapons.

Pocahontas was transferred to another settlement, Henricus. Wherever Pocahontas went, she was treated with courtesy and kindness. At Henricus, she was converted to Christianity and took the name Rebecca. When a distinguished settler from Jamestown, John Rolfe, proposed, she accepted. Though the proposal was unusual, both Chief Powhatan and the Virginia governor, Sir Thomas Dale, granted permission. In 1614, they were married. Both communities viewed the unusual marriage as a bond between them, and eight years of peace followed.

Later life

With her marriage to the Englishman, Pocahontas embraced the European lifestyle. They had a son, Thomas Rolfe (1615–1675), in 1615. The Virginia Company invited the family to visit England, hoping that it would encourage more colonists and investors. A year later, the family traveled to England. Pocahontas was received as a princess and entertained by the elite of society. As they prepared to leave for America again, she fell ill. She died in early 1617 in Gravesend, England.

Edgar Allan Poe

Edgar Allan Poe was a master of the gothic tale, a style of fiction characterized by eerie settings and gloomy, violent, and horrifying atmospheres. He is also remembered as the inventor of the modern detective story.

Poe was born on January 19, 1809, the son of professional actors. When he was three, his mother died of tuberculosis (known then as consumption, a disease of the lungs) and his father had already abandoned the family. Poe was sent to live in Richmond, **Virginia**, at the home of a wealthy and childless couple, John and Frances Allan, whose name Poe was to take later as his middle name. Frances Allan loved Poe like a son, but the relationship with John Allan was strained.

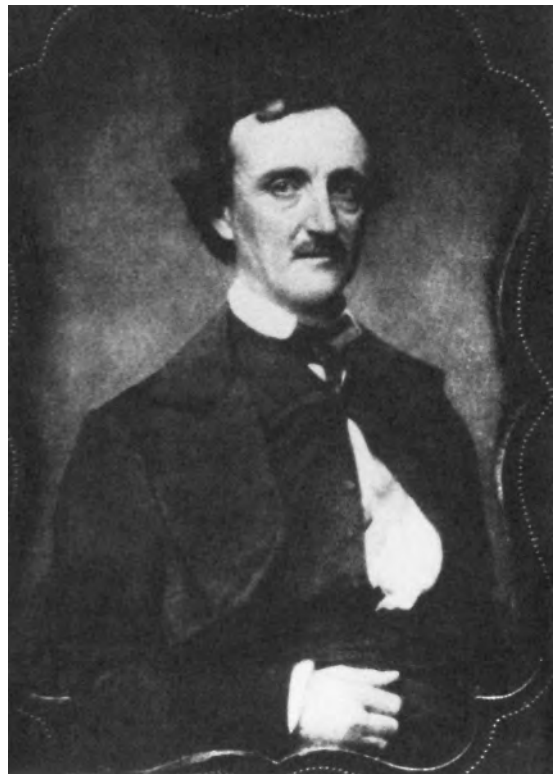
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Early years

Poe was educated in private academies. He did well in all subjects, but literature absorbed his attention. By age fourteen, he was writing poetry. He entered the University of Virginia in 1826, where he took up more than studying; drinking large quantities of alcohol and gambling became new habits. This soon led to an estrangement with John Allan; Poe was cut off from all funds in 1827.

The young man set off for Boston, **Massachusetts**, determined to become a great writer. There he published a book of poems, but they attracted little attention. In desperate need of an income, Poe decided to join the U.S. **Army**. Surprisingly, he adapted well to military discipline and quickly rose to the rank of sergeant major, the highest noncommissioned grade in the Army. After receiving an appointment to West Point Military Academy in **New York**, Poe discovered that the life of an officer-in-training was not at all what he had expected. Frustrated, he began drinking heavily and stopped attending his classes. He was kicked out of the academy in 1831.

Edgar Allan Poe was a master of the gothic tale and is best-known for his poem "The Raven" and his stories "The Fall of the House of Usher" and "The Tell-Tale Heart."



Writer and editor

Poe eventually went to stay in Baltimore, **Maryland**, with an impoverished aunt and her family and spent most of his time writing. In 1831, he published a book of poems and placed a few short stories in magazines. In 1833, he got a job as an assistant editor on the *Southern Literary Messenger.* A hard worker and a brilliant literary critic, Poe contributed greatly to the literary journal. It is estimated that he quintupled the magazine's readership. He also offended many writers with his sharp criticism and infuriated his boss with his bouts of heavy drinking. He was fired in 1837.

In 1836, Poe married his thirteen-year-old cousin Virginia. He and his wife and mother-in-law moved to Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, where he joined the staff of *Burton's Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1839.

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Productive years

Poe's longest work, his novel *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym, of Nantucket,* was published in 1838. The novel, which is actually a series of stories strung together, tells the story of Arthur Gordon Pym's ocean voyages, which take him ever closer to the South Pole. Begun as a high seas adventure tale, the stories soon turn to the fantastic and supernatural.

During Poe's days at *Burton's,* he published many of his best stories, including "Ligeia" and "The Fall of the House of Usher." In "Ligeia," a man recounts the death of his beloved wife, his remarriage to a woman he grows to hate, and his first wife's resurrection in the dead body of the second wife. "The Fall of the House of Usher" is the tale of the last descendants, a twin brother and sister, of a cursed family doomed to live in a haunted mansion that seems to be alive with evil. The struggles between life and death and reason and insanity eventually bring the mansion toppling in on itself, killing those inside.

In 1839, he published all his existing stories in a two-volume set titled *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque.* It sold very few copies. In 1840, Poe attempted to establish his own literary magazine called the *Penn,* but he failed to find backers. He took a job with *Graham's Magazine,* remaining there until 1842.

Detective stories

Before joining *Graham's,* Poe had begun writing "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," which is considered one of the first modern detective stories. Featuring a brilliant detective named C. Auguste Dupin and his dimwitted assistant, the story solved its crime through a process of rational thought and detection. For four years, between 1841 and 1845, Poe wrote more detective stories, such as "The Mystery of Marie Roget," "The Purloined Letter," and "The Gold Bug." Scottish writer Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930), creator of fiction's most famous detective, Sherlock Holmes, proclaimed Poe the father of the detective tale. These stories earned Poe an improved reputation and more money than he had ever earned before.

"The Raven"

In January 1845, Poe published the poem that would bring him his greatest fame, "The Raven." In the poem, a depressed man asks a raven

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perched upon his windowsill if he will meet his dead lover, Lenore, in the afterlife. The poem created an immediate sensation and made Poe a minor celebrity.

Poe's fame soon fell prey to his drunkenness and despair. His wife, Virginia, was dying slowly and painfully of tuberculosis. Poe was frequently seen wandering drunkenly through the streets of New York. Virginia died on January 30, 1847, leaving Poe in a deep depression for nearly a year.

Death and reputation

In July 1849, Poe traveled by train to call on a former childhood sweetheart, and on the way back he stopped in Baltimore. No one knows what happened to him there. A few days later, he was found unconscious in a gutter and was taken to a hospital. Already too far gone to recover, he died several days later.

Poe's reputation has undergone many twists since his death. His literary executor (the person who takes care of the works of an author after his or her death) was jealous of Poe and did all he could to paint him as a vicious drunk who lacked moral principle. In 1874, a biographer published a well-researched and positive portrait of Poe that began to set the record straight. Gradually, writers and critics recognized the late horror writer's talent. His works began to be issued anew. By the second half of the twentieth century, Poe was recognized as one of the great geniuses of American literature. He retains a popular audience rare among so-called "classic" authors, for his tales of terror contain a fascination and a mystery that appeals to many readers.

Polio Vaccine

The most feared disease of the 1950s was polio. It attacked children more than adults and afflicted the rich as well as the poor.

Polio is an infectious disease caused by one of three types of virus that enters the body through the mouth. It lives in the bloodstream before taking one of two routes. It either enters the bowels, where it is expelled without causing any more harm than the common cold, or it travels to the central nervous system, where it damages cells in the brain steam or spinal cord. Severe paralysis and even death can occur.

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In 1953, Dr. Hart E. Van Riper, director of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (NFIP), announced that more cases of polio had been reported in the prior five years than in the previous twenty. Immediately, rumors circulated that insects, animals, poor genetics, and even infected fruit spread polio. Van Riper tried to dispel these rumors by explaining that neither bugs nor heredity caused the disease, which tends to strike in the summer. He cautioned parents about letting children play in swimming pools, where the risk of transmission was increased. Children were encouraged not to play hard for fear of sweating, which was believed to promote the disease. As a result, public swimming pools were closed and children spent summertime engaging in quiet activities.

Vaccines

An early polio vaccine in the 1950s did little to keep the disease at bay. It was made using gamma globulin, a component of human blood that helps prevent infectious viruses. Gamma globulin was already being used in the measles vaccine, which was administered to schoolchildren on a regular basis. Because of this use, gamma globulin was in short supply and could not be used to make many polio vaccines. As a result, the early polio vaccine offered immunity lasting only eight days. Parents demanded something better for their children.

Dr. Jonas Salk (1914–1995) developed a vaccine consisting of all three types of the polio virus. In the spring of 1954, it was tested on 1.8 million schoolchildren. Test results in 1955 showed that the vaccine worked in preventing the onset of polio, and Congress passed the Poliomyelitis Vaccination Act. The act provided $30 million for states to buy the vaccine. Four major drug companies worked together to provide 9.8 million doses for elementary school children in 1955. First graders received the shot first, then children in grades two to four, then pregnant women past the twelfth week of pregnancy. By the end of 1958, 200 million people had received the Salk vaccine.

The Salk vaccine had its problems. It was difficult to mass-produce because the viruses had to be killed before being made into the vaccine. If a live virus made it into the vaccine batch (which happened in 1955), the shot would infect the recipient with the very disease from which it was designed to protect. Another drawback was that immunity lasted

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just thirty months, at which time a booster shot was needed. Researchers continued to look for ways to improve the vaccine.

Sabin to the rescue

Experts knew they needed to devise a vaccine using the live virus. It would increase the length of immunity and be easier to make on a large scale. Albert Sabin (1906–1993) successfully tested his live-virus vaccine on thirty prisoner volunteers in 1955. He announced that his vaccine was ready for mass testing in 1956, but Americans were skeptical. The idea of using a live virus to actually protect people did not make sense. Sabin was invited to test his vaccine in the Soviet Union, and he did so, successfully. Finally, in 1961, Americans allowed their children to be immunized with Sabin's vaccine. The best news for children was that the vaccine was not a shot. It was a cherry-flavored liquid that they could drink.

Salk and Sabin are the names most commonly related to the polio vaccine, but thousands of researchers helped in the fight. Hundreds of millions of dollars were donated for research and patient care. By the 1980s, the United States reported fewer than ten cases of polio each year.

Political Parties of the Antebellum Era

In the decade before the American **Civil War** (1861–65), the two established political parties, the **Whig Party** and the **Democratic Party**, underwent extreme changes, resulting by 1860 in the end of the Whig Party and the rise of the **Republican Party**. These rapid changes in the political parties reflected the sharp disagreement between North and South over **slavery**, but also the fact that the North and the South were becoming two different societies with opposing political goals.

From 1832 to 1850, the Whigs and Democrats had sustained an uneasy peace in issues of slavery. Each party included among its supporters both Northerners and Southerners, and so each party worked out its own compromises on the slavery issue to please all their members. Initially, it was other factors, primarily industrialization and **immigration**, that were responsible for upsetting the balance.

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Know-Nothing Party

In the 1840s, industrialization, the large-scale use of labor-saving machines to produce goods, led to an increasingly urban (city) society in the Northeast. The new industrial society produced wealth for its leaders, but also poverty and filthy living conditions for multitudes in the northeastern cities. Southerners viewed the industrialized North with disgust. Their hope to remain an agricultural society, and to avoid the dirty, crime-ridden conditions of some of the northeastern cities, became tied to the institution of slavery, which provided the labor Southerners felt they needed to sustain their farming economy.

Industry and the promise of jobs drew millions of immigrants from Europe to northeastern cities in the 1840s and 1850s. Northern Democrats generally welcomed immigrants and brought them into their party. The powerful Democratic political machines often supported the newcomers with their unofficial systems of political organization based on the spoils system, in which votes are promised in return for favors and political appointments are used as rewards. Whigs, in contrast, generally feared that the immigrants would be willing to work in menial or unsafe conditions at extremely low wages, lowering the standards for everyone. Ignorance and prejudice against religious and ethnic minorities heightened these fears.

After 1848, the Whigs in the North increasingly abandoned their party for the new American Party, or **Know-Nothing Party**, which vowed to end the immigrant tide. Part political party and part secret society, it maintained lodges open only to white, native-born citizens and inducted new members with secret initiation rituals. When questioned about these rituals, members answered "I know nothing"—leading many to call the party the Know-Nothings.

By 1848, some northerners had left both the Whigs and the Democrats, forming the **Free Soil Party**, which worked to stop slavery from expanding into the vast territories won from Mexico during the **Mexican-American War** (1846–47). By 1850, the Whig Party had been thoroughly shattered by the immigration issue.

Kansas-Nebraska Act

Without a strong Whig opposition to restrain them, Democrats took control of both houses of Congress as well as the White House. Though

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the Democratic Party was still a mix of Southerners and Northerners, Southerners controlled it. Democratic leaders took advantage of their new strength by reopening slavery issues.

In 1854, the powerful U.S. senator Stephen Douglas (1813–1861) of **Illinois** proposed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** to organize governments for the new territories of **Kansas** and **Nebraska**. According to the act, the territories would choose by "popular sovereignty," or by popular vote within the territory, whether they would be slave states or free states. Though a Northerner, Douglas was pressured by Southerners of his party to lead a successful effort to repeal the **Missouri Compromise** of 1820, which had prohibited the creation of slave states north of **Missouri**'s southern boundary. With the passage of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, slaveholders were free to settle with their slaves in any territory they chose.

Rise of the Republican Party

Northerners were furious over the Kansas-Nebraska Act. To many, it seemed that the South could not be trusted to abide by any compromise. To halt the expansion of slavery and limit the power of the southern states, Free Soilers and antislavery Whigs and Democrats came together to establish a new party. Their organization took various names—People's Party and Independent Party, for example—but the name Republican became most popular.

In 1854, the Republicans nominated their first presidential candidate, western explorer **John C. Frémont** (1813–1890). On election day, Frémont and the Know-Nothings' candidate, former U.S. president **Millard Fillmore** (1800–1874; served 1850–53), split the Northern vote, and Democratic candidate **James Buchanan** (1791–1868; served 1857–61) won the votes of an almost-solid South. Despite Buchanan's national victory, Republicans won many congressional seats.

Lincoln, the Republican spokesman

Stephen Douglas was up for reelection to the Senate in 1858. To oppose him, Republicans nominated little-known Illinois lawyer **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865). Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates as a way of introducing himself to the voters; Douglas accepted. In the **Lincoln-Douglas debates**, Lincoln went on the offensive, attacking

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Douglas as a tool of the alleged Southern conspiracy to nationalize slavery. Douglas, in turn, branded Lincoln a proponent of the **abolition movement** and racial equality.

Douglas won the Senate seat, but Lincoln's strong performance in the debates helped publicize Republican ideas and made him a national figure. He received the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1860.

Democratic Party split

While the Republicans united behind Lincoln in 1860, the Democrats began to split along sectional lines. Southern Democrats demanded more protection for slavery as part of the party platform. Northern Democrats, feeling they had already gone too far to gain the goodwill of the South, refused these demands. Unable to agree, the two sides split. The Southerners nominated Vice President John C. Breckinridge (1821–1875) on a platform promising protection and even promotion of slavery in all the territories; the Northerners nominated Douglas. Dissatisfied with both these alternatives, a group of border-state moderates formed yet another party, the Constitutional Union movement, with a platform that offered little more than a veiled promise to stick to the middle ground on slavery issues.

Republicans worked hard for Lincoln, promoting an image of their candidate as a man of the people and an American success story. Buoyed by a party platform that artfully combined opposition to the "slave power conspiracy" with an appeal to important special interests, Lincoln won every free state in the Union on election day, securing a clear majority and winning the election.

Consequences of Republican triumph

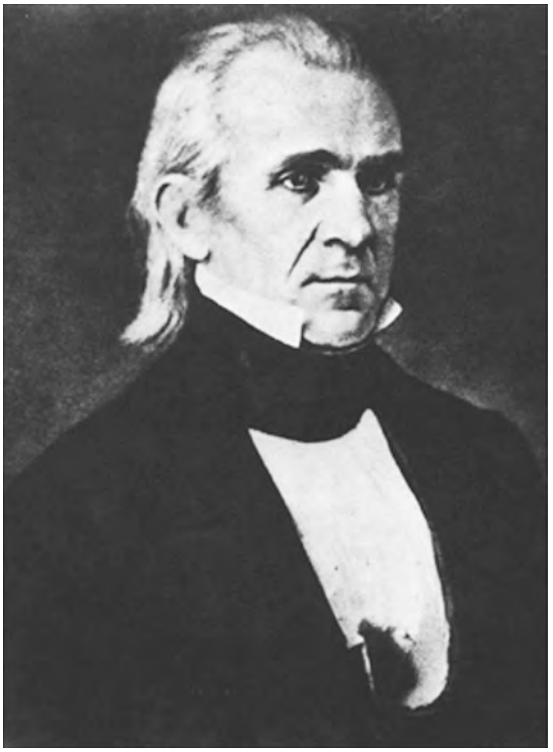
The Republicans had won, but the huge divide between North and South was deepened. Even as Lincoln carried a united North, the proslavery Democrats carried an almost equally united South. Southerners declared that they would never accept Lincoln as president—that he was an outsider imposed on them against their near-unanimous vote at the polls. Feeling unrepresented by the Republican majority, the Southern slaveholders determined to secede from the Union. (See **Secession**.) This set the stage for the Civil War.

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James K. Polk

James Knox Polk was elected president in 1844 in a prosperous period of U.S. history. He presided over the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) and was responsible for expanding the nation with the addition of land that today comprises nine western states.

Polk was born on November 2, 1795, on a small farm in **North Carolina**, in an Irish American family. In his youth, he helped his father manage large local farms. He later graduated from the University of North Carolina at the top of his class. Two years later, he became a lawyer and soon began his political career with the **Democratic Party** of **Tennessee**. His friendship with Tennessee politician and future U.S. president **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–1837) allowed Polk to move up quickly in politics. He was elected governor of Tennessee in 1839.



As the eleventh president of the United States, James K. Polk presided over the Mexican-American War and expanded the nation with land that today comprises nine western states. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Dark horse candidate

Running as a "dark horse" (a political unknown) in the presidential election of 1844, Polk narrowly defeated the Whig Party leader **Henry Clay** (1777–1852). During the campaign, Polk forcefully asserted that it was the **manifest destiny** (God-given mission) of the United States to expand its borders. Once in office, in 1846 Polk acquired from England a large section of the northwest known as the **Oregon** Territory. The acquisition was won peacefully, although Polk did not gain as much territory as he had hoped.

War with Mexico

Mexico frustrated Polk's territorial ambitions. Although the Republic of **Texas** had won its independence from Mexico, the Mexican government refused to acknowledge it as an independent state and threatened war if the United States annexed Texas (added it to the country). Nonetheless,

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right before Polk took office, Congress had voted to annex Texas. Increasing the tension, Polk sent his ministers to Mexico to try to purchase the **California** and **New Mexico** Territories as well. When the Mexican president refused to see his ministers, Polk sent U.S. forces down to the Rio Grande River, the disputed border area. The conflict turned into the Mexican-American War. After the war, the victorious United States acquired Texas and much of the territory of present-day **Arizona**, California, **Colorado**, **Nevada**, New Mexico, **Utah**, and **Wyoming**.

The addition of new territory appealed to the American public, but it also inflamed the bitter dispute over **slavery**. One of the most explosive issues was whether the new territories would be admitted to the Union as slave states or free states. Polk, a slaveholder, sought compromise. He attempted to revive the **Missouri Compromise** of 1820, whereby slavery was prohibited in any new territories that lay above the latitude 36 degrees 30 minutes north, a line drawn across the map dividing North from South. But by 1848, the emotional and economic issues of slavery had become so intense that this compromise was unacceptable to both the North and the South.

During Polk's single term as president, the size of the United States increased by about 50 percent, providing needed land for farming, homesteading, and mining development. It was a watershed for U.S. **westward expansion**, encouraging one of the greatest population movements in U.S. history, but it was also a major factor in the bitter conflict leading up to the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Polk's health was undermined by overwork during his term as president. He died in 1849, less than four months after leaving office.

Juan Ponce de León

Juan Ponce de León was the first European to visit **Florida** and explore its coastline. According to legend, he came to the New World in search of the mythical fountain of youth, but his principal motivation was probably the pursuit of gold and riches.

Born in 1460 to a poor but noble family in Spain, Ponce de León spent his boyhood as a page (a young person in training) to a powerful nobleman and his teen years in military training. He later fought with the Spanish army against the Moors (Muslims) in southern Spain. His

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bravery led to an assignment to travel with Italian explorer **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) on his second voyage to the New World in 1493. Ponce de León remained in Hispaniola (the Caribbean island presently occupied by the Dominican Republic and Haiti). In 1504, he helped stop a revolt by Native Americans in the province of Higüey (pronounced EE-gway), on the eastern part of the island. As a reward, the king of Spain made him governor of Higüey.

A few years later, a Native American from a neighboring island arrived in Higüey with a large nugget of gold. Ponce de León immediately organized an expedition to investigate. His army conquered the island, and he was named governor of the new Spanish possession of Puerto Rico. There, he grew rich from the island's gold, its exotic fruits, and slave labor.

The fountain of youth

In 1511, Spain replaced Ponce de León with Diego Columbus (c. 1479–1526) as governor of Puerto Rico. Ponce de León decided to set off in search of other lands. He wanted to find and settle an island he had heard about called Bimini, which supposedly contained a mysterious spring that restored youth to all who drank its waters. It is likely that Ponce de León was searching for gold, but the myth of the fountain of youth may also have intrigued him.

In 1513, Ponce de León left Puerto Rico with three ships. Sailing north, the expedition sighted land. When they went ashore, Ponce de León named the place Florida ("flowery" in Spanish). It is unclear whether he chose this name because of the colorful beauty of the land or because it was the feast of Easter, or *la pascua florida* in Spanish. In the name of the Spanish king, he took possession of the new land near the present-day city of St. Augustine on the eastern coast of Florida.

Discovers Gulf Stream

Ponce de León's expedition then headed south, but its boats were slowed by a heavy current. This was the Gulf Stream and its discovery opened a new route for Spanish travel from the Caribbean to North America. The Spanish ships dropped anchor at points along the shore, but several unfriendly encounters with Native Americans encouraged Ponce de León to continue on. He and his men followed the shoreline around the

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southern tip of Florida and past the Florida Keys. Coming upon a group of islands, he and his men captured 170 turtles. He named the islands Tortugas ("turtles" in Spanish), and today it is known as the Dry Tortugas.

The expedition sailed north along the Gulf coast of Florida as far as Sanibel Island, then turned and headed back toward Cuba. Ponce de León sent one ship in a continued search for Bimini. Ponce de León returned to Puerto Rico where he was again involved in settling Native American rebellions.

Fatally wounded by Native Americans

Ponce de León spent years in Puerto Rico before setting out on a final adventure. In 1521, he loaded two ships with supplies, about two hundred men, fifty horses, and many domestic animals for his second journey to find Bimini. Included in his group were several priests to help spread Christianity among the native people. After the group landed on the west coast of Florida, Native Americans immediately attacked them. Ponce de León was badly wounded and taken back to his ship, which immediately sailed for Cuba. Ponce de León died on the ship in July 1521. His body was shipped to Puerto Rico for burial.

Ponce de León died without really knowing the importance of his discoveries. The explorer was laid to rest beneath the altar of a San Juan church. The inscription on his gravestone reads, "Beneath this stone repose the bones of the valiant Lion (León is 'lion' in Spanish) whose deeds surpassed the greatness of his name."

Pony Express

On April 3, 1860, a new cross-country mail carrier called the Pony Express began operation. William H. Russell (1812–1872) backed the service, hoping to earn a lucrative government contract to carry mail from the Missouri River to **California**. Before the Pony Express began, all mail to California traveled an indirect route through the South and generally took twenty-two days. Russell hoped to prove that a central route was both feasible and faster.

The Pony Express began in Saint Joseph, **Missouri**, the western end of the nation's rail system, and ended in Sacramento, California. The route was nearly 2,000 miles long and operated much like a long relay.

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Just over 150 stations were built at distances of 10 to 15 miles from each other. Stables of ponies were kept at each station, and carriers rode quickly from one station to the next. Upon reaching a station, a carrier transferred his saddlebags to a fresh pony in two minutes. After riding 75 to 100 miles, a carrier finished for the day and a new carrier continued the trip. Each horse and rider made only one journey each day.

The Pony Express could carry mail from Missouri to California in just ten days. The record of seven days was set when news of President **Abraham Lincoln**'s inaugural address was carried in March 1861. The success of the Pony Express, however, was short-lived. Telegraph lines soon spanned the nation, with the last connection being made on October 24, 1861. The telegraph eliminated the need for the Pony Express, and Russell failed to win the mail contract for which he had worked. The Pony Express stopped two days later, on October 26, 1861.

Potsdam Conference

The Potsdam Conference was a meeting of Allied leaders at the end of **World War II** (1939–45). Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), U.S. president **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53), and British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), followed by his successor, Clement Attlee (1883–1967), gathered in Potsdam, Germany, from July 17 to August 2, 1945. Germany had surrendered on May 8, and the leaders needed to finalize several issues regarding German territories. They decided that peace treaties would be proposed later by the Council of Foreign Ministers rather than hastily decided at the conference.

The leaders of the **Allies** had previously decided that a defeated Germany would be divided into four zones of occupation. Each zone was to be administered by one of the leading Allied forces, namely the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France. Berlin was similarly divided, as were Austria and its capital of Vienna. Although the zones were to be overseen separately, they were to be united in common policies through the Control Council in Berlin.

Generally the Allied leaders agreed that the guiding principles for rebuilding Germany would be denazification, demilitarization, decentralization, deindustrialization, and democratization. The German economy would be redirected toward the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and light industries, protecting the Allied leaders against economic competi-

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Potsdam Declaration

Great Britain and the United States issued the Potsdam Declaration from the Potsdam Conference on July 26, 1945. It was an ultimatum directed at the Japanese government, which had refused to surrender. Demanding Japan's immediate and unconditional surrender to the Allied forces, the declaration threatened increased air attacks and utter destruction.

Japan offered a conditional surrender, but the United States and Britain refused it. President Truman then gave orders to use America's new military weapon, the **atomic bomb**. On August 6, 1945, one bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan. Though it killed over seventy thousand people and devastated the city, the Japanese government refused to surrender. Another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, killing over thirty-five thousand people. The Japanese government offered its surrender the following day, and World War II ended on all fronts.

tion from Germany. With small exceptions, each Allied country would collect reparations, or war payments, in its own zone.

Another issue at the conference concerned the boundaries of both Germany and Poland. The boundaries of Poland had been discussed at the **Yalta Conference** the preceding February, but they remained largely undefined. The eastern boundary of Poland was to be pushed west to give additional territory to the Soviet Union. To compensate for Poland's loss, the attendees decided that Germany should surrender lands to Poland. As a result, nine million Germans were to be relocated to within Poland under its new boundaries.

On August 2, the leaders signed a statement of the agreements, called the Potsdam Agreement. The Potsdam Conference proved to be the last meeting among the Allied leaders. Deepening suspicion and conflicts of interest among the three countries led to strained relationships. The tension between **communism** in the Soviet Union and capitalism in the United States eventually evolved into the **Cold War**.

President

See **Checks and Balances; Executive Branch**

Elvis Presley

Elvis Presley was known as the King of **Rock and Roll** even before his early death at the age of forty-two. His impact on American popular culture has never before or since been duplicated.

Early talent

Presley was born a twin on January 8, 1935, in Tupelo, **Mississippi**. His brother, Jesse, died shortly after birth. Elvis's singing ability became obvi-

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ous when he was still in elementary school. At thirteen, he and his parents moved to Memphis, **Tennessee**.

After graduating from high school in 1953, Presley worked as a truck driver to earn money to record his own records. Before the end of 1954, he recorded his first commercial release, "That's All Right (Mama)." It sold twenty thousand copies.

Big break

Presley's first number one song on the Hot 100 charts was "Heartbreak Hotel" (1956), and it was that song that brought him to the attention of the nation. The tune spent twenty-seven weeks on the chart, seven of them in first place. It also reached the top of country charts, testament to the musician's ability to combine country with rhythm and blues to appeal to a crossover audience.

Presley spent the rest of the decade turning out one hit after another, all under the new label of rock and roll. "Don't Be Cruel" (1956) was followed by "Blue Suede Shoes" (1956), "Love Me Tender" (1956), "All Shook Up," (1957), and "Jailhouse Rock" (1957). He was the top recording artist throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and before his life ended, he had 136 gold records and 10 platinum albums.

Cultural impact

Presley not only influenced and pioneered the music scene of his era, he shaped American culture with his manner of dress, hairstyle, and dance. Never before had anyone seen a performer gyrate his hips as Presley did, and he shocked and frightened parents and more conservative Americans across the nation. Teens and young adults loved him, though, and John Lennon (1940–1980) credited Presley as one of the most important influences on his own band, the Beatles.

As television became a major entertainment medium, Presley made guest appearances on the many variety shows of the era, including *The Milton Berle Show* and *The Ed Sullivan Show.* Cameramen were instructed to show the performer from the waist up only, to avoid controversy caused by his gyrating hip movements.

The entertainer made his mark in films as well. His first movie, *Love Me Tender,* was released in 1956. By the time he made his thirty-third and last movie, Presley had become the top box office draw during the

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previous two decades and had grossed over $150 million. His movies were nothing more than vehicles to showcase his singing and dancing abilities, and all of them included young, beautiful women. Critics agree that Presley's films did as much as his songs to cement his place in cultural history. Some of his more successful movies include *Jailhouse Rock* (1957), *King Creole* (1958), *G. I. Blues* (1960), *Blue Hawaii* (1961), *Girls! Girls! Girls!* (1962), and *Viva Las Vegas* (1964).

Presley served in the U.S. **Army** from 1958 until his discharge in 1960. While in Germany, he met Priscilla Beaulieu, who later became his wife.

Personal drama

As successful as Presley was in his professional life, his personal life was a succession of failure and struggles. Before Priscilla had even graduated from high school, he had arranged to have her live in his new mansion, Graceland, in Memphis. In 1967, they married, and their only child, Lisa Marie Presley, was born the following year. The couple divorced in 1973.

For Presley's entire career, his personal manager, Colonel Tom Parker (1909–1997), controlled and mismanaged the star's finances. Because of Parker's manipulation, Presley never learned how to manage his own money, and this caused many problems for him. Although Parker was eventually tried for his unethical management dealings, he was found not guilty.

Presley fared little better when it came to managing his own health. Beginning in the late 1960s, he battled with his weight and became increasingly dependent on drugs, mostly amphetamines and sedatives. His doctor, George Nichopoulos, prescribed and dispensed thousands of pills and narcotics to the star.

Weight and drug problems notwithstanding, Presley continued to perform to sell-out audiences well into the 1970s. On August 16, 1977, he was found dead in his home. The official cause of death was heart disease, but when the public learned of his drug addiction, many speculated that drugs led to the heart attack. The world mourned for weeks.

Presley's home, Graceland mansion, remains the top tourist attraction in Memphis in the twenty-first century. Millions of visitors have entered the gates. Presley is the only star to be honored with membership in three music halls of fame: the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, the **Country Music** Hall of Fame, and the Gospel Music Hall of Fame. In

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2004, he was inducted into the first U.K. Hall of Fame as an honorary member. That same year, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the song's release, "That's All Right (Mama)" was played simultaneously on more than one thousand radio stations across the nation.

Progressive Era

The Progressive Era (generally, the first two decades of the twentieth century) was a period of change that began in America's urban areas. The federal government passed laws regarding labor, women's rights, railroads, the food industry, politics, education, and housing. The Progressive Era was different from the previous years mostly because of a change in the attitude toward social class. In the **Gilded Age** (approximately 1878–99), the upper class generally believed that their wealth was God-given, and that those who lived in poverty did so because they were immoral.

With the dawn of the Progressive Era came a subtle and gradual shift in attitude. As the number of Americans living in poverty increased and their circumstances became more visible in public society, some of the more powerful members of society began to realize that with their good fortunes came an obligation to help those in need. Steel magnate **Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919) primarily fostered this belief, calling his philosophy the "Gospel of Wealth." Carnegie believed that simply giving money to the poor did nothing more than continue the cycle of poverty, and that, instead, assistance should help the poor help themselves, with community-based services, training, and libraries. Philanthropy (charitable donations, community service, and volunteerism) encouraged a sense of reform that affected nearly every social aspect of the United States.



Steel magnate Andrew Carnegie's prosperity compelled him to help the needy help themselves through community-based services and training. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Hallmarks of the Progressive Era

No facet of American life was untouched by reform. Some changes came faster than others, some were intentional, and others happened as a result of outside influence and circumstances.

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Class distinction Class distinction (the division between lower, middle, and upper classes) was clear at the turn of the century. The lowest class included a large proportion of nonwhite citizens, both immigrant and U.S.-born. Immigrants were criticized for their inability to speak English and for their cultural rituals, habits, and customs, which Americans considered odd. Whites were judged by their ethnic backgrounds. Besides ethnicity, religion affected a person's status level. Jews and Catholics were usually among the lowest-paid Americans, and so they also often were relegated to the lowest class.

Native-born white Americans whose parents or ancestors came from western and central Europe made up the growing middle class. This class included artists, skilled workers, craftsmen, farmers, small shopkeepers and business owners, lawyers, teachers, and doctors. The middle class lived in row houses (small houses built in rows) throughout urban areas, in small homes in the suburbs, and on the more prosperous farms in the country.

Upper-class Americans had inherited their wealth or built their wealth during the Gilded Age in industry and big business. Most of the upper class were Protestant (Christian, but not Catholic). In general, the upper class or their families had come from France, Germany, Britain, or Holland. The wealthy lived in mansions in the cities and suburbs.

Less than 2 percent of the American population was wealthy, but it owned 60 percent of all the wealth in the country. The poor totaled 65 percent of the population and owned about 5 percent of the wealth. The middle class comprised 33 percent of the American population and made up 35 percent of the total wealth.

Family As more women began working in the newly industrialized nation, family size shrank. This reduction was due also to improvements in medicine and living conditions, which allowed people to live longer: Advancements in medicine meant children were surviving illnesses that once killed them, so women no longer opted to have as many children to ensure the survival of some. In 1800, the average American family had seven or eight children; in 1900, that number decreased to three or four; by 1920, the average family had two or three children.

Educational reform was another factor in the decision to have fewer children. Whereas children once had provided some of the family income, they now were required by law to attend school. A child attend-

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ing school still had to be fed and clothed, but no longer contributed money for the family. By controlling the number of children they had, families could improve their standard of living.

With the Progressive Era came a shift in how society viewed women. Wives had traditionally been considered the property of their husbands. During the Gilded Age, women were expected to live a life largely revolved around others: to be quiet, obedient to men, and dutiful to their children and husband. But women's lives changed dramatically during the Progressive Era. They were seen as worthy of formal education and encouraged to have careers, to marry later (if at all), and to seek equality with men.

The issue of equal rights and opportunities for women gained momentum starting in the Progressive Era. Early feminists believed in every woman's right to self-expression and self-fulfillment.

Women formed trade unions and other organizations to protect themselves and further their rights. After decades of protests, speeches, and other political activities, suffragists (those in favor of giving women the right to vote) tasted victory when the **Nineteenth Amendment** was passed on August 26, 1920, giving all adult American women the right to vote. (See **Women's Suffrage Movement**.)

Urban life

Cities were the symbol of modernization in the Progressive Era. Chicago, New York City, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Cleveland doubled in size, and by 1920, 51 percent of the U.S. population lived in urban areas. **Immigration** was the main reason for the urban population explosion in the United States, but industrialism was another. Workers wanted to live close to their jobs.

In cities, tenement housing was the first style of apartment buildings. By 1903, New York City's eighty-two thousand tenements housed nearly three million people, all from society's lower class. Tenements built before 1867 did not have toilets, showers, or running water. Common toilets (used by all tenants) were situated between buildings. Garbage—picked up irregularly—was disposed of in large boxes kept in front of the buildings. Many tenements had no heat; those that did posed a serious health threat because they emitted fumes and smoke from the coal-burning heaters due to improper ventilation.

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These children work at their Massachusetts tenement around 1910. Tenements were dilapidated buildings, sometimes without toilets or running water. Housing reforms during the Progressive Era aimed to improve ventilation and sanitation in tenements.
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Housing reforms began in 1867 and continued throughout the Progressive Era. These reforms required revised and larger floor plans for less crowding and improved ventilation, better sanitation with indoor toilets and outdoor garbage areas, and better lighting.

Labor During the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era, America's working class found itself at the mercy of big business, industry, and a government that did not want to get involved in labor disputes. Labor strikes became common occurrences throughout the nation.

Reformers of the Progressive Era were particularly concerned with **child labor**. Industrialism encouraged child labor because children were considered easier to manage, cheaper to hire than adults, and less likely

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to strike. The 1900 census reported that about 18.2 percent of the nation's ten- to fifteen-year-olds worked.

Most workers of this era were grossly underpaid, but children fared the worst. Many greedy business owners took advantage of children, and families were unable to shield their children from a life of hard labor because they needed every penny to survive.

Before federal legislation was passed, many states enacted their own laws to regulate labor. Most states set up a minimum age for child workers and a maximum number of hours they could work. Enforcement was difficult, however, as families often lied about their children's ages in order to ensure additional household income.

The National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) was formed in 1904 to campaign aggressively for federal child-labor law reform. The first federal child-labor law was not passed until 1916, and was effective only until 1918. The law prohibited the movement of goods across state lines if minimum-age laws had been violated. In 1938, the **Fair Labor Standards Act** was passed. For the first time, federal law regulated minimum ages of employment and work hours for children.

Education Reform depended on knowledge, and most reformers agreed that knowledge was best gained through formal education. Nevertheless, the people who needed education the most—women, children, immigrants, and the poor—were the least likely to obtain it. School attendance was not legally required at the beginning of the twentieth century. Child laborers and their families placed a higher value on earning money than they did on learning to read and write. But as the number of school-aged children increased by 49 percent in the early twentieth century, the number of high schools doubled and the number of seventeen-year-old graduates tripled to 16 percent between 1900 and 1920.

Reform equals progress?

Hardly any aspect of American society was untouched by reform during the Progressive Era. Although each victory improved the quality of life, poverty and oppression remained widespread. Because Americans continued to hold fast to the belief that those who worked hard would thrive, there was little public assistance for those in need, and what little

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state and local government spending there was went mostly to institutions such as shelters for the poor.

Millions of the urban poor barely survived on irregular employment. Labor unions, which generally organized and assisted skilled workers, were not available for semiskilled or unskilled workers. Many poor Americans were physically or mentally disabled, widowed with children, or elderly. Reforms did little for this segment of America's population. In the rural South, poverty was equally or more intense, as the African American population remained largely unaffected by reform laws.

Prohibition

Early in the years following the **American Revolution** (1775–83), alcohol consumption in the United States increased dramatically. Saloons were built in every city and village and provided a setting for illegal activities such as prostitution (the selling of sex), which led to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, and gambling. Domestic violence became more commonplace as men spent the family money on too much alcohol, leaving wives and children with little or nothing to eat.

Reformers (people working for change) saw a problem and took measures to correct it. At first, they encouraged people to cut down on the amount of drinking, but eventually they called for total abstinence (no drinking at all). In their eyes, drinking was a sin that led to disease, crime, and the ruin of family relationships. In 1836, those advocating temperance (avoiding excess) formed the American Temperance Union and called for an end to all alcohol consumption.

The temperance movement took hold of government and politics, and by 1855 thirteen states had banned the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. By the end of the American **Civil War** (1861–65), most of these laws had been repealed, but six states were still dry (without the legal manufacturing and sale of alcohol).

Reformers and the Eighteenth Amendment

There were still many saloons throughout American cities in the early 1900s. But medical research was providing evidence of the negative effects of alcohol consumption. Americans were also concerned about the power that breweries and distilling companies held. These companies

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Prohibition came to be seen as a way to help the poor and protect the young. By 1855, thirteen states had banned the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

owned many of the saloons, and they made high profits from the sale of their product.

More groups concerned about alcohol consumption formed, including the Prohibition Party in 1872. This political party sponsored presidential candidates who opposed alcohol. Although men were included in prohibition activities, women, considered the moral guardians of society, primarily headed the movement. Women also had a special interest in seeing alcohol consumption outlawed, as they often suffered the most from their husbands' or fathers' drinking habits.

Drinking became a major issue in the **Progressive Era** (roughly 1900–13), a time of major reform. Prohibition came to be seen as a way to help the poor and protect the young. During **World War I**

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(1914–18), Prohibition became a patriotic issue because several of the largest breweries were owned by immigrants from Germany, the United States's enemy in the war.

In 1919, Congress passed the **Eighteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution**, outlawing the manufacturing and sale of alcohol nationwide. Passage of the Volstead Act immediately followed, outlawing even those beverages containing as little as 0.5 percent alcohol (beer and wine). Although many Americans initially were in favor of Prohibition, they thought that only hard liquor, like whiskey, would be outlawed. They were not in favor of banning the consumption of beer and wine, and thus the Volstead Act prompted many to withdraw their support of Prohibition.

The nation divides

Prohibition divided the nation into two distinct groups. The Drys supported the law, whereas the Wets urged an end to the total ban. Immigrant groups found Prohibition particularly difficult, as they came from societies in which the consumption of alcohol was acceptable. In addition, the saloons had become gathering places for the various ethnic groups and provided them with a place to go to hold meetings and social events. Without the saloons, they had nowhere to meet.



Confiscated alcohol was often poured out on the streets as an example to others engaging in the illegal distribution of liquor. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

People continued to drink throughout Prohibition despite the fact that it was a crime. Bootleggers (those who manufactured alcohol illegally) continued to sell their liquor at a profit. Those who could not afford it simply made their own—often in bathtubs. Bathtub gin, as it was called, was not always safe, and was responsible for causing blindness and even death. The danger lay in the distillation process required to turn medical-grade alcohol into a drink that would not taste horrible. People who had no idea what they were doing often made bathtub gin, and their incompetence put drinkers at risk of consuming unsafe concentrations of wood, or denatured, alcohol.

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Fun at the speakeasy

Prohibition gave rise to the speakeasy, an unofficial drinking establishment that was either glamorous or seedy, depending on its location. New York City alone boasted about thirty thousand speakeasies in the 1920s, according to the police commissioner. Another type of "secret" drinking establishment, called a blind pig, was disguised to look like a legitimate business from the front and inside. But deeper into the building, in back rooms, were bars. To get into either a speakeasy or a blind pig, visitors usually had to know a secret password. Bootleggers provided the liquor sold in speakeasies and blind pigs, and they got their supplies from rumrunners who brought the liquor into the country either by ship or over the Canadian border.

Everyone knew of the existence of speakeasies and blind pigs. Local police departments—underfunded, understaffed, and underpaid—were not equipped to handle the enforcing of Prohibition laws. The federal government was not much help, either. It provided just fifteen hundred agents to implement Prohibition across the entire nation. The U.S. **Department of Justice** eventually established a special force known as the Untouchables, headed by agent Eliot Ness (1902–1957), to crack down on illegal Prohibition activity, but even they were largely ineffective.

Organized crime increases

Organized crime was a new concept in the 1920s. But when mobsters and mob bosses saw an opportunity to make huge profits from the manufacturing and sale of alcohol throughout Prohibition, they took advantage of it. As various gangs competed, violence increased. One of the most violent mob bosses was "Scarface" **Al Capone** (1899–1947).

Capone was a native New Yorker who moved to Chicago, **Illinois**, in 1919. He had already established himself as a mobster before escaping a murder charge by moving west. By 1925, he was in control of Chicago's illegal liquor operations. Within four years, Capone had amassed $50 million, had more than seven hundred men working for him, and controlled more than ten thousand speakeasies.

Capone's success was won through brutality, and upon his death he was suspected of involvement in as many as two hundred deaths of rival gang members. It was not until 1931 that the government could charge the mob boss with anything that would hold up in court. Ironically, it

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was not murder that sent Capone to prison, but tax evasion (failing to pay income taxes). Capone served an eleven-year jail sentence, which ended his criminal career. He died in 1947.

The end of Prohibition

Prohibition was never enforceable. The American public simply did not consider moderate drinking a sinful activity and refused to have its morality policed by the government. Prohibition was finally overturned in 1933 with the passage of the **Twenty-first Amendment**.

Protestantism

Protestantism arose out of the religious upheavals in sixteenth-century Germany. It began as a movement for religious reform in the Catholic Church and eventually affected all aspects of life in western and central Europe. Today, the ideas presented through Protestant theology continue to affect political, social, and economic conditions throughout the world.

Reform movements of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that became permanent in the sixteenth century are the roots of Protestantism. Early reformers hoped to encourage the Catholic Church to allow translation of the Bible from Latin into local languages and to end the corrupt practices of its clergy. In the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church's power and corruption had increased enough to spark a massive movement led by men like Martin Luther (1483–1546) in Germany and John Calvin (1509–1564) in Switzerland.

Protestants argued that the Catholic Church had elevated its own power, traditions, and ceremonies over biblical guidance and God's authority. They sought to create a Christian church built on the divine guidance of the Bible rather than on church power and hierarchy. The Protestant movement seeded reform movements throughout Europe. Theological differences between the movements spawned different denominations of Protestantism. Similarities included the importance of biblical authority rather than the experience of Mass, the shared power of the laity (people who belong to a faith but are not clergy) instead of a powerful church hierarchy, and the free gift of grace given by God rather than by clergy.

The resulting loss of Christian unity and the establishment of rivalry among traditions led to important historical events. Theological differ-

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ences between Protestants and Catholics generated civil wars in Germany, France, the Netherlands, and Scotland. Even as Protestantism caused political upheaval throughout Europe, many Protestants immigrated to the New World in search of religious freedom. Early colonies in New England and the mid-Atlantic were built to nurture specific Protestant denominations. As a result, many aspects of the character and history of the United States are deeply rooted in the history of Protestantism in Europe.

Pullman Strike

In 1894 **railroad industry** workers in Chicago, **Illinois**, found themselves facing a labor situation they could not abide. George Pullman (1831–1897) had founded the town of Pullman, Illinois (just south of Chicago), in 1880 and opened a railroad-car manufacturing plant there. The town was just 300 acres in size, but it was home to factories, mills, and a foundry (where iron and steel are made into usable products), as well as homes, public buildings, and shops. Pullman's twelve hundred residents had few economic choices in their lives. The money they spent on rent (Pullman's homes could be rented, but not owned), food, gas, and anything else went directly to the Pullman Palace Car Company. As in the patch towns miners lived in, prices in Pullman were higher than they were elsewhere.

Pullman's company was successful. At the end of 1893, he was paying $7.22 million in wages and another $2.52 million in dividends (monies paid to stockholders). America was hit with an economic depression that year, and it lasted until 1897. During that time, Pullman fired more than three thousand workers and cut the wages of those still in his employment. He did not lower the cost of housing or services, though. Once those deductions were taken from wages, most employees were left with $6 a week on which to live. And yet the company continued to pay its shareholders the regular dividend amounts.

In May 1894, Pullman listened as a committee of dissatisfied employees complained about the situation. He refused to consider raising wages or lowering prices of rent and services in the town. Pullman insisted that what he did as an employer should have no bearing on his role as a landlord. Then, against a promise he had made earlier, he fired three of the workers on the committee. This breach of promise led the

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Pullman local labor union (a formally organized association of workers that advances its members' views on wages, work hours, and labor conditions) to **strike** on May 11.

When the union declared the strike, Pullman immediately fired the six hundred workers who were not involved and closed its doors. History was on the side of business when it came to labor disputes. Pullman was prepared to wait out the strike, which he believed would not last long. Pullman workers realized how serious the situation was and approached the American Railway Union (ARU) for help. The ARU, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926), called for a boycott (an organized refusal to deal with a business) of all Pullman cars on June 26, 1894. About 150,000 railway workers across the country complied, and within a couple days, trains were not leaving Chicago.

Business was negatively affected by the Pullman strike, as was mail delivery and transportation in general. This strike affected not just Chicago or even all of Illinois, but the entire nation. Railroad companies had no choice but to call on the government for assistance in breaking the strike. When Illinois governor John Altgeld (1847–1902) refused to summon military troops and made it clear that his sympathies lay with the strikers, the railroads went directly to the federal level. When Debs ignored a federal circuit court order demanding workers return to their jobs, he was arrested for contempt of court and conspiracy to interfere with the mail, and he served a six-month jail sentence.

President **Grover Cleveland** (1837–1908; served 1885–89 and 1893–97) did what no president before him had ever done: He intervened in a labor strike. On July 4, he sent in twenty-five hundred federal troops to halt the strike. Rioting occurred July 7–9 when strikers attacked the military troops. Soldiers responded with gunfire at point-blank range. About thirty strikers were killed and many more were wounded. The twenty-five hundred federal troops soon became fourteen thousand as state and other federal troops joined in the confrontation. The strikers were defeated within the week. After several weeks of negotiating, the Pullman Palace Car Company reopened its doors on August 2. As part of the agreement, strikers were allowed to return to work unless they had been convicted of crimes during the strike.

The conflict did not benefit the workers. Debs went to prison, the ARU disbanded, and American society supported big business and management more unwaveringly than ever before.

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Pure Food Drug Act

See **Meat Inspection Act/Pure Food Drug Act**

Puritans

Puritanism is the name of a religious movement that originated in England in the 1560s. Influenced by the teachings of religious reformer John Calvin (1509–1564), the members of the new congregation, the Puritans, sought to reform the Anglican Church, or Church of England. Their intense desire for religious freedom to create a purely Christian community prompted a migration to the New World in the first half of the seventeenth century. Many characteristics of New England culture still retain roots in Puritanical simplicity.

Purity

The Catholic Church in Rome had split from the Anglican Church in 1538. Puritans believed that the Anglican Church retained too many characteristics of the Catholic Church. In particular, they thought the church hierarchy of archbishops, bishops, and ministers held too much power, and that church members should have more say in its matters.

Puritans wished to change the focus of church worship, too. They believed the world should be modeled on the Bible, and therefore wanted to establish a church government based on the example of the apostles in the New Testament. Ceremonies would be simple, stressing Bible reading and individual prayer. Puritans rejected the Anglican Church as anti-Christian with its ceremonial style of worship.

Seeking community

The Puritans were not well received in England. The English generally viewed the movement as extremist, and the royal family viewed Puritans as agitators trying to threaten royal authority. This led to harassment of Puritans by English authorities.

Seeking religious freedom and the chance to establish a "pure" community supportive of their Christian ideals, the Puritans began to migrate to the New World in 1620. The original settlements, **Plymouth Colony** and **Massachusetts Bay Colony**, grew quickly in just a couple

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of decades. By 1643 more than twenty thousand Puritans had arrived in **Massachusetts**, **Rhode Island**, **Connecticut**, and **Virginia**.

Churches were at the center of Puritan societies, so towns were established tightly around them. This structure enabled easy access to church services and also allowed church members to support each other daily in living the moral lives that would please God. Privacy was not as important as moral purity.

Government was tied closely to the church. Holding political office in local government and voting at town meetings both required church membership. Colonial governments passed laws based on biblical teachings, requiring colonists to live pious, or devoted, lives, and punishing those who strayed. For Puritans, if government failed to maintain proper standards, the entire community would suffer God's punishment.

The church and family

Puritans quickly set up congregations when they arrived. A few men, called pillars, were chosen to lead their congregations based on their pious examples. Congregations established a church covenant, or binding agreement, and admitted members to the congregation based on that covenant. Only those who had been "saved" were admitted to the church.

Puritan churches created a form of administration in which the whole congregation had the power to admit members, select leaders, chose a minister, and otherwise govern itself. The minister's ordination was only valid within that congregation, and his responsibilities were extensive. Because all aspects of political, social, and religious life were guided by the understanding of the word of God, the minister was called to counsel the congregation on all aspects of community life.

For Puritans, there was continuous religious instruction in the family home. Responsibilities within a household were carefully defined to minimize competition and arguments between members. When trouble arose, elders intervened and sometimes even removed children, apprentices, and servants who were problems. Divorces might be granted if necessary, though it rarely happened.

Decline

The decline of Puritan societies in the latter half of the 1600s happened for a variety of reasons. Strong challenges to their strict belief systems

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arose. Theological disagreements led to the establishment of new Christian sects, such as the Baptists and the **Quakers**. Migration of members away from town centers to farms weakened the control of church administration. Fewer and fewer people believed that they had been saved, and church membership declined.

Religious decline quickened as economic opportunities increased. Merchants and workers began placing individual needs above those of the community. Puritan influence on community life symbolically ended around 1686, when King James II (1633–1701) revoked the English charters of individual colonies and created the Dominion of New England. Ruled by an Anglican governor under royal control, the Puritans became New Englanders, and their churches became known as Congregational.

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Q

Quakers

Quakerism is a religious movement born in seventeenth-century England. Though it originated alongside Puritanism, Quakerism has very important theological differences. Like the **Puritans**, Quakers were persecuted by English authorities, and eventually members sought religious freedom in the New World. Under the leadership of **William Penn** (1644–1718), the colony of **Pennsylvania** was established in 1682 as the Quakers' "Holy Experiment."

Religious radicals

The English generally considered the Quaker religion to be radical. Like members of the Puritan sects, Quakers challenged the traditions and hierarchies of the Anglican Church (the Church of England). What was most important to Quakers was each individual's spiritual experience and the goal of remaking the world according to God's plan. They tried to lead moral lives and took every opportunity to share their religion with others.

The key distinction of Quaker beliefs is the concept of the "inner light," or inner presence of God. Believing that every individual has this inner light, Quakers see individuals as vessels of God's will. This concept angered both Anglicans and Puritans, who feared that if every individual holds the light of God, then rules, ministers, and even the church as an institution might become unnecessary.

Quakers rejected the Puritan notion that Christian biblical scriptures alone contain enough divine guidance for leading a pious, or devoted, religious life. Although Quakers considered scriptures helpful for

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guidance, they rejected the restraint scriptures placed on inner spiritual experience.

Quakers also rejected the Puritan concepts of predestination and social stratification. Predestination is the belief that a person's fate has already been decided by God. Social stratification is the division of society into roles of greater and lesser importance. Such concepts conflict with the inner light Quakers believe to be within every person. To Quakers, the inner light makes everyone equally able to lead a pious and Godly life that will lead to Heaven.

Contemporary friends

The Quakers were terribly persecuted in England during the late 1600s. Though they were being imprisoned at the whim of officials, Quakers were not deterred. To fight back, they organized into a group called the Society of Friends. Under the leadership of George Fox (1624–1691), regular meetings and group discipline replaced spontaneous self-expression. Legal and political efforts to win acceptance replaced efforts to convert the world to righteousness.

In 1681, a wealthy Quaker, William Penn, resolved to establish a refuge in the New World for his fellow believers. Collecting on a debt owed to his late father, Penn received a grant of land from King Charles II (1630–1685), and with the king's approval the land was called Pennsylvania. Nearly eight thousand people had migrated there by 1685. Quaker ideals, which had been mystical and individual in experience, were applied in new ways as they guided the formation of a government and community.

Over time, Quaker ideals were tested in the New World. The **American Revolution** (1775–83) challenged their pacifism, and **slavery** challenged their views of equality in society. Though splits have occurred, the movement has retained much of its unity. There are now seven denominations of Friends in the United States with just under 150,000 members.

Quartering Acts

Between 1754 and 1763, the English government sent troops to America to protect the **thirteen colonies** during the **French and Indian War** (1754–63). The war was a battle between England and France for con-

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trol of frontier land west of the Appalachian Mountains. Although England won, the long war was costly and depleted the British treasury.

To replenish its funds and to support English troops stationed in the colonies afterward, Parliament passed a series of laws for the colonies. Many of these acts sparked outrage among the colonists and eventually led to the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Among them were the Quartering Acts.

Parliament passed the first Quartering Act in March 1765. It required colonies to make certain provisions for English troops stationed within their towns. Food, drink, fuel, and transport were to be provided, as well as proper housing—quarters, or barracks—for the soldiers. In 1766, another quartering act required the colonies to use inns and uninhabited buildings to house troops if barracks were unavailable. Many colonists resented these impositions, and England eventually allowed them to expire by 1770.

As of 1774, discontent within the colonies was growing, and acts of rebellion against English rule became more frequent. In an effort to suppress colonial defiance, Parliament passed a series of strict, punishing measures known among the colonists as the **Coercion Acts**, or the Intolerable Acts. Among them was the Quartering Act of 1774. It required the colonies to provide housing for English troops in the immediate areas where they were stationed to maintain order. If no barracks were available and local authorities failed to provide alternate quarters, colonial governors had the power to house English troops in occupied buildings, including colonial homes.

The colonists particularly resented this intrusion of English rule into their houses and communities. Along with other laws, the Quartering Act of 1774 motivated the colonists to convene the First Continental Congress in September 1774 to discuss how to respond to unpopular English rule. (See **Continental Congress, First**.)

Queen Anne's War

England and France fought four wars for dominance in the New World from 1689 to 1763. The wars are known collectively in English history as the **French and Indian War**. This is also the American name for the last of the four wars, fought from 1754 to 1763.

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The second war of the French and Indian War was Queen Anne's War (1702–13), named in America for Queen Anne (1665–1714) of England, Scotland, and Ireland. From Europe's perspective, Queen Anne's War was just the New World theater for a larger war being fought in Europe called the War of the Spanish Succession. Both wars pitted France and Spain against England, which had allies in Europe.

Early in Queen Anne's War, England burned much of St. Augustine, **Florida**, which was controlled by Spain. Fighting there ended the **Spanishs mission** system in the region. As in all of the French and Indian wars, some Native American tribes fought for France. In the Deerfield Massacre of 1704, French forces and Algonquian Indians attacked New England from Canada, burning Deerfield, **Massachusetts**, in the raid.

Queen Anne's War ended with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Under the treaty, England got many New World regions from France, including Acadia (later renamed Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, the Hudson Bay region, and the island of St. Kitts in the Caribbean.

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R

Race Riots of the 1960s

In the early 1960s, African Americans in cities nationwide were growing frustrated with the high level of poverty in their communities. Since the years immediately following **World War II** (1939–45), middle-class white Americans had been leaving the cities for nearby suburbs. Businesses that had once provided jobs and tax funding in the cities were leaving as well. At the same time, more than three million job-seeking African Americans moved from the South to the cities of the North and West. Increasingly, the downtowns of large cities became home to lower-income minorities, many of them southern blacks. Unemployment among African Americans was well above the national average, and one-half of all black Americans lived below the poverty line (as opposed to one-fifth of whites). Not surprisingly, tensions ran high in black communities.

The 1960s saw the most serious and widespread series of race riots in the history of the United States. Major riots occurred in Birmingham, **Alabama**, in 1963; New York City in 1964; Watts in Los Angeles, **California**, in 1965; and Chicago, **Illinois**, in 1966. In 1967, alone, Tampa, **Florida**; Cincinnati, **Ohio**; Atlanta, **Georgia**; Newark, Plainfield, and New Brunswick, **New Jersey**; and Detroit, **Michigan**, all had riots. Riots erupted in more than 110 U.S. cities on April 4, 1968, the night civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) was assassinated.

The Harlem riots, 1964

The first major riot in the decade occurred in Harlem and several other African American neighborhoods of New York City. On July 16, 1964,

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an off-duty police officer shot and killed a fifteen-year-old African American boy in Manhattan. That night, there was a peaceful student protest march in Harlem. Two days later, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a nonviolent African American civil rights organization, sponsored a protest march and rally to protest police brutality in Harlem.

After the rally, a militant (aggressive or war-like) crowd marched to the Harlem police precinct building. Minor fights began between demonstrators and police, and sixteen African American leaders were arrested and brought into the police station. Demonstrators reported that the arrested protesters were being beaten and that their cries could be heard outside. Soon more fighting broke out between police and demonstrators. By 10:30 PM, a riot had begun, with youths pelting police with rocks and Molotov cocktails (crude, homemade bombs made



New York police officers charge into a crowd during rioting in Harlem on July 19, 1964. The riots began after an off-duty police officer shot a fifteen-year-old African American male. AP IMAGES

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of breakable bottles or jars filled with gas or any flammable liquid, usually lit with a rag wick and then thrown at the target). The police responded by shooting over protesters' heads.

The rebellion continued for four nights and spread to Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood, where there was further rioting during the next two nights. White-owned businesses were vandalized and burned by arsonists. Whites entering Harlem unguarded were beaten. CORE chairman **James Farmer** (1920–1999) organized squads from CORE chapters and walked through Harlem's streets urging an end to the violence. The crowd ignored him and the black militants jeered him.

The uprising finally ceased on July 23, but even as New York City calmed down, rioting broke out in Rochester, New York, and three cities in New Jersey. The violence left one man dead, 144 people injured, and 519 arrested. Although the conflict seems minor when compared to the urban riots to come, it was the first major outbreak of urban violence in a generation.

Watts riot, 1965

On a hot afternoon in August 1965 in the mostly black South Central section of Los Angeles, white policemen used force to restrain a young black man arrested for driving under the influence of alcohol. A crowd gathered at the scene. The mood was tense but nonviolent until one of the officers on the scene tried to arrest a woman he mistakenly thought had spit on him. The crowd lashed out in anger, pelting nearby cars and buses with rocks and bottles. Police reinforcements arrived, and they squared off against the angry crowd well into the night. Disturbances spread from South Central to Watts, a neighborhood several miles away. The demonstrators threw rocks; the police responded with riot sticks. Television news reporters on the scene filmed the rioting.

At around midnight, the police decided that their presence was making things worse, and they withdrew from the scene. But the mob had no intention of going home. Newsmen who stayed behind after the police left were attacked, and rioters overturned the mobile television-news vans. Rioters smashed the windows of local stores and made off with the merchandise. "Burn, baby, burn," the catchphrase of a disc jockey at one of Los Angeles's black-music stations, became the rioters' motto during the uprising.

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Violence continued over the next several days. In the first two days of rioting, seventy-five stores in the area had been burned. African American storeowners began putting signs in their shop windows telling the rioters that they supported them, but in many cases, the signs were ignored. Black leaders, including members of CORE and stand-up comedian Dick Gregory (1932–), appealed to the crowds to go home, but with little success. (Gregory actually received a minor gunshot wound for his efforts.) Finally, the Los Angeles Police Department called in the California National Guard to help restore order. Before the uprising was over, more than thirteen thousand guardsmen would be involved.

The violence slowly began to subside. Martial law (temporary military rule over the civilian population in a time of crisis) was imposed, a curfew was established, and no one was allowed on the street without a good reason. An area of nearly 50 square miles of the city was under military control. When the smoke finally cleared, the loss of life and property stunned Los Angeles. Thirty-four were dead, most of them participants in the riot, and more than a thousand were injured. Six hundred buildings were damaged, a third of them totally destroyed. Property damage was estimated at $40 million.

Newark, 1967

The conflict in Newark, New Jersey, started on July 12, 1967, when police arrested and beat a black cabdriver. A crowd that had formed at the station house to protest the incident became unruly and ignored requests to leave. The police used force to clear the area, and some protesters began to loot stores. The next day, a rally was held to protest police brutality. When police again used force to disperse the crowd, mobs roamed through some areas of the city burning, looting, and fighting with police. On July 14, the National Guard was brought in to help restore order. By the time the National Guard was withdrawn on July 17, twenty-three persons (twenty-one blacks and two whites) had been killed and $10.25 million in damage had been done.

Detroit, 1967

On the surface, Detroit, Michigan, in 1967, was an African American success story. Many blacks commanded high wages in Detroit's factories and occupied high positions in the United Auto Workers union.

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Several buildings on fire in Detroit in 1967. The rioters, Detroit police, and federal troops all escalated the violence. In the end, property damage was over $45 million and forty-three people were killed. AP IMAGES

Approximately 40 percent of the city's 555,000 blacks owned houses. A new antipoverty agency, Total Action Against Poverty, had provided the city with $200 million for jobs, job training, education, and recreation for the city's poor. Blacks in Detroit had also attained a share in political power, with several high-level officials in the city government.

Beneath the surface, though, Detroit had serious problems. The unemployment rate among blacks was 11 percent—double the national average—and even higher among black youths. Crime in the city was very high, and many African Americans feared for their lives.

On July 23, 1967, at 4:00 AM, Detroit police raided an after-hours bar in a poor neighborhood and arrested eighty people. A crowd of blacks gathered outside, cursing and throwing rocks and bricks. A brick broke a police car window. The police tried to avoid conflict by doing nothing, but the violence grew. People began to smash windows and loot

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stores, setting fires as they went along. The rioters spread through the neighborhood and far beyond, growing in numbers until they outnumbered the city's four thousand police.

The next morning, Michigan governor George Romney (1907–1995) proclaimed a state of emergency, set a 9:00 PM curfew, and called in state troopers and the National Guard. The use of force only made matters worse. The National Guard had little training in crowd control and tended to fire at anything that moved. In an effort to escape the bloodshed, thousands of blacks clogged the available refugee centers. As the riot raged, offices, banks, stores, and hotels closed, leaving the city paralyzed.

Romney appealed to President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) to send in federal troops. The arrival of federal troops shifted the riot back to the neighborhood where it had started. There, about one hundred rioting snipers took up positions and began shooting. They shot at firefighters and assaulted a police station. A sniper shot and killed a white woman who was watching from her window. When the police and the National Guard went after the snipers, they killed several unarmed people who were only trying to flee from the chaos.

The riot died out by the weekend and authorities were finally able to assess the damage. Property damage exceeded $45 million. So many people had been arrested—more than four thousand—that some had to be detained in buses. More than a thousand people were injured, and forty-three people had been killed. The dead included looters, snipers, a policeman, and a fireman, as well as many innocent people who had been caught in the cross fire. Only eight of the dead were white.

Even before the Detroit riot had ended, insurrections were erupting in other Michigan cities, including Pontiac, Saginaw, Kalamazoo, and Grand Rapids.

Aftermath

The race riots of the 1960s led President Johnson to establish a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in 1967. The commission identified white racism as the main cause of the riots. Specifically mentioned were pervasive discrimination and segregation, black migration to the cities as whites left them, harsh ghetto conditions, and frustration of hopes and a feeling of powerlessness on the part of many blacks. There is little evidence that serious efforts were made to correct the problems

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raised by the commission. The Johnson administration, and those that followed, viewed the riots as law-enforcement problems rather than signs of social imbalance.

Radical Republicans

The **Republican Party** formed in the 1850s, a time of heated political debates throughout the country. **Slavery** in particular provoked passionate clashes of opinion, especially in light of the rapid **westward expansion** of the country. The particularly vocal and determined Republicans who were devoted to ending slavery came to be called the Radical Republicans.

Most Republicans were Northerners who supported the **abolition** of slavery. Before the American **Civil War** (1861–65) broke out in 1861, the Radical Republicans were determined to prevent the spread of slavery into new territories. When the Republican presidential candidate, **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), won the 1860 election, the Southern states moved to secede, or break away, from the Union. (See **Secession**.) The Radical Republicans, committed to the principle of freedom, did little to avert a war. They hoped to turn any conflict into a fight to abolish slavery.

In April 1861, just weeks after Lincoln took office, the Civil War broke out. Several Southern states seceded and withdrew their representatives from the federal government. As a result, the Radical Republicans gained the majority in both houses of Congress. Working it to their advantage, they pressed Lincoln to strongly discipline the South for its rebellious acts. They encouraged the confiscation of property, the raising of black troops, and creation of the state of **West Virginia** from rebellious **Virginia**. They also pushed to make the abolition of slavery a war goal.

Their aggressive stance toward the Southern states often brought the Radical Republicans into conflict with Lincoln. Under their influence, however, Lincoln set forth the **Emancipation Proclamation** to free the slaves in rebelling states. As a result, the Civil War became a moral war against slavery.

Tensions between Lincoln and the Radical Republicans heightened as the North moved closer to victory over the South and territories in the **Confederate States of America** fell under federal control. They dis-

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agreed sharply on the specific requirements for reintegrating Confederate states into the Union. The Radicals wanted to punish the Southern states, and they considered Lincoln's **Reconstruction** plans too generous. Lincoln, however, was assassinated only days after the Confederate surrender.

Andrew Johnson (1808–1875; served 1865–69) became president upon Lincoln's death. At first, the Radical Republicans viewed this as a welcome change. Expecting Johnson's approach to Reconstruction to be more in line with their views, the Radicals were immediately disappointed. His plan for Reconstruction was even more lenient than Lincoln's.

The Radicals in Congress moved to take charge and to redefine the process of Reconstruction. Johnson struggled throughout his presidency to assert some control but was generally unsuccessful. Political tension between Congress and the White House culminated in an attempt to impeach Johnson. Although he narrowly avoided impeachment, by the end of his term he was nearly powerless.

Throughout the period of Reconstruction, the Radical Republicans created several important pieces of legislation. The Reconstruction Acts made the right to vote available to all men, including blacks. This law evolved into the **Fifteenth Amendment** of the U.S. **Constitution**. The Radicals also passed legislation for the equal treatment of freedmen and the protection of blacks, which led to adoption of the **Fourteenth Amendment**.

The Radical Republicans were never a separate organization. They were politicians and activists within the larger party who were united in a common cause to rid the nation of slavery. Their power and influence slowly faded through Reconstruction, which ended in 1877. Without a uniting cause, the Radical Republicans then melted into other political forces.

Radio

One of the most influential technological advances of the early twentieth century was the radio. Basic radio technology had been around for several decades, but it was not until the 1920s that people bought and kept radios in their homes just for entertainment purposes. In 1920 Frank Conrad (1874–1941), an engineer at the Westinghouse company,

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began broadcasting music from his home radio. This led to America's first radio station, KDKA.

By the end of 1922, more than five hundred radio stations were in operation. Consumers spent $400 million on radios in 1925, four times the amount spent on them in 1920. Radio broadcasting had a major impact on American culture.

Radio stations expanded their programs to include more than just music. Sports coverage was especially popular, as announcers brought play-by-play accounts of baseball games to listeners. Boxing was the other popular sport of the decade, and listeners received blow-by-blow reports of the matches as they happened.

As the public's interest in sports and music increased, so did interest in variety and comedy shows. Typical segments included the latest **jazz** tunes, opera selections, lectures, drama, and comedy skits. The comedy show *Amos and Andy* was particularly popular.

Radio became increasingly important to politics in the 1920s. For the first time, politicians were able to reach a wide segment of the population without having to travel to various cities and towns across the country. **Calvin Coolidge** (1872–1933; served 1923–29) was the first U.S. president to broadcast on the radio. By the time he left office, he had made sixteen well-received broadcasts. Evangelists (people who try to convert others to Christianity) also used the airwaves to address their followers and attract more converts.

Regulations

The phenomenal growth of the radio industry led to the founding of the Federal Radio Commission in 1927. The purpose of the agency was to develop and enforce broadcasting rules and regulations. By the end of the decade, one-third of the total U.S. population—about twelve million homes—reportedly listened to the radio on a regular basis. The Federal Radio Commission changed its name to the **Federal Communications Commission** in 1934. The new name reflected the fact that regulations now extended to the telephone industry.

Radio continued through the 1930s and 1940s primarily as an entertainment vehicle. But in 1948, network television came on strong, and many radio stars moved over to the new visual medium. Radio sur-

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vived, however. By 1949, there were 80 million radios in the United States. In 1965 there were 228 million. The small, handy, inexpensive transistor radio was now popular.

In the 1960s, music began to take on a more prominent role on the radio. The most successful format was Top 40; stations played only the most popular records listed by *Billboard* magazine. Disc jockeys, or DJs, kept programs moving, identifying the station, letting listeners know what songs were playing, and making sure commercials ran so that radio stations maintained their revenues. Stations began catering to specific tastes, such as **rock and roll**, and different demographics, such as African Americans.

By the 1980s, 99 percent of American households owned radios, and each household had an average of 5.5 radios (not including car radios). Most programming was produced locally, as opposed to the more national feel of television. FM programming rose in the 1980s, due largely to its superior sound quality. Music stayed primarily on FM, while AM became known more for its news, sports, and call-in programs. This trend continued into the twenty-first century.

Railroad Industry

Without railroads, the U.S. **Industrial Revolution** (roughly the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, when the nation changed from an agricultural to an industrial economy) could never have happened. The railroad was the pioneer of big business, and it became an almost immediate symbol of industrialization in the United States. Every American, regardless of income or social class, could identify with the railroad. Since around 1860, the railroad was the center of the national market, transporting not only goods but also people and information. Restrictions on transportation that had existed prior to the American **Civil War** (1861–65), such as weather conditions and geographical distance, no longer factored into trade and commerce.

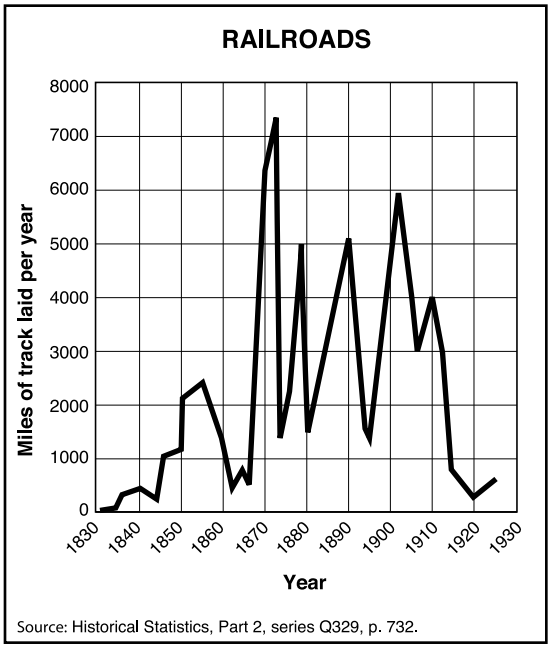
The railroad soon experienced a phenomenon that was new to U.S. commerce: large-scale competition. Although the railroad was considered one entity, it was actually made up of several companies and lines. As soon as a geographic region was served by more than one line, competition arose. The obvious solution was to offer the lowest fare.

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Competition leads to corruption

It seemed to make sense to lower fares, but as soon as one railroad line did it, the others did, too. Railroads had numerous fixed costs just to keep the business going, so if fares were lowered, that money had to be found somewhere else, or profits decreased, and eventually the line would go bankrupt.

Some competitors reduced their prices secretly, negotiating with large shipping companies that could take their business elsewhere. The shipper would promise to work with just one particular railroad company, no matter how low the competitors' prices went, and in return, the railroad gave the shipper kickbacks in the form of money. This way, the railroad line was guaranteed a certain amount of business, and it had only to provide a rebate—often a percentage of the total bill—to the shipper. This was an unethical way to conduct business, but most railroads were guilty of such practices.



This graph shows the dramatic increase of railroad tracks laid between 1830 and 1930. Several railroad companies competed for the increased business. THE GALE GROUP

One unforeseen consequence of these kickbacks and competitive pricing schemes was a rapid decline in shipping rates. Near the end of the nineteenth century, rates got so low that railroads were claiming bankruptcy on a regular basis. In response, railroad managers developed pools to help competing railroads cooperate to share business. With pools in place, rates became fixed as competing railroads agreed they would not go below a specific price. The problem with this was that the railroad shipping rates got out of hand. Farmers and other businesses that relied on shipping protested against the astronomical rates demanded by the railroads. These protests, in turn, led to government regulatory commissions. This was the first time that the U.S. government had stepped in to limit the power of commerce.

Government to the rescue?

When state governments realized that the railroads were taking advantage of the public's need for their services, regulatory commissions were formed. These commissions publicized information about railroad oper-

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ations on the theory that if the public knew how the railroads operated, citizens and business owners could make more informed choices.

Throughout the 1870s, many states attempted to regulate the power of the railroads. Hesitant to tread where federal government had never gone before, President **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885; served 1869–77) and the U.S. **Supreme Court** rarely upheld the rulings of these state-level commissions. It was not until 1886 that the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that only Congress had the power to regulate commerce between the states. This ruling led to a national movement for federal regulation of interstate commerce.

In 1887, Congress passed the **Interstate Commerce Act**, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), the first federal regulatory agency. The sole purpose of the commission was to address railroad abuses. The commission declared that shipping rates had to be "reasonable and just" and that the rates had to be publicly published. Kickbacks and secret rebates were made illegal, and price discrimination against small markets was outlawed.

The last of these provisions was the hardest to enforce. Railroads traditionally offered lower rates for longer hauls, a practice that worked against many farmers and smaller companies. The ICC had the authority to investigate such discriminatory tactics, but it became clear immediately that determining which prices were discriminatory would be difficult because the ICC had no specific measures or standards. Although the ICC was established with good intentions, it was not practically helpful to many who relied on the railroads to do business, who continued to be charged unfair rates.

Transcontinental railroad

In the 1850s, the plan to connect the eastern territories of the United States with those in the west via railroad was an idea many supported and just as many scoffed at. Thousands of miles separated the two regions, and the project would be so vast that the government would need to help financially.

Congress authorized a survey to determine all possible routes from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. That report revealed two particularly favorable routes. In 1862, Congress decided that two companies should build the transcontinental railroad: the Central Pacific Company, which would build eastward, and the Union Pacific Railroad, which

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would build westward. The two lines would join midway. The government aided the railroads financially, which was necessary because private investors believed the project to be too risky an investment. The Central Pacific was funded by a special property tax in **California** in addition to federal assistance.

Construction of the railroad was backbreaking work. Each mile of track required 100 tons of steel rail, 2,500 ties, and 2 to 3 tons of metal pieces used to join individual track. Supplies were often delayed, making progress painstakingly slow at times.

Labor for the building of the railroad came from various sources, including veterans of the Civil War, freed slaves, and immigrants. Most of the immigrant workers were Irish; they were known for their willingness to take any work, no matter how low-paying, and they were accus-



The Golden Spike Ceremony at the completion of the first transcontinental railroad on May 10, 1869. The Central Pacific Company built eastward and the Union Pacific built westward with the two sets of tracks meeting in Utah. MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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tomed to hard physical labor, long hours, and difficult work conditions. (See **Irish Immigration**.) For various reasons, the Central Pacific faced a labor shortage, which it solved by hiring thousands of Chinese immigrants. (See **Asian Immigration**.)

The transcontinental railroad is considered the most astounding engineering feat of the nineteenth century. More than 1,700 miles of track were laid by men who labored for as little as $1 a day. Many lives were lost due to avalanches, attacks by Native Americans, heat, and accidents. In spite of setbacks and delays, crews managed to lay an average of 2 to 5 miles of track each day. By April 16, 1869, only 50 miles separated the two railroad companies. May 8 was the target date for the two lines of the railroad to meet. On May 9, the Union Pacific laid the final 2,500 feet of track, leaving just one rail length separating the tracks at Promontory Point, **Utah**. On May 10, 1869, an official from each company ceremoniously hammered in the final spikes. Champagne was served, and a telegraph was sent throughout the country with a simple announcement: "Done." The Union Pacific had laid 1,086 miles of track from **Nebraska**, and the Central Pacific had built 690 miles from California.

Federal Land Grant Program

Before the final stake was pounded in connecting East with West, passengers and freight could go only as far as **Kansas** and **Colorado**. Although this itself was a major accomplishment, the lack of railroads in the West prohibited settlement on a large scale. The development of the Pacific Railroad changed that.

Now that the West had a railroad, immigrants could realize the American Dream of prosperity by leaving the East and heading West, where land was more plentiful. In the early 1800s, the government had begun giving grants (money that did not need to be repaid) to various groups, such as those who wanted to build homes in the West, before railroads made life on the prairies easier. As railroads were built, these grants were extended to provide the financing for railroad construction.

The plan was simple. The government decided the areas where it wanted people to settle, then gave that land to railroad companies that promised to build. The railroads then sold the land to settlers, most of them European immigrants, and used the money to pay for railroad construction. Figures released by the U.S. government in 1943 show that a

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total of 131,350,534 acres of land were granted to all railroads under the program. About 18,738 miles of railroad track were built using funds from the land grants, a figure that represents 8 percent of all U.S. railroad construction.

Historians' views of the land grant program are mixed. One of the requirements of the land grant program was that the railroads transport government troops and property at half the normal rate for passengers and freights. In 1945, a congressional committee determined that the government had received more than $900 million worth of transportation in return for lands worth just $126 million. Clearly, the government got the better end of the deal.

A lesser known aspect of the Federal Land Grant Program was the promotion of the West by the railroads themselves. U.S. railroad companies advertised their land to people in Europe, encouraging **immigration**, and then many railroads hired clergy and prominent businessmen to help influence those immigrants to come to the West. The railroads focused their efforts on immigrants from the non-English-speaking countries of northern Europe because it was commonly believed that they had better work ethics than others, and that they would work harder, complain less, and produce more. The railroads published promotional brochures and pamphlets in several languages. These advertisements promised wealth and success, often to a degree not possible even for the hardest of workers. But Europeans desperate to find security and comfort believed what they read, and they headed west by the thousands.

Between 1607 and 1870, 409 million acres of land in the West had been settled. The people who ventured west were mostly miners and ranchers. After the transcontinental railroad was built, between 1870 and 1900, 430 million acres were settled. Most of the settlers in this time period were farmers, both native-born and immigrant.

Although the railroads brought change in the form of hope to millions of settlers, it forced change in the form of devastation and desperation upon Native American tribes who had lived in the West for hundreds of years. The "Iron Horse," as the steam train was known among Native Americans, was something to fear.

Rap Music

See **Hip-hop and Rap Music**

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Rationing

During **World War II** (1939–45), the U.S. government began a policy of rationing for the American public. Rationing meant that certain products were available only in limited quantities so that the extra resources could be used for military efforts. Rationing was a challenging way for those remaining at home to do their patriotic duty to support the war effort.

In 1942, Congress passed the Emergency Price Control Act, which established the Office of Price Administration (OPA). The OPA was charged with controlling prices on goods and overseeing a rationing system. Rubber had already been rationed in 1941, but soon many other items were added to the list. Coupon books were issued for sugar and coffee in 1942. Gasoline purchases were limited by stamping windshields to indicate the amount allowed each week. In 1943, meat, fats and oils, cheese, processed foods, and shoes were rationed through a point system. Ration books contained sheets of points that could be spent on these items, all assigned point values. To replenish their stock, retailers had to turn in the coupons and stamps.

More than 100 million Americans received ration cards, coupons, and certificates that restricted purchases during the war. By the end of the war, the list of items rationed included typewriters, bicycles, stoves, tea, coffee, canned and processed foods, fats, coal, and an assortment of leather items. Other items defined as unnecessary, such as curlers, electric toasters, waffle irons, cocktail shakers, and lobster forks, were not even manufactured throughout the war.

The war ended in August 1945, and by the end of the year rationing had stopped on everything except sugar. Due to unreliable foreign supplies, sugar rationing continued until June 1947.

Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan was born on February 6, 1911, in Tampico, **Illinois**. He was a star on his high school football team but earned an academic scholarship to Eureka College in Peoria. There he majored in economics.

Reagan graduated in 1932 and took a job as sportscaster for an **Iowa** radio station. Five years later, he signed a contract with Warner Bros., a major Hollywood studio. In 1940, he married actress Jane Wyman

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(1917–2007). The couple had two daughters, one of whom died at birth. They also adopted a son. The marriage ended in divorce in 1948, and Reagan married Nancy Davis (1923–) in 1952. They eventually had two children of their own. By 1942, Reagan had become one of Hollywood's biggest stars. He would eventually appear in fifty films. In 1947, Reagan was elected to the first of six terms as president of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG). He also served as spokesman for General Electric and through that position became involved in politics.



Actor, governor, and fortieth president of the United States Ronald Reagan served during the Cold War and the Iran-Contra scandal. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

From acting to politics

Initially a Democrat, Reagan switched political parties in 1962. **California** Republicans urged him to run for governor, and in 1966 he won. As governor, he vetoed spending measures, reformed the welfare system, and provided property tax relief while increasing sales and income taxes. He was well liked among his fellow Republicans and was reelected to the governor's office in 1970, having made an unsuccessful bid for the presidential nomination in 1968.

Reagan ran for president again in 1976 but narrowly lost the nomination to incumbent president **Gerald R. Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77). In 1980, with running mate **George H. W. Bush** (1924–), Reagan easily beat incumbent Democratic president **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81). On March 30, 1981, John Hinckley Jr. shot Reagan as the president was leaving a **Washington, D.C.**, hotel where he had just delivered a speech. Reagan underwent surgery to remove the bullet from his lung and remained hospitalized until April 11. The bullet had nearly killed him. Hinckley, found not guilty by reason of insanity, resides in a Washington, D.C., mental facility.

A popular president

Reagan spent a great deal of effort pursuing an anticommunist agenda in foreign policy. **Communism** is a political system in which the government controls all resources and means of producing wealth. By eliminat-

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ing private property, this system is designed to create an equal society with no social classes. However, communist governments in practice limit personal freedom and individual rights. America feared the spread of communism for decades, and President Reagan used his power to combat the possibility. He implemented a five-year program to increase defense spending by $1.2 trillion. In 1983, he proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, commonly called "Star Wars"), which was designed to protect the country against a Soviet strategic missile attack. Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as "the evil empire."

Reagan promised assistance to friendly nations threatened by communist rebels and for revolt initiatives seeking to overthrow communist regimes. This policy was called the Reagan doctrine. Reagan made good on his promise. During his presidency, America supported revolutions in Angola, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan as well as anticommunist governments in El Salvador and the Philippines. He sent troops to help with peacekeeping efforts in Lebanon, demanded the bombing of Libya as punishment for its support of terrorism, and launched an invasion of Grenada to topple a communist government friendly to Cuban leader Fidel Castro (1926–).

Reaganomics

When running for office, Reagan appealed to social conservatives and the religious right by supporting policies such as requiring school prayer and banning abortion. Although he continued to support such efforts once elected, he refocused his efforts on trying to enact a pro-business economic agenda. His program was based on the idea that tax cuts and other incentives would stimulate business investment and create prosperity that would trickle down to the middle and working classes via new jobs and pay increases.

In addition to high military spending and tax cuts, Reagan's economic policy (which came to be known as Reaganomics), also stressed reduced spending on social service programs such as adoption, housing, disaster relief, domestic abuse, and other needs-based initiatives. In 1981, Reagan proposed a tax-reform package designed to reduce the national deficit; Congress passed it but refused to approve cuts in spending for many social services. The tax cuts alone were not enough to balance out the president's trillion-dollar military spending budget, and the

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result was an economic recession (slowdown in consumer spending and a marked increase in unemployment) that America could not overcome until 1983.

Cold War

Immediately following **World War II** (1939–45), relations between America and the Soviet Union became extremely tense. The **Cold War**, a state of intense military rivalry without physical warfare, began. Neither side trusted the other, and the two superpowers were constantly trying to best each other. Reagan was reelected in 1984, and during his second term relations between the two nations improved drastically. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–) worked to reduce tensions with the United States with the hope of increasing Western investments in his country. The two leaders negotiated major arms-control agreements that resulted in the withdrawal of Soviet Union troops from Afghanistan. Gorbachev also agreed to discontinue support for communist governments in Angola and Nicaragua.

As international relations improved, the Star Wars budget was cut and military spending was decreased. As the American economy strengthened, the Reagan administration allowed the national budget deficit to mount.

The Iran-Contra scandal

Reagan's time in office was not without scandal. In late 1986, it was discovered that the administration had made secret arrangements to provide funds to Nicaraguan contra (counterrevolutionary) rebels fighting the government of the Sandinistas, a political party that held beliefs similar to those of communism. The funding came from the illegal sale of weapons to Iran, a country that had captured American hostages and held them for over a year (1979–81). The Reagan administration had ignored the law and proceeded with the secret operation.

When the **Iran-Contra Scandal** came to light, Reagan appeared on national television and denied that anything wrong had taken place. Within a week, he was back on television, admitting that weapons had been transferred to Iran.

An investigation ensued, led by a special presidential commission, a congressional investigation committee, and a prosecutor. Although it

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was determined that Reagan knew little about what was going on, he was criticized widely for failure to supervise his team. Several officials were prosecuted, and Reagan's political reputation was tarnished.

Post-White House

Reagan's presidency is remembered for stimulating the economy and implementing needed tax reform but also for an out-of-control federal deficit. Many historians regard the Iran-Contra scandal as an inexcusable violation of the law, but others stress Reagan's role in bringing an end to the Cold War and enacting arms control.

Reagan returned to private citizenship in 1989, when he retired to his California ranch. He remained an active public figure. The former president was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease, a fatal degeneration of the central nervous system, in 1994. He and his wife Nancy did not try to hide his struggles but instead went public in hopes of increasing public awareness of the disease. Reagan died of pneumonia in his home on June 5, 2004.

Reconstruction

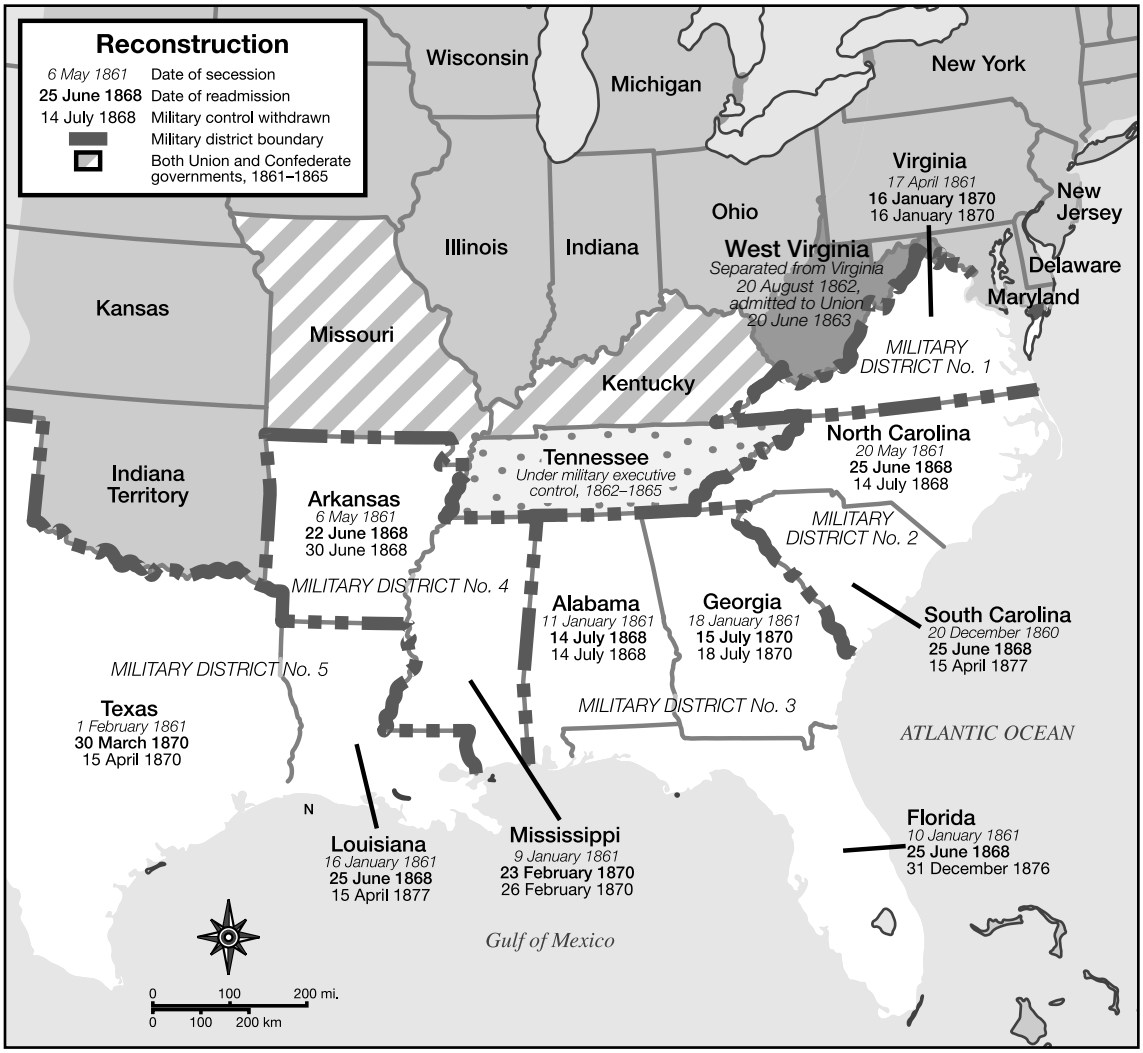
Reconstruction refers to the era following the American **Civil War** (1861–65) when the nation struggled to recreate a union of states. The U.S. government had to establish guidelines for reintegrating the Southern states that made up the **Confederate States of America**. Their acts of **secession**, or splitting from the Union, had been regarded as betrayal. Their loyalty to the United States needed to be affirmed, and the old, seceding state governments needed to be replaced by new, loyal ones.

The war had destroyed the economy in the South, so a lot of anger and resentment remained there. The **abolition** of **slavery**, on which much of the area's production depended, was difficult for Southern economies. Assimilating freed African Americans into hostile Southern societies began during Reconstruction but would take many decades more to complete.

Lincoln's intentions

The Civil War still raged in 1863, but President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) was anxious for the Confederate states to come back to the Union. Hoping to lure states away from the

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Reconstruction was the era after the American Civil War when the nation struggled to reunite as a country. This map shows the dates when the Southern states seceded and later rejoined the union. THE GALE GROUP

Confederacy, Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, which outlined a lenient approach for readmitting states to the Union. It is sometimes called the Ten Percent Plan because it required only 10 percent of a state's voters in the 1860 presidential election to take an oath of allegiance to the United States. When 10 percent took the oath, citizens could be granted pardons, property restored, and state governments recognized and included again in the United States.

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In the summer of 1864, Congress passed a compromise to Lincoln's plan, the Wade-Davis Bill. It raised the voter oath requirement from 10 to 50 percent and limited the participation of former Southern leaders in the formation of new state governments. Recognizing that no provisions had been made to protect freed slaves, Congress also established the **Freedmen's Bureau** in 1865 to help feed, protect, and educate them.

President Lincoln vetoed the Wade-Davis Bill. After he was reelected in 1864, a modified form of the bill was proposed, but efforts to pass it failed. The Confederate Army surrendered in early April 1865, and a few days later President Lincoln was assassinated. The future of Reconstruction remained undefined, yet surrender made the issue of reintegration urgent.

Johnson's plan

Upon Lincoln's assassination, Vice President **Andrew Johnson** (1808–1875; served 1865–69) became president. President Johnson was not a Northern Republican like Lincoln; he was a Southern Democrat who disagreed passionately with the South's choice to secede, but he also had deep Southern prejudices against African Americans. His Reconstruction policies were similar to Lincoln's, but they were no longer appropriate to the complex situation presented by the South's surrender.

With the end of the war, Reconstruction terms became more important. What would the rebellious states be required to do before being brought back into the Union? How would they prove their loyalty? What changes to their political systems would they have to make? As slavery had been abolished, what would be the legal, political, and social status of African Americans?

If states were readmitted with few or no conditions, then new local governments might make few changes to their politics and societies. The combined political power of Southern and Northern Democrats threatened to challenge Republican rule in Congress. The politics of a Northern Democratic president and a Republican Congress made Reconstruction an extremely difficult process.

Congress was on break and not scheduled to return for nearly eight months when Johnson presented his plan for Reconstruction. It required little change from the Southern states. He appointed temporary governors to call and oversee constitutional conventions. The states were

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required to ratify the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution**, which abolished slavery, and to nullify (invalidate) their secession ordinances. Though Johnson encouraged giving African Americans the right to vote, he did not require it, and no state embraced the idea when they reorganized.

Johnson had to deal with the possibility that people in the rebelling states might face charges of treason against the U.S. government. Johnson offered general pardons for all Southerners except the highest-ranking Confederate officials and those owning property valued at more than $20,000. In practice, however, the president extended individual pardons to officials and property owners at such a rate that their exclusion from general pardons was meaningless. When Congress reconvened in December, Johnson announced that Reconstruction was finished.

Congressional involvement

Johnson's Reconstruction efforts had changed very little. Many of the states balked at the requirements of either ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment or nullifying their secession ordinances. Because President Johnson was granting pardons so easily, many of the former rebel leaders were elected again to leadership positions, including to Congress. New state governments were passing **Black Codes**, laws that restricted former slaves to near slavery.

Both moderate and **Radical Republican** members of Congress were dissatisfied with Johnson's efforts. When it reconvened in December 1865, Congress refused to acknowledge the Southern delegates recently admitted through Johnson's plan. Congress formed a Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction to handle all matters pertaining to the restoration of the South. It was a direct challenge not only to Johnson's Reconstruction policy but also to his authority as president. It marked the beginning of a long and complex political battle between the president and Congress.

Johnson was unwilling to cooperate with Congress. He vetoed many measures that Congress passed. Congress, for the first time in history, overrode the vetoes. The **Civil Rights Act of 1866** recognized African Americans as citizens and guaranteed equal protection of the laws. It contained the basic components of what would become the **Fourteenth Amendment** to the U.S. Constitution, granting citizenship to all people

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born in the United States and guaranteeing due process of law. Congress also renewed the Freedmen's Bureau.

The framework for Congress's Reconstruction policy was contained in a series of legislation known as the **Reconstruction Acts**. The acts included laws that divided the former Confederacy into five military districts until each state held a new constitutional convention to replace state governments previously recognized by Lincoln and Johnson. To obtain readmission to the Union, the states were required to provide voting rights to black males and to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. The acts also temporarily barred certain Confederate officeholders from voting or holding office in the new governments.

President Johnson attempted to veto much of this legislation too, but Congress continued to override his objections. Johnson actively campaigned against the Fourteenth Amendment and worked for the election of Reconstruction rivals during the congressional elections of 1866, all unsuccessfully. Congress passed several measures to reduce Johnson's presidential powers, and finally impeached him in 1868. Though he narrowly escaped conviction and maintained his presidency, his presidential power was practically worthless. Congress maintained control of Reconstruction.

Last measures

Between 1868 and 1870, all former Confederate states were readmitted to the Union with new governments. Though Congress continued Reconstruction with a series of enforcement acts through 1871, support for Reconstruction faded in the midst of economic concerns. President **Rutherford B. Hayes** (1822–1893; 1877-–81) withdrew the last federal troops from Confederate states in 1877, and Southern states once again assumed full control.

Although there were some successful measures, Reconstruction essentially failed to create a democratic South. The vast majority of African Americans and many small farmers remained poor, without property and practically without enforceable rights. A system of sharecropping replaced slavery, making it almost impossible for families to work for their own success. The economy was slow to recover, and discrimination and resentment against blacks raged. Life under oppressive state governments was made worse by the terrorist acts of white suprema-

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cist groups such as the **Ku Klux Klan**. The federal government would have to return to the South in the middle of the twentieth century to compel integration of African Americans into Southern society.

Reconstruction Acts

The Reconstruction Acts were a series of legislation passed by Congress in 1867, after the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Together they outlined the **Republican Party**'s plan for reintegrating into the Union the Southern states that made up the **Confederate States of America** and for protecting basic rights for the newly freed slaves. The acts represented the wishes of a strong Republican Congress and were passed over the vetoes of President **Andrew Johnson** (1808–1875; served 1865–69).

A political struggle

The time after the Civil War was difficult for the United States. Americans passionately debated how to reintegrate the rebelling Confederate states and people into the Union. Northern opinions were divided between the **Radical Republicans**, who wanted the Southerners to suffer for their actions, and those who wanted to welcome the states back into the Union quietly.

Racial issues complicated the discussions. Although the **Thirteenth Amendment** officially prohibited **slavery** in 1865, it did not define the rights of the freed slaves. Properly recognized, their rights would change Southern culture as it had existed for well over a century. If freed slaves were to be counted as full citizens, rather than using the three-fifths compromise for slaves in the original U.S. **Constitution**, the political balance in Congress could be altered considerably.

Political disagreement on these important questions characterized the relationship between President Johnson and the Republican Congress after the Civil War. Johnson, a Southern Democrat who was elected vice president under **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) in 1860, became president after Lincoln's assassination in April 1865. Although Johnson supported the Union during the Civil War, he crafted a very moderate **Reconstruction** policy after it ended in 1865. Under his plan, rebellious states would be required to repeal their **secession** ordinances, have 10 percent of their population take a loyalty

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President Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction policy required Southern states to abolish slavery and nullify their secession. Johnson, standing center on back of train, traveled to promote his policies to citizens. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

oath, and not hold the federal government responsible for their war debts.

The plan was a continuation of one set forth by Lincoln, a Republican, before he died. The Republican Congress, however, generally rejected it. Many congressmen were concerned that it gave just mild discipline to the rebelling states and contained no plan to guide postwar recovery or to protect the rights of newly freed slaves. In an effort to take greater control of Reconstruction, Congress passed its own plan through radical legislation, including the Reconstruction Acts of 1867.

The acts' objectives

The Reconstruction Acts were introduced in 1867, after Congress had passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1866** and proposed the **Fourteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. Both pieces of preceding legislation had attempted to define national and state citizenship and to guarantee equal protection under the law for black Americans. The legislation was

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difficult to enforce, however, and Southern states were ignoring it. As a result, the Radical Republican Congress turned to passing more legislation in an effort to carry out its policies.

The first Reconstruction Act was passed on March 2, 1867. It eliminated the Southern state governments created immediately after the war and divided the rebelling territory into five military districts. General officers were to oversee constitutional conventions in which new state constitutions could be written that included a guarantee of black suffrage, the right to vote. With congressional approval of the state's new constitution and the state's vote to support the Fourteenth Amendment, the state would be readmitted to the Union. As punishment for their participation in the rebellion, insurgents were denied the right to vote during this process.

Congress passed another Reconstruction Act to support the first on March 23, 1867. Southerners were refusing to call constitutional conventions. The second act transferred that power to the commanding generals of the military districts. Another supplementary act was passed on July 19 after broad interpretations of the previous acts were causing complications. The third act declared that state governments were strictly subordinate to the military commanders. Generals were given the right to remove state officers. These two measures passed over vetoes by President Johnson. The last Reconstruction Act, of March 11, 1868, became law with President Johnson's signature. It changed the process of ratifying the state constitutions.

The Reconstruction Acts greatly enhanced the power of the Republican Party. All Southern states were readmitted to the Union between 1868 and 1870 with newly established, Republican-dominated governments. These governments, however, were somewhat artificial. With white Southern voting rights limited by the acts, politicians did not necessarily earn their positions through popular support. For a time, Republicans easily controlled Southern politics with the legitimate votes of newly freed blacks and the influence of **carpetbaggers** (Northerners who came to the South to carry out Reconstruction programs) and **scalawags** (Southerners who supported Reconstruction but often for their own gain).

Although Republicans managed to exert their influence during the initial phases of Reconstruction, it proved to be only temporary. As Southern voting rights were restored fully for whites, they resumed con-

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trol of their governments and elected representatives from the Democratic Party. Southern Democrats generally protected the interests of white Southerners over the interests of Northern Republicans and Southern black Americans.

Red Cross

See **American Red Cross**

Red Scare

Historically, the United States has referred to the Soviet Union as the "Reds," a term interchangeable with "communists." A communist is a person who adheres to the economic theory of **communism**, in which the government owns the means of production for all goods and services and their distribution. Communism is the opposite of capitalism, which is the basis for the U.S. economy. Under capitalism, individuals can own businesses and provide goods, and there is competition in the marketplace.

The United States considered communism to be a major threat throughout **World War I** (1914–18). During those years, Russia was undergoing its own civil war and then the Bolshevik Revolution, two conflicts marked by intense violence and brutality. U.S. leaders believed that communism must be destroyed, and if it could not be destroyed, it must be contained so that it would not spread to the United States.

The first "Red Scare" in the United States occurred in 1917 to 1920. A plot to mail thirty-six bombs to prominent Americans was uncovered in 1919. Among those targeted were businessmen **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937) and **J. P. Morgan** (1837–1913), as well as several government officials in high positions. One of the intended victims, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer (1872–1936), had part of his house blown up. The bomber, who died in the explosion, was identified as an Italian immigrant.

In the United States there was a climate of suspicion and distrust of immigrants from all walks of life. Many viewed anyone who was foreign-born as a possible communist, and the bomb plot escalated those fears. In addition, at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, there were numerous labor **strikes** led by unions (formal associations of workers that advanced members' views on wages, work hours, and labor con-

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ditions). These labor strikes were considered by many to be crimes against society, and many strikers were immigrants. It was a vicious cycle.

The bomb plot resulted in what were known as the Palmer Raids. The raids were a series of mass arrests and deportations (sending back to the homeland) of immigrants suspected of being radicals or leftists (people believing in socialism, a theory similar to communism). The General Intelligence Division of the Bureau of Investigation (later known as the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) instituted the raids; a young **J. Edgar Hoover** (1895–1972) was in charge of the division. Between four thousand and ten thousand individuals were arrested in a two-year period. Many claimed to have been beaten during arrest and detainment.

Initially, the media praised the raids. Criticism soon followed, however, when evidence showed that fewer than six hundred of the thousand deportations were justified.

The second Red Scare

The era of the second Red Scare spanned the decade of 1947 to 1957. **World War II** (1939–45) and conflicts in Asia heightened the fear of communism in the United States.

The American public's fear for its safety increased when the Soviet Union acquired the **atomic bomb**, and a husband-and-wife team of suspected spies for the Soviets, Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953) and Ethel Rosenberg (1915–1953), was discovered, convicted, and executed in the United States. The government again arrested and deported anyone suspected of leftist leanings.

At the helm of this second bout of paranoia stood Republican U.S. senator **Joseph McCarthy** (1908–1957) of **Wisconsin**. The senator was known for publicly declaring that the federal government and other major organizations were crawling with communist spies. His accusations were baseless, and he was not above trying to discredit his opponents—political and personal—by slandering them as communists. A *Washington Post* cartoonist coined the phrase "McCarthyism" in 1950 in reference to the senator's behavior. The most well-known example of McCarthyism was **Hollywood blacklisting**.

In 1938, Congress formed the **House Un-American Activities Committee** (HUAC) to investigate suspicious individuals and groups. In 1947, the HUAC held nine days of hearings to look into a list of

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Hollywood producers, directors, and actors suspected of promoting pro-communist movies. When ten suspects refused to answer the committee's questions, they were labeled the "Hollywood Ten" and blacklisted (put on a list of people who could not be hired) in the movie industry. All ten of them served one-year jail terms. When the hearings were over, more than three hundred Hollywood artists—most of them screenwriters—were blacklisted. Only about thirty were able to rebuild their careers once the Red Scare was over.

Religious Freedom

Religious freedom is the idea that people have the right to practice religion as they wish without interference from the government. While the concept seems simple, it becomes difficult as people disagree over how much government can be involved with religion without violating religious freedom. The concept of religious freedom became a popular subject in the eighteenth century as America's original **thirteen colonies** broke from England to form the United States.

Religion in the colonies

Some of the American colonies began as experiments with religious freedom. **Puritans**, for example, left England early in the seventeenth century to escape religious persecution under the Anglican Church. **William Penn** (1644–1718), a member of the Society of Friends (known more commonly as the **Quakers**), formed the colony of **Pennsylvania** later in the century to give religious freedom to those "who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world."

Religious freedom, however, often meant freedom just for Christians generally or, more often, for one sect of Christianity. Most of the New England colonies were attached to a Protestant religion. Most of the colonies in the South, for example, were connected to the Anglican Church. Colonists paid taxes to support their established churches, and people who failed to follow the official religion faced penalties and were banned from holding public office.

Roger Williams (1603–1683) was a religious pioneer who believed that a strong connection between government and religion was not healthy for religion. He challenged the Puritan way of religion in

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Massachusetts and argued that the king of England could not grant land to the colony because the land belonged to the native peoples. When banished, Williams fled to the area that would become **Rhode Island**. There he established a colony that had greater religious freedom and founded one of the earliest Baptist congregations in the United States. In his final years, he challenged the Quakers, which in his opinion was too disconnected from God and the Bible.

The Great Awakening and Revolutionary period

The **Great Awakening** was the first of many periods of religious revival in America. This movement occurred between the 1730s and the 1750s. Preachers traveled the country to spread the idea that religious experience could be personal. This challenged the influence that churches and ministers had in their communities.

The Great Awakening led to public debate over the proper role of government in religion. Some felt that a separation of church and state was necessary to protect both. Others felt that one of government's proper functions was to support and encourage religion in the community.

Debates over the relationship between church and state affected the formation of governments when the American colonies declared independence from England in 1776. Three weeks before the declaration, the legislature in **Virginia** passed a Declaration of Rights, saying, "All men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

In 1786, the state of Virginia passed its Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom. **Patrick Henry** (1736–1799) had wanted Virginia to pass a bill making Christianity generally the official state religion. The bill that passed, with support from future U.S. presidents **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–9) and **James Madison** (1751–1836; served 1809–17), said, "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief."

Five years later, the United States adopted the **Bill of Rights** to the U.S. **Constitution**. The **First Amendment** prevents Congress from passing laws that respect an establishment of religion or that prevent the free exercise of religion. The main purpose of the amendment was to

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allow the states individually to define the relationship between church and government. States continued to have official religions into the nineteenth century, and non-Christians often could not hold public office.

Republican Party

The Republican Party, sometimes referred to as the Grand Old Party or GOP, formed in the 1850s in response to the divisions and indecisiveness of the **Democratic Party** and **Whig Party** regarding the issue of **slavery**. Those against slavery migrated to the Republican Party, as did those who favored federal government action in the development of the economy. Republicans were highly interested in developing a government favorable to business and banking interests.

The first Republican president of the United States was **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65). He led the **Union** to victory in the American **Civil War** (1861–65), thereby abolishing the practice of slavery.

The period of rebuilding the South following the Civil War is known as **Reconstruction** (1865–77), and toward the end of that era, Republicans recognized the importance of guaranteeing African Americans voting and other rights and made promises toward that end. Regardless of color, Republicans needed Southern representatives in Congress. By the 1890s, however, that faction of Republicans most interested in securing those rights had died or left politics. The fight for African American rights at that time looked to be a losing battle, and Republicans no longer required Southern support because national trends were working in their favor. Promises were broken, and the party lost the support of the African American population almost entirely over the next few decades.

Because the majority of the poor population most adversely affected by the **Great Depression** (1929–41) was African American, Democrat **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) won the loyalty of blacks during that era as he provided financial relief and jobs.

As African Americans escalated their efforts to win civil rights in the 1950s, it was not clear which political party would take a leadership role. Democrats pursued economic policies African Americans supported, but Republicans, particularly in the North, supported civil rights legislation. As Democrats gradually became more supportive of civil rights in the

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early 1960s, they gained the support of African Americans. (See **Civil Rights Movement**.)

The 1990s was a decade of renewed Republican power in American politics. Democrat **Bill Clinton** (1946–; served 1993–2001) had led America through four years of liberal politics, and despite the fact that the national debt decreased remarkably under his leadership, Republican voters gave power once again to the Republican Party in Congress.

The 1994 midterm election focused on moral themes, and the Republican Party used Clinton's adultery, support of homosexuals in the military, and questionable personal ethics to create an atmosphere of untrustworthiness. Republicans won fifty-four seats in the House of Representatives and four in the Senate, which gave them control of both. To the surprise of many, however, Clinton managed to be reelected president two years later, and Republican leadership had to compromise their legislative agenda.

The first election of the twenty-first century saw Republican **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) elected to the White House as the nineteenth Republican president. Current ideology embraces lower taxes and limited government in most economic areas. Within the party, there are two branches of conservatism. One holds that limited government will allow society to flourish. The other concentrates less on economics and more on moral issues such as abortion and same-sex marriage. This second ideology is strongly in favor of the intermingling of church and state.

The Republican Party emphasizes the role of individuals being economically responsible for themselves, although they mostly agree that there should be limited assistance for the less fortunate. Generally speaking, the party believes the private sector is more effective in helping the poor than is the government. Republicans are, for the most part, opposed to labor unions and usually oppose increases in the minimum wage. Neither are they in favor of strict environmental standards because they believe such legislation hurts business. The party as a whole has always supported a strong national defense. More recently, it supports the idea that the United States has the right to act without international or outside support if doing so is in support of self-interest.

Reservations

See **Indian Reservations**

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Paul Revere

Paul Revere was an American revolutionary leader who became famous for riding to warn colonists in the towns of Lexington and Concord in the **Massachusetts Bay Colony** of the approaching British army in 1775. The battle that followed between the colonists and the army was the first battle of the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Revere was a talented metalsmith, working especially in silver. He was married twice and had sixteen children and fifty grandchildren.

Revere, the third of twelve children, was born on January 1, 1735, in Boston, Massachusetts Bay Colony. His father, Apollos De Revoire, was a Frenchman and a metalsmith. Apollos changed the family name to Revere. Revere's mother, Deborah Hitchborn, was descended from **Puritans**.

Revere learned metalworking from his father. When his father died in 1754, Revere took control of the business. He was just nineteen years old. The silverware he made was among the finest in America.

Revere served for a short time in the **French and Indian War** (1754–63). In 1756, he married Sarah Orne, with whom he had eight children. After Sarah died in May 1773, Revere married Rachel Walker in October. They had eight children, too.

As tension grew between Great Britain and the American colonies, Revere became involved in revolutionary activities. He was a member of the Sons of Liberty, a group in Boston that protested British tax laws, such as the **Stamp Act** of 1765 and the **Townshend Acts** of 1767. Revere also served as an express rider for Boston's Committee of Safety, an organization that coordinated resistance activity between the colonies. Revere rode horseback delivering messages between Boston, **Massachusetts**; New York City; and Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania** from December 1773 to November 1775.

On April 18, 1775, members of the Committee of Safety learned that British general Thomas Gage (1721–1787) planned to send an army to Lexington to arrest revolutionary leaders John Hancock (1722–1803) and Samuel Adams (1737–1793), and then to Concord to destroy colonial supplies of gunpowder. Revere sent men into Boston's North Church tower to light two lanterns to warn colonists across Boston Harbor in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Then Revere crossed the harbor in a boat.

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Revere and another man, William Dawes (1745–1799), rode horses from Charlestown by different routes to warn colonists in Lexington. From there, joined by Samuel Prescott (1751–c. 1777), they rode toward Concord. British patrols captured all three. Dawes



Paul Revere was an American revolutionary leader who became famous for riding to warn the people of Lexington and Concord about the approaching British army in 1775. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

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Revere's Ride

Poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882) wrote a poem called *Paul Revere's Ride* in 1860 about Revere's ride to warn the colonists of the approaching British army. The first two stanzas of the poem say:

Listen my children and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend,
"If the British march
By land or sea from the town tonight,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,
One if by land, and two if by sea;
And I on the opposite shore will be,
Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
For the country folk to be up and to arm."

and Prescott escaped, and Prescott made it to Concord to deliver the warning there. Colonists spread the word through the countryside using a system that Revere helped to design, which allowed them to gather together and confront the British army. Revere was released in time to return by foot to Lexington before the first battle of the revolution began the morning of April 19. (See **Battle of Lexington and Concord**.)

During the war, Revere was involved in two engagements, one in **Rhode Island** in 1778, and the other at Penobscot Bay in 1779. He was court-martialed (accused of breaking a military law) for disobeying orders at Penobscot Bay, but he was found not guilty in 1782.

Revere worked for the rest of his life as a metalsmith. He also made church bells, a stone grain mill, paper money, and rolled sheet copper. As a member of the **Federalist Party**, he participated in the Massachusetts convention that approved the U.S. **Constitution** in 1788. Revere died at home in Boston on May 10, 1818.

Revolutionary War

See **American Revolution**

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Rhode Island

Rhode Island entered the Union on May 29, 1790, as the thirteenth state. With a total area of 1,212 square miles (3,139 square kilometers), it is the smallest of all fifty states. Rhode Island is one of six New England states in the northeastern United States and is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, **Connecticut**, and **Massachusetts**.

The first European to visit Rhode Island was Italian navigator Giovanni da Verrazano (c.1485–c.1528), in 1524. The first permanent white settlement was established in Providence in 1636 by a small group of people who had experienced religious persecution in the **Massachusetts Bay Colony**. Before the settlers arrived, Rhode Island was home to the Narragansett and the Wampanoag Native American tribes.

Rhode Island's economy depended upon agriculture and commerce in the early eighteenth century. The slave trade was one form of commerce, and in 1774, 6.3 percent of the state's population were slaves; this number was double that of any other New England colony. The tiny state had mostly ruled itself from the beginning, and on May 4, 1776, it was the first colony to formally renounce all loyalty to British king George III (1738–1820). Rhode Island was the last of the original **thirteen colonies** to join the Union.

By the nineteenth century, Rhode Island's revenue came from industrialization, **immigration**, and **urbanization**. The twentieth century saw a decrease in the number of manufacturing jobs. In the twenty-first century, health services are the leading industry, followed by tourism. Manufacturing is in third place, with a focus on jewelry, silverware, and machinery.

Rhode Island claimed nearly 1.1 million residents in 2006, the overwhelming majority (82.9 percent) of whom were white. Another 10.9 percent were Hispanic or Latino, and 5 percent were African American. The capital city of Providence was the most heavily populated, with 176,862 citizens.

Millions of people visit Rhode Island each year, primarily to enjoy water sports and historic sites.

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Riots

See **Los Angeles Riots (1992); Race Riots of the 1960s**

Roanoke Colony

In the last decades of the sixteenth century, England was prospering under the rule of Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603). While other European countries had begun to establish colonies in the New World, England had none. The queen and many of her statesmen planned to change this.

In 1578, Elizabeth gave permission to explorer Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539–1583) to travel to the New World and settle any lands that were not under the rule of other Europeans. Gilbert and his half-brother, statesman and poet Walter Raleigh (1522–1618), immediately put together a large expedition crew, but when it set out for the New World it was turned back by a Spanish sea attack. Gilbert tried again in 1583, attempting to set up a colony in the frigid lands of Newfoundland, but he drowned in a storm before anything came of it. Raleigh's curiosity and interest had been aroused, and his position as a favorite in Elizabeth's court made him the likely man to establish an English settlement in America.

A site for England's first American colony

Raleigh decided to locate his colony farther south in North America, where the climate would be more mild. He sent a small survey party to explore the proposed site in April 1584. In early July, the party arrived off the coast of present-day **North Carolina**. They spent several days looking for a good harbor and a place to build a small farming community and initiate trade with the local Indians. The party returned to England in September with a glowing account of the voyage. Raleigh named the new land **Virginia** after Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, and she elevated him to knighthood.

The first attempt

Elizabeth did not offer Raleigh any money for the development of a colony in Virginia. Undaunted, Raleigh put together a second expedition in 1585, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville

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(1542–1591). He gathered a group of specialists in map-making, botany, exploring, and other subjects to prepare the way for more permanent settlers. Explorer Ralph Lane (1530–1603) was chosen to govern the new colony. Among the experts were a young Oxford scholar of mathematics and the sciences, Thomas Hariot (1560–1621), and an artist, John White (c. 1540–c. 1593). These two supplied the English with their first accurate descriptions of the New World.

The colonists made a slow crossing and arrived at Roanoke Island too late in the season to plant crops. As their supplies grew short, they relied on the local native people, who helped them at first. This changed, however, as the English colonists demanded more and more food, causing the Indians to grow hostile. By summer, the colonists were out of supplies. English explorer **Francis Drake** (c. 1540–1596) happened to be on a raiding expedition in the Caribbean that summer, and he stopped at Roanoke Island, offering to take the colonists home. They gladly accepted, ending this attempt at establishing an English colony.

The lost colony of Roanoke

In 1587, Raleigh mounted another effort. His new expedition, under the command of White, consisted of eighty-four men, seventeen women, and nine children. The inclusion of women and children demonstrated that Raleigh intended this venture to be a permanent settlement. The settlers once again chose Roanoke Island as the site for their colony. Another supply shortage forced a reluctant White to leave the colony and his own family behind to return to England for help. Only nine days before he left, his daughter had given birth to Virginia Dare, the first English child to be born on American soil.

White arrived back in England just as war with Spain was breaking out, and he would not be able to return to Roanoke Island with supplies until 1590. When he finally reached the colony, all the colonists had vanished. The only sign of the former community he found was the word "CROATOAN" carved on a tree. No one knows what happened to the lost colony, but most scholars think it is likely that the colonists headed inland to live with the Croatans, a native tribe. After the loss of the Roanoke Island colonists, Raleigh turned his attentions elsewhere. The chief importance of his endeavors was the whetting of English interests in an overseas empire. Others who wished to establish colonies in

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America learned from Raleigh's failures, and the later English colonial attempts succeeded.

Roaring Twenties

The 1920s, also known as the Roaring Twenties or the Jazz Age, were years of change as America recovered from **World War I** (1914–18) and embraced new ways of behaving and thinking.

The decade is often associated with outrageousness. Women broke free of the traditions and restraints of the Victorian era in favor of short dresses, short hairstyles, and carefree ways. In clubs and on the **radio**, the new sounds of **jazz** became the music of the day. As specified by the **Eighteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution** (ratified in 1919), **Prohibition** went into effect in 1920, making the sale, transport, and manufacture of alcoholic drinks illegal. Speakeasies, which sold liquor illegally, became popular hangouts for those who wanted to drink.

The era was also one of increased crime. Societal attitudes began to shift, leading to what many viewed as a decline in moral values. The stock market crash of 1929 brought on the **Great Depression** (1929–41), bringing hard times to the nation and dampening the Roaring Twenties' free-spiritedness.

Politics

Following the two terms of President **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21), Republican **Warren G. Harding** (1865–1923; served 1921–23) was victorious in the 1920 election. His efforts to foster cooperation between government and business led directly to increased economic prosperity as industry grew every year of the decade.

Agriculture's future was not nearly as bright. Farmers were producing too many crops, keeping profits low. In addition, they were paying high prices for the materials and equipment required to run their farms. The combination of large debt and low profits made the life of the American farmer one of daily struggle.

Immigration was restricted in the 1920s. **Nativism**, a policy favoring native-born, white citizens over immigrants, was prevalent at the time. Legal restrictions on immigration upset business owners, who depended on cheap foreign labor to run their factories and shops. One manifestation of nativism was the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK), a secret organ-

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ization advocating the supremacy of whites that reached its peak in the middle of the decade. KKK members engaged in acts of extreme brutality and violence against African Americans and anyone who befriended or supported them.

President Harding died suddenly in 1923 and was replaced by **Calvin Coolidge** (1827–1933; served 1923–29). Evidence of scandal and corruption in the Harding administration came to light during the first months of Coolidge's term. As vice president, Coolidge had not been involved in the scandal and he won reelection as president easily in 1924. He embraced an economic policy of laissez-faire (a French phrase that means letting people do as they choose), which holds that the role of government is to stay out of the way of business and economic affairs unless people's property rights are threatened. For example, Coolidge did not support efforts to provide government assistance to needy farmers.

Most Americans agreed with this policy, and in fact the American economy prospered under Coolidge's leadership. Unemployment rates fell, and citizens were seized by a get-rich-quick attitude that led to unwise investment practices and stock market speculation. In 1929, this behavior had disastrous effects. The stock market crash plunged the country into the Great Depression.

The crash occurred on October 29, 1929, only eight months into the term of President **Herbert Hoover** (1874–1964; served 1929–33). The country's prospects had seemed bright when he took office. But within a month of the crash, 700,000 to 3.1 million were unemployed. Millions were left hungry and homeless, and America spent the next decade searching for work and a new sense of identity.

Prohibition and organized crime

Prohibition, which was supported by many religious groups, doctors, and social reformers but opposed by the general public, had the opposite effect of making drinking fashionable and exciting. Illegal bars called speakeasies became all the rage, and bootleggers (makers and suppliers of alcohol) became modern-day heroes. The penalty for selling one alcoholic drink was five years in prison, and soon overcrowding in jails became a major problem.

As a direct result of Prohibition, **organized crime** increased. Gangsters like **Al Capone** (1899–1947) made huge profits off the illegal manufacturing and sales of liquor. Urban America—especially Chicago,

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Illinois—experienced a drastic increase in violence as mobsters took control of the streets.

Prohibition was repealed in December 1933 and remains the only repealed amendment in the history of the U.S. Constitution.

Pop culture

Jazz swept the nation in the 1920s, and the boom in radio broadcasting brought it into American homes. Rebellious youth embraced the Charleston, a dance that originated among African Americans but became a craze among whites. Viewed by some as a "savage" dance, the Charleston craze was followed by other popular dance steps such as the Jitterbug, Cakewalk, and Turkey Trot.

In the speakeasies and on the dance floors, young women called flappers wore their hair in short bobs and their hemlines above the knees; they wore makeup and high heels and smoked and drank with the men. Both their "modern" behavior and their looks were considered scandalous at the time.

Some of the excesses of the Roaring Twenties came about because people had a little extra money to spend and more leisure time than ever before, as technology and industry gave them automobiles and household appliances. Whereas average citizens had once accepted hard work, restraint, and thrift as requirements of a civilized life, they now wanted to buy things to make life easier and give them more free time away from work. Popular women's magazines featured articles on how a woman could raise her family and still have time for herself.

The theories of Sigmund Freud (1859–1939), the Austrian neurologist and founder of psychoanalysis, had gained great popularity around the world during this era. Americans became interested in Freudian ideas about psychology, human behavior, and personality. Self-improvement books became popular, and many put new emphasis on satisfying individual needs.

The **movie** industry was one of the most prosperous of the Roaring Twenties. By 1926, there were twenty thousand movie theaters in the United States. Silent film stars like Clara Bow (1905–1965) and Louise Brooks (1906–1985) embodied the ultimate flapper and became role models for young women. Men did their best to imitate the style and dress of dashing leading men such as Rudolph Valentino

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(1895–1926) and Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939). Profits grew even larger after the first feature-length film with sound, *The Jazz Singer*, was released in 1927, and many more "talkies" followed. (Previously, the film industry had consisted primarily of silent movies.) Weekly movie attendance increased from fifty-seven million in 1927 to ninety-five million by 1929.

It was a time of fads and crazes as America's youth took to marathons of all kinds, from dancing to flagpole-sitting. Crossword puzzles and a game called mahjongg became new national pastimes.

Literature

The spirit of the era was captured by novelist **F. Scott Fitzgerald** (1896–1940), who coined the term "Jazz Age." Considered the premiere chronicler of the Roaring Twenties, Fitzgerald is still widely read. His wife, Zelda, was considered the ultimate flapper, and together the couple lived the life of excess and tragedy that has come to represent the era.

Fitzgerald's best-known book is ***The Great Gatsby***, published in 1925. It explores the themes of tradition versus modern culture, the shallow pursuit of wealth, and the disillusion of the American Dream. The book's narrator, Nick Carraway, who befriends the mysteriously wealthy Jay Gatsby, is swept up by the glamour of the age but struggles with the excessive materialism and lack of morality that accompanied it.

Another important American author of the 1920s is novelist and short-story writer **Ernest Hemingway** (1899–1961). He was part of the Lost Generation, a term used to refer to several American writers, many of them living in Paris and elsewhere in Europe after World War I, who were disillusioned by the violence of the war. Seeking a new literary freedom, they injected their fiction with an unprecedented realism. Many also sought to break free of social conventions.

Sports

The increase in leisure time allowed people to enjoy sports both as participants and spectators. Throughout the 1920s, Americans spent about $200 million each year on sporting goods such as tennis rackets and golf clubs.

Baseball had been around for several decades, but it became hugely popular in the Roaring Twenties. Favorite players of the era included

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Babe Ruth (1895–1948), Shoeless Joe Jackson (1887–1951), and Lou Gehrig (1903–1941). Sports at the time were still segregated, but the formation of the National Negro Baseball League in 1920 made the sport as popular among African Americans as it was among white spectators.

Before World War I, boxing was considered a violent, low-class sport. As rules changed and regulation of the sport increased, boxing gained respectability and was a favorite pastime of people from all social classes. Jack Dempsey (1895–1983) was a favorite boxer of the 1920s. He met rival Gene Tunney (1898–1978) in the ring in 1926 for the "Fight of the Century." Although Tunney won the match and became the new heavyweight champion, he never matched Dempsey's popularity.

Golf and tennis became popular sports among both men and women. Once a sport relegated to the upper class, golf now became a weekend sport for the middle class. By 1928, eighty-nine cities across the country had public golf courses.

End of innocence

The Roaring Twenties was the response of a nation weary of war and ready to have some fun. It was a decade of optimism, a time when most Americans thought that tomorrow would be better than today. But, culminating in the Depression, it was also the end of innocence.

Robber Barons

The term "robber barons" dates back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when it described the feudal lords of land who used corruption to increase their wealth and power. Feudalism was a class system of medieval Europe. Only those in the upper class could own land; citizens of the lower classes could live on and work the land as long as they pledged their loyalty and services to the feudal landlords. The term was revived in the late nineteenth century to describe a handful of industrialists who used questionable means to build up personal fortunes. Today, these men would be billionaires; they had seemingly unlimited amounts of money and were not afraid to let people know it. These business owners used modern strategies such as vertical integration (the involvement of a business in all aspects of the production of a product) to increase their wealth and put competitors out of business.

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Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794–1877) is considered to have been the first robber baron. He quit school at age eleven to help his father make money to support the family. At sixteen, the native of **New York** bought a sailing ship for $100 and began a ferry service from Staten Island to New York City. Vanderbilt eventually established a line of steamboats and became a millionaire before the age of fifty. His net worth increased to $11 million before his sixtieth birthday. In 1857, Vanderbilt invested in the New York & Harlem Railroad. Within six years, he was the company's president. By 1875, the railroad king merged several lines so that his empire served the entire country. Vanderbilt was known to be loud, hardheaded, and somewhat crude. He rarely gave away his money, and when he died in 1877 his $100 million estate was left to William Vanderbilt (1821–1885), one of his thirteen children.

Another robber baron was **Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919), a Scottish immigrant who created unimaginable wealth in the American **steel industry**. Another believer in vertical integration, Carnegie overworked and underpaid his employees, a practice that kept his operating costs to a minimum. He was able to supply his product at a cost less than that of his competitors. As a result, he became one of the world's wealthiest men when he sold his company to U.S. Steel in 1901 for $250 million. Unlike some of his infamous colleagues, Carnegie gave away much of his money to build thousands of library buildings as well as the well-known Carnegie Hall in New York City. He also donated to colleges and universities to set up scholarships. When Carnegie died at the age of eighty-three, he had given away most of his wealth.

Also among the robber barons was **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937), the man responsible for the establishment of the Standard Oil Company and the U.S. petroleum industry. Rockefeller built his first oil refinery in 1863. By 1877, he controlled 90 percent of the U.S. oil industry. His business became so large that he found it difficult to manage. Rockefeller's response was to form the first trust (an organization of several businesses in the same industry). By banding together, the trust can control the production and distribution of a product or service, thereby limiting competition. (See **Monopolies and Trusts**.)

Many consider **Jay Gould** (1836–1892) to have been the prototype (original example) of the robber baron. Viewed in some circles as more corrupt than Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Vanderbilt combined, Gould became a railroad financier who engaged in a battle with Vanderbilt over

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the Erie Railroad. As soon as Vanderbilt bought stock in the railroad, Gould issued more, illegally. When he was arrested for this act, Gould bribed the New York state legislature to change the laws. By 1872, he was the director of seventeen major railroads and the president of five others. Most of Gould's success was the result of dishonest behavior and corruption. When he died at fifty-seven, his fortune was worth $77 million.

Jackie Robinson

Jackie Robinson was the first African American baseball player to play in the major leagues. Most historians agree he had more influence on the integration of sports than did any other athlete.

Jack Roosevelt Robinson was born on January 31, 1919. The future baseball star was the youngest of five. His father deserted the family when Robinson was just six months old, and his mother, Mallie Robinson, moved the family from **Georgia** to **California** in hopes of finding work. Although **segregation** (separation of races) existed in California, conditions were not nearly as bad as they had been in Georgia.

Star athlete

Robinson channeled his frustration and anger over racism into sports. He excelled at football, basketball, track, and baseball. In 1939, a scholarship allowed him to attend the University of California at Los Angeles, where he became the football team's top running back. Having used up the scholarship funds before graduating, he left college without a degree.

The young athlete joined the Honolulu Bears, a professional football team, in the fall of 1941 but was drafted into the U.S. **Army** within a year. He was discharged in 1945 because of weak ankles, the result of years of playing football.

Enters the majors

For a salary of just $400 a month, in 1945 Robinson joined the Kansas City Monarchs, a baseball team in the Negro Leagues. Although he quickly became one of the league's top players, he had no intention of staying in the sport. He disliked the constant traveling and low pay. Robinson changed his mind when Brooklyn Dodgers president Branch Rickey (1881–1965) approached him with a job offer. Rickey had been

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searching for an African American player to bring into the all-white major leagues. He set his sights on Robinson because he admired the young player's determination and pride.

Robinson signed a contract on October 23, 1945. He played for the Montreal Royals in the International League, one of the Dodgers' farm teams. Many sportswriters and team owners criticized the Robinson signing, saying integration would weaken the sport and destroy major league baseball. Neither Robinson nor Rickey allowed public pressure to derail them from their goal.

Segregation laws made spring training difficult for Robinson. He was forced to ride in the back of team buses. More than once, games were canceled because of his participation. The injustice did nothing to prevent Robinson from leading the Royals to the championship in the Little World Series. Without a doubt, his talent was strong enough to take him to the major leagues.



Jackie Robinson was the first African American baseball player to play in the major leagues. In 1949 he was named Most Valuable Player and was a major force in the integration of sports. AP IMAGES

Encounters racism

Not all his teammates were pleased with Robinson's progress. Some circulated a petition stating a refusal to play with him, but very few signed. In 1947, Rickey promoted Robinson to the Dodgers on one condition: Robinson would tame his temper and not allow racial slurs and taunts to get to him. The young star agreed but could not always follow through on this promise.

Robinson's entry into the majors caused quite a commotion. Teams threatened to strike, pitchers assaulted Robinson by hitting him directly with their pitches, base runners tried to injure him by spiking his ankles with their cleats. Throughout all this, Robinson was the target of racial slurs and insults. He received hate mail and death threats, along with threats to kidnap his baby boy.

Robinson remembered his promise to Rickey and tried to let his playing speak for his character. Skin color aside, he quickly became the player most fans wanted to watch. The Dodgers set new attendance records, and most of his teammates recognized the value he brought to

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their team. Robinson led the league in stolen bases and was named Rookie of the Year.

Fame as a player and a crusader

In his second major league season, Robinson frequently got into shouting matches with opponents and umpires. By 1949, his name was famous not only for his playing but also for his temper. He was named Most Valuable Player that year. For six consecutive seasons, Robinson batted over .300, and fans loved that he used every possible chance to steal home.

Because of Robinson's efforts, other African American baseball players were brought into the major leagues. By 1950, he was making $35,000 annually, more than any other Dodger had in the history of the team.

As Robinson's fame grew, he became more vocal in his protest of racism. When Walter O'Malley (1903–1979) replaced Rickey as Dodgers president in 1951, Robinson remained outspoken in his support of civil rights causes. He even gave advice to African American players on opposing teams. O'Malley was less tolerant of Robinson's crusading than Rickey had been, but not so much that he was willing to lose him as his star player.

End of an era

By the mid-1950s, Robinson had suffered numerous injuries, and his batting average had fallen to .256. In addition, he had a difficult relationship with the team's manager, Walter Alston (1911–1984). Robinson was traded in December 1956 to the New York Giants. He chose not to report to the Giants, so the trade was voided. A month later, Robinson announced his retirement, stating that his body could no longer perform at the major league level. Soon after, his health began failing. He was diagnosed with diabetes, at one point going into a diabetic coma. As a result of the condition, he eventually lost sight in one eye and suffered severe vision loss in the other.

Robinson became a successful businessman who supported political causes that enhanced the lives of African Americans. He became the head of a construction company that built housing for African American families, and he got involved in other ventures that encouraged African Americans to participate in business.

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Robinson was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1962. In the early 1970s, Robinson was vocal in pushing for an African American manager in professional baseball. Two years later, Frank Robinson (1935–; no relation) became the first African American major league manager when he took over the Cleveland Indians.

Robinson was honored in 1972 when he was asked to throw out the ball for the second game of the World Series. Less than two weeks later, he died of a heart attack in his home in **Connecticut**. His funeral attracted more than twenty-five hundred mourners, including celebrities and politicians. In 1997, Major League Baseball retired Robinson's uniform number—no future ballplayer for any team would wear Robinson's number 42 again.

Rock and Roll

Rock and roll music managed to do what nothing else could in the mid-twentieth century: it integrated white and African American cultures by melding the distinctive musical styles of each. Although it seemed to burst on the scene almost overnight in the mid-1950s, rock and roll was actually the culmination of more than a century of musical experimentation. With its heavy back-beat and amplified guitars, early rock and roll was raw and rowdy. It appealed to a young audience in a way music never had before. Rock and roll was more than music: it was attitude and style.

In the beginning

Many music historians consider the rhythm and blues hit "Rocket 88," recorded by Ike Turner (1931–2007) and Jackie Brenston (1930–1979) in legendary record producer Sam Phillips's (1923–2003) studio in 1951, the first rock and roll song. That same year, Cleveland, **Ohio**, radio disc jockey Alan Freed (1921–1965) popularized the term "rock and roll." Other songs that brought rock and roll to a wide audience were Bill Haley's (1925–1981) hit "Rock Around the Clock" and "Shake, Rattle and Roll," which was a rhythm and blues hit when recorded by Big Joe Turner (1911–1985) and a rock hit when covered by Haley, both in 1954.

But it was **Elvis Presley** (1935–1977) who earned the title of the King of Rock and Roll. With an unusual ability to absorb various musi-

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Rock and roll pioneer Elvis Presley performing on the Ed Sullivan Show *on September 9, 1956.* AP IMAGES

cal influences and mix them into a perfect balance, Presley released "That's All Right (Mama)" in 1954 and became a singing sensation. This Memphis, **Tennessee**, musician mixed blues and **country music** with a danceable, thumping beat and triggered a musical revolution. Presley continued to release one hit after another throughout the decade as rock took hold of the nation's youth. Jerry Lee Lewis (1935–) joined his peer on the rock scene when he released "Whole Lot of Shakin' Going On" and "Great Balls of Fire" in 1957. African American musicians Chuck Berry (1926–) and Little Richard (1932–) rose to fame in those years as well. Buddy Holly (1936–1959) took inspiration from Presley and released several hit singles before his untimely death at the age of twenty-two. Despite his short life, he is considered a pioneer of rock and roll. These musicians infused sounds from various music genres—rhythm and blues, country, gospel, and boogie-woogie—to create the new electric sound of rock and roll.

1960s and 1970s

No single musician or band had greater influence on the rock and roll sound of the 1960s than the Beatles, originally from Liverpool, England. They dominated American music charts throughout the decade, beginning with their first hit, "I Want to Hold Your Hand" (1964). It was the sound of the Beatles that helped rock expand beyond the raw power of earlier songs into more progressive and musically rich melodies that reflected the political and social changes sweeping the nation at the time. (See **Beatlemania**.) Traditionally considered a **folk music** singer, **Bob Dylan** (1941–) contributed to this shift in rock and roll, more with his music's message than its style. Other influential musicians who brought folk and rock music together were the Byrds, the Grateful Dead, the Mamas and the Papas, and Simon and Garfunkel.

The so-called British Invasion brought more rock bands to the United States, notably the Rolling Stones. Starting around 1964, many

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The Beatles had more influence over rock and roll than any band in their generation. The passionate fan reaction to the band also redefined how people acted around rock and roll groups and musicians in general. AP IMAGES

British musicians recorded songs that climbed U.S. music charts. Some of the most popular bands and individuals include the Yardbirds, the Kinks, the Who, Dusty Springfield (1939–1999), the Hollies, and Herman's Hermits.

Psychedelic rock Folk rock gave birth to psychedelic rock, a form that tries to replicate the mind-altering experiences of hallucinogenic drugs. This form became popular in the mid-1960s and was played by Jefferson Airplane, Pink Floyd (a British band that gained popularity in the States), British singer Donovan (1946–), Jimi Hendrix (1942–1970), and the Doors.

By the end of the decade, rock and roll had become such an integral part of American culture that rock festivals were being held around the country. The most famous festival was Woodstock, a three-day arts and music festival held in 1969 in upstate **New York**. Hundreds of thousands of fans attended to hear the sounds of Hendrix, the Grateful Dead,

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Creedence Clearwater Revival, Janis Joplin (1943–1970), and the Who, among others.

Progressive rock Progressive (prog) rock bands pushed compositional boundaries by incorporating elements drawn from other genres, such as jazz and classical. Their songs were not always structured in the conventional verse-chorus way but rather in story fashion. This form became popular in the United States in the late 1960s and reached its peak in the mid-1970s with bands such as Yes, Genesis, Pink Floyd, the Moody Blues, Rush, and Emerson, Lake and Palmer.

1970s

Bubble gum pop, another form of rock, has a lighter sound. Often called soft rock, its sound was epitomized in the 1970s by bands like the Partridge Family, the Osmonds, and the Carpenters, and singers such as Olivia Newton-John (1948–), Neil Diamond (1941–), and Barry Manilow (1943–).



Hard rock bands like Led Zeppelin, featuring Jimmy Page (left) and Robert Plant, relied on amplified, guitar-driven songs. AP IMAGES

Although **disco** enjoyed its heyday in the 1970s, the United States saw a second wave of British and American rock bands reach new levels of fame during that time. Hard rock and heavy metal bands like Led Zeppelin, Judas Priest, Aerosmith, Black Sabbath, Deep Purple, and Queen relied on heavily amplified, guitar-driven songs. Music critics generally rejected harsh, hard-driving metal, but bands like Kiss and Queen achieved huge popularity. As metal became more popular, bands began touring and performing for large audiences in stadiums. So-called "arena rock" brought a wave of bands like Journey, Boston, Styx, Heart, and Foreigner in the late 1970s.

Punk rock and new wave were primarily a response to the commercialism of disco, hard rock, and arena rock. Stripped down and using only three chords, punk music was easy to play. Many consider the Ramones the first American punk band, and they gained notoriety beginning in the mid-1970s. Contemporaries included

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Patti Smith (1946–), the Dead Kennedys, and Black Flag. Britain's punk scene was flourishing around the same time, with bands such as the Sex Pistols and the Clash.

Punk was a social phenomenon, but it did not get significant airplay, nor did it sell a lot of records. In the late 1970s, new wave emerged as a softer version of hard-core punk. Bands such as Talking Heads, Blondie, and Devo played this form of rock. Other rock bands, including the Go-Gos and the Cars, were largely crossover pop bands who incorporated some of the new wave sound into their music.

1980s and 1990s

Although the 1980s brought less innovation in rock, many solid rock bands that had enjoyed success in the past continued to build their fan base. Songs from the 1975 album *Born to Run*, by Bruce Springsteen (1949–), received repeated airplay and catapulted the singer and his E Street Band to fame. That popularity continued throughout the 1980s. His 1984 album *Born in the U.S.A.* sold fifteen million copies in the United States alone and became one of the best-selling albums of all time. Other bands with long-lasting appeal include Fleetwood Mac, Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers, the Pretenders, and the Police. British rocker David Bowie (1947–), who had emerged on the American rock scene in 1975, remained popular throughout the 1980s as well, though he infused a more pop sound into his music.

Glam metal artists were popular in the 1980s and early 1990s. Also known as hair bands, these musicians used music videos to increase their fan base. Glam metal featured distorted guitar riffs, power chords, and guitar solos. The earlier glam metal bands included Mötley Crüe, Quiet Riot, and Ratt. Poison enjoyed commercial success, and the band Bon Jovi appealed to audiences of glam metal, hard rock, and country rock.

The term alternative rock was coined in the early 1980s as a label for bands that did not fit into the mainstream genres. Examples of these bands were R.E.M., the Cure, the Smiths, Sonic Youth, and the Pixies. Like punk, this genre did not sell a lot of records, but the musicians heavily influenced those who were coming of age in the 1980s. By the 1990s, alternative had become mainstream.

Grunge became popular in Seattle, **Washington**, in the mid-1980s. Its musicians rebelled against mainstream rock by fusing elements of

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punk and heavy metal. The result was music featuring distorted guitar and a fuzzy sound caused by amplifier feedback. The lyrics were filled with apathy and angst. Arguably the most popular grunge band was Nirvana, whose frontman Kurt Cobain (1967–1994) died of a drug overdose in 1994.

Cobain's death seemed to signal the end of the grunge era, and the post-grunge sound evolved. This was a more radio-friendly, pop-sounding form. Popular post-grunge musicians include Tori Amos (1963–), Foo Fighters, Creed, Collective Soul, Alanis Morissette (1974–), Fiona Apple (1977–), and Jewel (1974–).

Twenty-first century

By the end of the twentieth century, the rock genre was splintered. For early rock enthusiasts, the genre was a form of rebellion, a way to question authority and rally the young. By the 1980s, the cable channel MTV had infused the genre and all its subcategories with a sense of commercialism. Rock and roll purists considered this a sellout, an unforgiving compromise. At the start of the twenty-first century, the heirs of pure rock continued to make their own kind of music.

John D. Rockefeller

John Davison Rockefeller was born on July 8, 1839, the second of six children in a modest farming family in **New York**. The Rockefellers moved to **Ohio** in 1853. Two years later, young Rockefeller left high school to enroll in a six-month college business course. He finished the course in three months and then spent six weeks looking for work. He found a job as an assistant bookkeeper. Within months, he was promoted to cashier and then bookkeeper.

In 1863, Rockefeller and a partner, Maurice Clark, entered the oil refining business, which had become a major industry in Cleveland. They found a new, experienced partner in Samuel Andrews (1836–1904), and together they founded an oil company. Within two years, the partners (of which there were now five) disagreed about management, so Rockefeller bought out the others and opened a new company with Andrews. In 1870, the two men joined forces with several other investors and developed the Standard Oil Company.

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By 1872, Standard Oil had controlling interests in nearly every other oil refinery in Cleveland, plus two in New York. Five years later, Rockefeller controlled 90 percent of the American oil industry and was among the twenty richest men in the world. In 1882, he established the Standard Oil Trust. A trust is an organization of several businesses in the same industry. By banding together, the trust controls production and distribution of a product or service, thereby limiting any serious competition. (See **Monopolies and Trusts**.)

Rockefeller knew America depended on oil for its daily existence. Families and businesses used it to heat their homes and buildings; factories needed it to run their machines. By establishing his trust, Rockefeller forced consumers to pay whatever price he wanted to charge for his oil.



Business tycoon and philanthropist John Rockefeller developed the controversial Standard Oil Company. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Exposed

Some Americans, though weary of the situation, accepted Rockefeller's trust; others took action. At a time when corruption was infiltrating every aspect of life from politics to big business, a group of journalists made it their job to uncover and publicize that corruption. Pioneers of investigative journalism, these writers were called muckrakers (**muckraking** means digging up dirt). One of the most popular among them was Ida M. Tarbell (1857–1944). Tarbell wrote for the popular magazines of the day, including *McClure's,* a literary and political journal.

Tarbell began her investigation into the Standard Oil Company in 1902. Her findings and report were published in nineteen parts in *McClure's* from November 1902 to October 1904. In 1904, she published the entire account in book form under the title *The History of the Standard Oil Company.*

Tarbell's exposé focused on Rockefeller's involvement with the **railroad industry**. With so many new railroad lines, competition was fierce. In an effort to compete, railroads tried to undercut each other by charging lower and lower shipping rates. Although this was good for compa-

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nies that relied on the railroads, it was devastating to the railroads themselves. Unable to make a profit, the railroads formed a monopoly to stabilize shipping rates. This monopoly was called the South Improvement Company.

The railroads knew they needed support if their monopoly was to work. Rockefeller, being the wealthiest and most frequent shipper, was the obvious choice among customers. He agreed to support the South Improvement Company on the condition that he be given preferential treatment. This meant he received hefty rebates (refunds) not only for each shipment he sent, but also for the shipment of competing products. So any oil or kerosene, from whatever source, that the railroads shipped brought Rockefeller a rebate.

The South Improvement Company announced a steep increase in freight charges, which incurred the wrath of business owners who depended on the railroads. The protests that followed the announcement brought the situation into the public eye, and it was then that Tarbell discovered Rockefeller's involvement in the scheme.

Although it came too late to help many of the smaller, independent oil businesses, Tarbell's exposé increased public pressure to put an end to Rockefeller's unethical behavior. The public had been aware of the **robber baron**'s basic lack of honesty, but Tarbell's report gave concrete evidence as to Rockefeller's greed and willingness to exploit others. By 1906, anti-Rockefeller sentiment was at its highest, partially because President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) publicly accused him of criminal acts.

The federal government had seven lawsuits pending against Standard Oil by 1907, claiming it was twenty times bigger than its closest competitor. In 1908, the government launched its biggest suit against Standard Oil, determined to break up the oil trust. It would take three years, but on May 15, 1911, the government ordered Standard Oil to dismantle and separate into thirty-four smaller companies, each with its own board of directors. The trust was broken. By this time, Rockefeller had already been retired for fourteen years.

Man of contradictions

Rockefeller was seen as a contradiction. Although he was a dishonest and greedy businessman, he was a deeply religious man who donated millions of dollars to charitable causes. To the University of Chicago he

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donated approximately $35 million. In 1901, he founded the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, known in the twenty-first century as Rockefeller University. The following year, he established the General Education Board (GEB), whose mission was to promote education in America without regard to race, sex, or creed (religious belief). Between 1902 and 1965, the GEB distributed $325 million for improvement of education at all levels. It was out of the GEB's work with children's clubs that the 4-H youth movement developed, and it is still active today.

Rockefeller founded the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913, which gives financial assistance to public health, medical education, scientific advancement, the arts, social research, and other endeavors.

Family man

Although known as a brutal businessman who would stop at nothing to get what he wanted, Rockefeller was a dedicated family man. He and his wife had five children, and the land on which their home stood in New York is now part of the garden of the Museum of Modern Art.

Rockefeller died in 1937 in his Florida home at the age of ninety-seven.

Rodgers and Hammerstein

Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II were both successful music writers by the time they teamed up in the 1940s, but nothing prepared audiences for their first effort in 1943. With *Oklahoma!,* the duo produced a new genre, the modern American musical, and revolutionized **Broadway**. Over the course of their seventeen-year collaboration, the two worked on nine musicals, six of which were huge, enduring successes.

Hammerstein

Hammerstein was born in New York City on July 12, 1895. He came from a famous theatrical family. His father, William, was the manager of the Victoria, New York's leading vaudeville house, and his uncle was a Broadway producer.

Hammerstein was a law student at Columbia University when he approached his uncle, the producer, about giving him a job. He then

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worked for a time as a stage manager for his uncle's road companies so that he could learn the business. Later, after trying his hand as a playwright, he began to collaborate with composers on musical revues. Hammerstein usually wrote the song lyrics (words) and the book (the text of the dialogue) for musical production. His musical collaborations were a long series of hits. By far his most successful production as a young man came with the 1927 play *Show Boat,* a collaboration with composer Jerome Kern (1885–1945) that was adapted from the novel of the same name by Edna Ferber (1885–1968).

Already at this point, Hammerstein was experimenting with a new form of theatrical musical that discarded the usual big production numbers and chorus girls in favor of plot, character, and a treatment of social issues. *Show Boat* became a folk play in music, with the songs supporting the drama. The musical was uniquely American in its music, language, historical background, and story. It included the songs "Ol' Man River," "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," and "Why Do I Love You."



Richard Rodgers, seated at the piano, and Oscar Hammerstein were both successful music writers by the time they teamed up and revolutionized Broadway musicals. MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

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Rodgers

Rodgers was born on June 28, 1902. He grew up in Manhattan. Both of his parents were avid theatergoers, and his mother was an accomplished pianist. Rodgers demonstrated musical talent at an early age and loved the theater, especially the musicals of Jerome Kern. He attended Columbia College and then studied at the Institute of Musical Art, later known as the Juilliard Institute.

While still at Columbia, Rodgers met lyric writer Lorenz Hart (1895–1943). The two became a team, writing songs together for the next twenty years. Some of the hit songs from Rodgers and Hart include "My Funny Valentine," "The Most Beautiful Girl in the World," "Manhattan," "Thou Swell," "Johnny One Note," "Blue Moon," "The Lady Is a Tramp," and "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered." The two wrote songs for other musicals and films, as well as for their own productions, including musical plays such as *Babes in Arms* and *Pal Joey.* With Hart's death in 1943, Rodgers began looking for another lyricist.

Pioneers on Broadway

In 1943, Rodgers, the musical composer, teamed up with Hammerstein, the lyricist, forming the best known songwriting team in the history of the American musical. Their first collaboration was the award-winning *Oklahoma!,* the musical adaptation of a play by Lynn Riggs (1899–1954). Set in the **Oklahoma** Territory in the early 1900s, it is the story of a farm girl and the two men who vie for her heart.

Oklahoma! was the first musical to fully integrate music and dance into the plot of the play. In his years of collaboration with Hart, Rodgers had always let the tunes come first; the lyrics followed. Hammerstein, on the contrary, wrote the words before Rodgers set them to music; thus the musical drama in which characters took part was—for the first time—as important as the tunes. Hammerstein broke new ground in the American musical by introducing real-life dialogue and genuine plots into the musical theater. Previously, stilted narrative and almost nonexistent plots had marred musicals. Several of *Oklahoma!*'s songs became popular hits, especially "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'," "The Surrey with the Fringe on Top," and "People Will Say We're in Love."

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Years of Collaboration

Rodgers and Hammerstein produced a continuous stream of Broadway hits until Hammerstein's death in 1960. Many of the musicals were adapted as motion pictures, the most profitable being *The Sound of Music*. Some of their best-loved songs included: "June Is Bustin' Out All Over" from *Carousel*; "I Enjoy Being a Girl" from *Flower Drum Song*; "Getting to Know You" from *The King and I*; "Some Enchanted Evening" from *South Pacific*; and "My Favorite Things" from *The Sound of Music*.

After Hammerstein's death, Rodgers continued to write songs until his own death in 1972, but his productions never again reached the heights they had achieved when Rodgers partnered with Hammerstein.

Rodgers and Hammerstein were probably the most successful partners in Broadway's history. As a team, they received thirty-four Tony Awards, fifteen Academy Awards, two Pulitzer Prizes, two Grammy Awards, and two Emmy Awards. In 1998, *Time* magazine named them among the twenty most influential artists of the twentieth century.

Roe v. Wade

Roe v. Wade (1973) was the court case that established a woman's constitutional right to choose to have an abortion in the first trimester (three months) of her pregnancy. In the twenty-first century, it remains one of the most controversial precedents in the history of the U.S. **Supreme Court**.

In 1970, an unmarried **Texas** woman named Norma McCorvey (1947–) wanted to terminate her pregnancy; she lived in poverty and could not afford to raise a child. Neither could she afford to travel across state lines to a state where abortion was legal; Texas law at the time outlawed abortion unless the mother's life was at risk. McCorvey sued the Dallas district attorney, Henry Wade (1914–2001), so that she could obtain her abortion. In order to retain her privacy, she used the name "Jane Roe."

The Supreme Court heard arguments for the case in December 1971, and a second round of arguments in October 1972. Finally, in 1973, the Court voted 7 to 2 in favor of Roe, citing that the woman's constitutional right to privacy outweighed the Texas statute outlawing abortion.

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Before the 1973 ruling, most states had outlawed abortion, though exceptions sometimes were made if the mother's life was in danger. The *Roe v. Wade* decision meant that states could restrict abortions only in the last three months of pregnancy, when the fetus usually is able to live on its own outside the mother's womb.

In writing the Court's majority opinion, Justice Harry Blackmun (1908–1999) explained the difficulties the Court experienced in coming to a decision: "One's philosophy, one's experiences, one's exposure to the raw edges of human existence, one's religious training, one's attitudes toward life and family and their values, and the moral standards one establishes and seeks to observe, are all likely to influence and to color one's thinking and conclusions about abortion." He went on to say that these difficulties made it necessary to refer to the U.S. **Constitution** for a ruling.

Roe v. Wade continues to be debated in classrooms, on campuses, and in politics across the nation. Although many expected the Supreme Court to overturn the decision several times since its pronouncement, the ruling remains intact.

Eleanor Roosevelt

Eleanor Roosevelt was one of the most popular Americans of the twentieth century. More than a president's wife, she was an eloquent diplomat, humanitarian, and spokeswoman for various causes throughout her life.

Early life

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was born in New York City on October 11, 1884. Her parents, Anna Hall and Elliott Roosevelt, were wealthy members of New York's social elite. Her father was the younger brother of President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9). Her parents legally separated as a result of her father's struggles with depression and alcoholism. When Eleanor was only eight, her mother died of diphtheria. She and her brothers went to live with her maternal grandmother. Her older brother died shortly thereafter. Though her father only had visiting rights, Eleanor was very close to him, and it was very difficult for her when he died before her tenth birthday.

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In 1899, Eleanor attended boarding school near London, England. She developed a special friendship with the headmistress, Marie Souvestre (1830–1905), and had a very positive experience at the school. When she returned to New York in 1902, she had developed an intellectual curiosity and sense of social responsibility. In New York, she plunged into social work.

Marriage and family

Eleanor was soon courted by future president **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1931–45), a distant cousin. In March 1905, they were married. Between 1906 and 1916, they had six children, one of whom died in infancy. The Roosevelts moved to Hyde Park, New York, and lived near Franklin's mother, Sara. Sara dominated much of their lives, and Eleanor struggled to maintain her independence.

Franklin's pursuit of a political career in the **Democratic Party** added to Eleanor's difficult family life. In 1910, Franklin won a seat in the state senate, and the family moved to Albany, where Eleanor took on the role of a politician's wife. In 1913, Franklin was appointed assistant secretary of the U.S. **Navy**, so the family moved to **Washington, D.C.** Eleanor continued to support her husband's career by performing the social duties expected of an official's wife.

World War I (1914–18) provided the first motivation for Eleanor to reclaim her independence and identity. Working for the **American Red Cross** in relief efforts, she revived her interest in social work, restoring a sense of public usefulness and dedication to those who were confronted with social struggles.

Eleanor's need to assert her independence from Franklin was reinforced by marriage difficulties. In 1918, she discovered that Franklin was having an affair with her social secretary, Lucy Mercer (1891–1948). Eleanor offered divorce. Franklin resisted, but their relationship shifted to a political and social friendship. They began to maintain their own agendas while continuing to support each other's careers.

Political lives

Beginning in 1918, Eleanor became increasingly involved in politics herself. She began work with the League of Women Voters, the National Consumers' League, the Women's Trade Union League, and the women's

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division of the New York State Democratic Committee. In 1920, Franklin ran unsuccessfully for vice president, and Eleanor became an important collaborator during his campaign.

In 1921, Franklin was struck with polio. The disease left his lower limbs useless, and his political career faltered. Though Franklin's mother urged him to retire to Hyde Park, Eleanor encouraged him to remain active in the Democratic Party. Eleanor supported him by becoming his assistant and representative. She became more actively engaged in public politics, earning a reputation for herself, and continued her own political activism through Franklin's elections to the governorship of New York State in 1928 and the U.S. presidency in 1932.

First lady

Franklin Delano Roosevelt served as president from 1932 until his death in 1945. During that time, Eleanor dedicated herself to serving the public. She worked tirelessly for the causes of women's rights, racial equality, and conditions of the poor. She had a radio program, regular press conferences, and a daily column that appeared in sixty newspapers. She became a popular speaker at political events and institutions.



First lady Eleanor Roosevelt worked tirelessly in support of women's rights, racial equality, and aid for the poor. AP IMAGES

Having no official responsibilities, Eleanor was freer to express her views than her husband was and so she became an important intermediary between the public and the White House. Her devotion to liberal causes, however, often made her a more controversial figure than her husband.

Eleanor also devoted herself to the formal role of first lady. She hosted state dinners, attended receptions, and supported her husband as president both socially and politically. She was also much more involved in the administration than previous first ladies had been. In light of Franklin's illness, she often toured the country and reported back to him the conditions that she observed. This partnership attracted both great approval and criticism from the public.

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The success of Roosevelt's presidency, and his election to four terms, is inseparable from the support he received from Eleanor.

After the White House

President Roosevelt died in April 1945. **World War II** (1939–45) was in its final phases, and **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) took over as president. Truman offered Eleanor a role as the U.S. delegate to the newly formed United Nations (UN), where she served as chairman of the Commission on Human Rights. In this role, she played an important part in drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948.

Eleanor remained at the United Nations until 1951, at which point she became active in the Democratic Party again. She campaigned on behalf of the Democratic presidential candidate, Adlai Stevenson (1900–1965), in 1952 and 1956. After she supported **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) in the election of 1960, he appointed her chair to his Commission on the Status of Women.

In the last years of her life, Eleanor continued to devote herself to international and domestic social improvements. She traveled the world in hope of improving international understanding. She continued to speak on behalf of the disadvantaged to inspire millions to bring change to the world. Her legacy of experience and work is recorded in the books she authored. Eleanor Roosevelt died in New York City on November 7, 1962, from a rare bone-marrow tuberculosis.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt was the thirty-second president of the United States. Inaugurated for his first term in 1933, President Roosevelt would be elected for a record total of four terms, though he died shortly after his fourth inauguration in 1945. His skilled leadership during two of the most challenging eras of U.S. history, the **Great Depression** (1929–41) and **World War II** (1939–45), would give him a reputation as one of the greatest U.S. presidents.

Early life

Born on January 30, 1882, to a wealthy family in Hyde Park, **New York**, Franklin Delano Roosevelt enjoyed the benefits of an excellent educa-

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President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs the declaration of war following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. AP IMAGES

tion. First trained by personal tutors and governesses and then at the Groton School in Groton, **Connecticut**, Roosevelt eventually attended Harvard. His studies focused on political science, history, and English. He also devoted himself to working for the student newspaper, *The Crimson,* where he became managing editor. Roosevelt next enrolled in law school at Columbia University, though he passed the New York bar after only two years of study and left Columbia to work at a reputable law firm.

During his time at Harvard, Roosevelt met his distant cousin, **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962), and married her in 1905. They had six children from 1906 to 1916, five of whom lived to adulthood. Eleanor Roosevelt's own political abilities and social causes would serve to

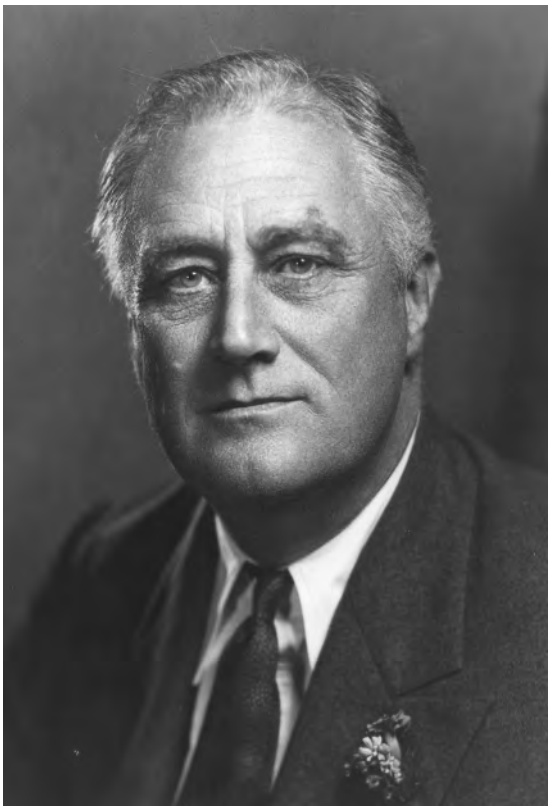
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strengthen her husband's ambitions for political office as well as make her, in her own right, a remarkable figure of the time.

Political career

Roosevelt began his political career in 1910 when he was elected as a Democrat to the New York state senate. Though he was a freshman, he was immediately active in the affairs of his political party, and he worked hard in 1912 on behalf of **Woodrow Wilson**'s (1856–1924; served 1913–21) bid for president. When Wilson won, Roosevelt was rewarded with a position as the assistant secretary of the U.S. **Navy**. Roosevelt was very dedicated to the position, though his opinions frequently ran counter to those of the Wilson administration, and he often angered his superiors.

Roosevelt remained assistant secretary of the navy through **World War I** (1914–18), but he left in 1920 when he resigned to run as the **Democratic Party**'s candidate for vice president. The **Republican Party**'s ticket of **Warren G. Harding** (1865–1923; served 1921–23) and **Calvin Coolidge** (1872–1933) won. But Roosevelt used the campaign as an opportunity to establish political connections across the country, emerging as a leading member of the Democratic Party.



Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the thirty-second president of the United States, led the United States through the Great Depression and World War II, giving him a reputation as one of the greatest U.S. presidents. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Roosevelt returned to New York City to practice law after the elections. In August 1921, while on vacation, he became gravely ill and was eventually diagnosed with an attack of poliomyelitis, or polio. The disease left him paralyzed from the waist down, though eventually he managed to overcome his disability enough to walk at times with leg braces and a cane or crutches. For a time, it seemed that his political career had come to a sudden halt, but by 1928 his perseverance and determination had resulted in such a recovery that the leader of the Democratic Party invited him to run for governor of New York. The race was close, but Roosevelt won.

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In 1928, Roosevelt began the first of his two terms as governor of New York. A year into the term, the country experienced the stock market crash that would mark the beginning of the Great Depression. As governor, Roosevelt worked to improve both rural and urban life and to reduce the effects of the Depression through reforms such as unemployment relief, improved conditions for workers, and pensions for the elderly. New York would be the first state to provide such assistance to those in need, and Roosevelt's successful work as governor foreshadowed the great change he would bring as president.

Presidency

By 1932, President **Herbert Hoover**'s (1874–1964; served 1929–33) administration had failed to bring the country relief from the Great Depression. Franklin D. Roosevelt was named the Democratic candidate for president and soundly won the election. With the economic crisis at its height, Roosevelt immediately dedicated himself to the task of creating a flood of legislation aimed at relief, reform, and recovery. Roosevelt's advisors, known as the "brain trust," worked to establish the overall domestic policy that would become known as the **New Deal**.

Relief measures included programs designed to assist farmers and unemployed workers who faced impossible financial challenges. Recovery measures were designed to normalize economic activity and to restore faith in the banking system. Measures aimed at reform would work to protect consumers by regulating businesses and providing assistance to the elderly and unemployed. Many of these programs were introduced during the first few months of Roosevelt's term, referred to as the Hundred Days. As the government accepted a much greater responsibility for the general welfare of its citizens and the regulation of the economy, Roosevelt restored a measure of confidence to the country.

Many of the programs that were introduced during Roosevelt's presidency lasted into the twenty-first century. Examples include the **Social Security Act** (providing retirement payments for workers and benefits for widows, orphans, and the needy), the National Labor Relations Act (establishing the right to choose and join unions without fear of discrimination), the U.S. Housing Act (providing federal housing projects), and the Glass-Steagall Act (establishing federally guaranteed insurance on bank deposits).

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Not all of the measures enacted during the Hundred Days were popular. Many Americans, especially businesspeople, thought the New Deal's social programs resembled **communism** (a system of government in which the state plans and controls the economy, and goods are equally shared among the citizens). Opponents filed lawsuits to challenge the programs as unconstitutional, or in violation of the U.S. **Constitution**. Many of these cases made it to the U.S. **Supreme Court**, where the Court overturned some of the legislation. Roosevelt's frustrations over these decisions ultimately led to one of the most unpopular actions of his presidency.

Court packing plan

Because of the reforms that the New Deal introduced, Roosevelt won the 1936 election by carrying forty-eight states. Encouraged by his overwhelming victory and angered by the actions of the Supreme Court, Roosevelt instructed Attorney General Homer S. Cummings (1870–1956) to find a way to neutralize the power of the Court. What Cummings found was a forgotten proposal made in 1913 by the attorney general at the time. The proposal would have empowered the president to appoint a new judge for every federal judge that had not yet retired by the age of seventy.

The 1913 plan had not been crafted to apply to the Supreme Court. President Roosevelt, however, embraced the plan and saw no reason not to apply the idea there. With six of the nine justices (including four conservatives) on the Supreme Court over seventy, the plan would allow the president to appoint a favorable majority to the Court if the plan became law.

Presented as the Judicial Reform Act of 1937, the plan caused an instant uproar among both Republicans and Democrats, the country's two main political parties. Congress failed to support Roosevelt's proposal, which it referred to as a "court packing plan." Just the idea of the plan, however, pressured the Supreme Court to begin to reverse some of the rulings Roosevelt had disliked. In addition, the natural retirement of older members of the Court allowed Roosevelt to appoint justices friendly to his programs, giving them greater success before the Court.

Failure of the Judicial Reform Act to pass Congress, however, had important implications for the Roosevelt administration. It marked the beginning of a period in which Congress was reluctant to enact more of

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Roosevelt's creative programs. Conservatives of both parties became increasingly uneasy as the proposed programs became more intrusive and imposed greater regulations on businesses. As a result of the congressional stalemate and the evolution of world events, attention was diverted from the Depression to foreign policy.

World War II

By the mid-1930s, relationships among several nations in Europe and Asia were rapidly deteriorating. The Japanese, who had attacked China in 1932, renewed aggressions in 1937. In 1938, Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) of Germany began his aggressive takeovers by occupying the Rhineland (a demilitarized zone west of the Rhine River in Germany that had been established following World War I), annexing Austria, and seizing Czechoslovakia.

Roosevelt was very aware of the dangers that Hitler posed to the world. Popular opinion in the United States, however, was **isolationist** in nature. Still remembering the disasters of World War I, Americans preferred a policy of total noninvolvement and neutrality in European affairs.

The result of American opinion was the passage of several laws designed to avoid U.S. involvement in any wars. The Johnson Debt Default Act (1934) prohibited loans to any country that had not yet repaid debts to the United States from World War I. Since only Finland had paid its debts, this effectively eliminated the question of which nations the United States would support.

The Neutrality Act was passed in 1935 when Italy invaded Ethiopia. Originally this law only prohibited arms shipments to warring nations and travel by U.S. citizens on belligerent vessels. In 1936, Congress extended the law, adding a provision forbidding loans or credit to nations at war. As tensions increased and World War II began in September 1939, Roosevelt was helpless to act on any nation's behalf.

Eventually Roosevelt convinced Congress to make some changes in policy. The Neutrality Act of 1939 authorized the sale of arms to those nations that could pay cash and were able to transport the goods by their own means. By 1940, after Germany invaded France, Congress increased taxes and the national debt limit to enable greater defense spending.

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Roosevelt finally managed to convince Congress to pass the **Lend-Lease Act**, which enabled the United States to "loan" resources (specifically arms) to another country with the expectation that these resources would be "returned" at a later date. Though originally intended to assist Britain under siege, the aid would soon extend to thirty-eight nations. Through this indirect means, the United States avoided entering the war but still made an important contribution to the **Allies** (the nations united against Germany and its supporters, known as the **Axis**).

Roosevelt was elected again in 1940, though by a much narrower margin than ever before. Citizens were indicating to Roosevelt their desire not to intervene in the war in spite of events in Europe. Nine months after Roosevelt's third term began, however, the Japanese attacked the American port in **Pearl Harbor**, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941.

Americans were immediately drawn into the war. Roosevelt, along with British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) and Soviet Union dictator Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), worked tirelessly to end the aggressions of the Axis nations (Germany, Italy, and Japan). Through many meetings, these Allied leaders made strategies for the war as well as plans for the post-war world. Among the most important developments included formation of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations, organizations for handling international relations.

Death

In April 1945, after the beginning of Roosevelt's fourth term and after the **Yalta conference** in which Roosevelt finalized plans for his dream of the United Nations, Roosevelt traveled to his vacation home in Warm Springs, **Georgia**. There he suffered a massive cerebral hemorrhage, and he died. A funeral service was held in the White House on April 14 and Franklin Delano Roosevelt was buried in his beloved rose garden at the family estate in Hyde Park, New York.

Harry S. Truman (1884–1972; served 1945–53) inherited the presidency, from which he would carry the nation the rest of the way to victory in the Pacific at the conclusion of World War II and work to establish the formation of the United Nations, completing a dream that Roosevelt had not lived to see come true.

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Theodore Roosevelt

Theodore Roosevelt was the twenty-sixth president of the United States. Although he came to the presidency as the result of tragedy, he was the era's most popular president. Historians generally rank him as one of the most effective presidents ever.

Early life

Born into a wealthy New York City family on October 27, 1858, Theodore Roosevelt was a sickly child who suffered from several medical disorders, including severe asthma. His response to his poor health was to lift weights, exercise, and take boxing lessons. By early adulthood, his



The forty-two-year-old Roosevelt became the youngest president of the United States and promoted social reform, naval expansion, and nature conservation. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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asthma had virtually disappeared, and he would spend the rest of his life a passionate outdoorsman.

Roosevelt was homeschooled, and he passed the entrance examinations for Harvard University in 1875. An avid reader and writer, he did well at school and decided to study law. He graduated from Yale University in 1880 with honors and then enrolled in Columbia Law School, but he soon tired of his law studies and focused instead on finishing a book he had begun writing in college. *The Naval War of 1812* was published in 1882 and remains one of the most honest studies of its subject.

Leaves law for politics

Roosevelt dropped out of law school and entered politics, joining the Republican Club in New York City. In 1881, at age twenty-two, he became the youngest member of the state legislature, where he immediately established himself as a reform-minded politician and supported bills that called for better conditions for industrial workers. Although Roosevelt was impulsive and somewhat egotistical, he had amazing reserves of energy and intelligence, and he was honest in both his political and personal life.

In 1884, Roosevelt's wife died giving birth to their only child, Alice Lee. On that same day, his beloved mother died as well, in the same house. Roosevelt was a broken man, and he left his daughter behind to be cared for by relatives as he headed west for two years of cattle ranching. That separation from his daughter was the first of many; Alice would grow up to be a strong-willed woman.

During his self-imposed exile in the west, Roosevelt wrote three books about hunting and ranch life. Now and then, he returned to **New York** to see Alice and take care of business. During one of these trips he saw Edith Carow, a girlfriend from his teenage years. They married in 1886, and eventually had four boys and a girl. Roosevelt spent much of his time writing biographies and history.

In the navy

Roosevelt was appointed civil service commissioner in 1888 and kept the job until 1895, when he accepted a post as president of the New York City Police Board. He cleaned up the city's police force by getting rid of

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corrupt officers and officials. In 1897, President **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) appointed Roosevelt assistant to the secretary of the U.S. **Navy**. It was a commission he thoroughly enjoyed.

The Spanish-American War

In 1895, Cuba revolted against the repressive rule of the Spanish. Spain's response was to round up three hundred thousand Cubans and put them in camps where they could not help the rebels. This angered many Americans who believed that Cuba should be independent of Spain's rule.

Throughout 1897, President McKinley tried to convince Spain to give Cuba its independence. In November of that year, Spain gave Cuba limited independence and closed the camps. (Limited independence meant that Cuba could govern itself in domestic matters; Spain would still govern international matters.) The peace was short-lived. In January 1898, pro-Spanish demonstrators rioted on the streets of Havana, Cuba. McKinley sent the U.S. battleship ***Maine*** to the Havana harbor to protect American citizens who had arrived to help Cuba and to let Spain know that the United States still valued its relationship with Cuba.

Tensions rose when the Cubans intercepted a private letter written by the Spanish minister to the United States describing McKinley as weak and indicating that the Spanish were not negotiating in good faith with the United States. The Cubans leaked the letter to the press, and when it was published in the *New York Journal,* it infuriated Americans, who saw it as an attack on the honor of both their president and their nation.

The situation worsened when the USS *Maine* exploded and sank on February 15, 1898. The explosion killed 266 crewmembers. A Navy investigation concluded that the explosion had been caused by an outside source, presumably a Spanish mine. (More recent scholarship has speculated, however, that the explosion more likely occurred because of mechanical problems with the ship itself.) McKinley did not want to go to war, but he saw no alternative at this point. He ordered U.S. ships to block Cuba's ports; the United States and its president wanted an end to the Cuban crisis. On April 23, 1898, Spain declared war on the United States. Two days later, the United States declared war on Spain.

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The Rough Riders

When the **Spanish-American War** broke out in Cuba, thirty-nine-year-old Roosevelt was the commander of the First U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, a unit known as the Rough Riders. Roosevelt had left his job with the Navy to join the cavalry, which included more than twelve hundred men of all backgrounds from **New Mexico**, **Arizona**, **Oklahoma**, and other western states.

Roosevelt and Colonel Leonard Wood (1860–1927) trained their volunteers so well that the unit was allowed to engage in battle, even though volunteer units generally were not allowed to see action. They formed in **Texas** and shipped out to Cuba on June 14, 1898. Although they were called Rough Riders, they fought mainly on foot because there was no room for their horses on the ship to Cuba.

The Rough Riders landed in Cuba on June 22 and saw their first battle two days later. Their next assignment was to join trained military forces in the attack on the Spanish city of Santiago on July 1. Roosevelt's unit, along with regular regiments and the **Buffalo Soldiers** (African American infantrymen), captured Kettle Hill and moved on to San Juan Heights. With the Buffalo Soldiers reaching the crest of the hill first, the Rough Riders joined in the battle, and the hill was captured. Santiago surrendered soon after, and Spain's war with the United States was over in just three months. According to historian Virgil Harrington Jones, no American unit in the Spanish-American War suffered as many deaths as the Rough Riders, which lost 37 percent of its men before leaving Cuba.



Theodore Roosevelt was the commander of the First U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, a unit known as the "Rough Riders." THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The hero returns

Roosevelt returned to New York a war hero and used his popularity and status to get elected as his state's governor in November 1898. He immediately set to work reforming the corrupt political system. In 1900, the Republicans chose Roosevelt as the running mate for President

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McKinley, who was seeking his second term. (McKinley's first-term vice president, Garret A. Hobart [1844–1899], had died in November 1899.) In the campaign, Roosevelt covered more than 21,000 miles (33,789 kilometers) and made hundreds of speeches in 567 cities and 24 states. McKinley, in contrast, gave speeches from the front porch of his home in Canton, **Ohio**. Many historians believe that Roosevelt's popularity helped McKinley win the election. Only six months after the inauguration, McKinley died from an assassin's bullet; on September 14, 1901, the forty-two-year-old Roosevelt became the youngest president of the United States.

President for the people

Throughout his presidency, Roosevelt promoted social reform, naval expansion, and nature conservation. He was called the "great conservationist," and passed many laws benefiting the environment and preserving America's natural resources. (See **Conservation Movement**.)

The president earned a reputation as a trustbuster as well. During his tenure, it was common practice for powerful companies and businesses to band together to limit competition and control the production and distribution of products or services. This banding together was known as a trust, and trusts were illegal by 1890. In Roosevelt's eyes, some trusts were good, others were bad, and he made it his mission to disband those he believed were harmful to healthy commerce. (See **Monopolies and Trusts**.)

Roosevelt took action in 1902 against both the beef trust and the Northern Securities Company, a railroad monopoly. (In a monopoly, one company dominates a sector of business, leaving the consumer no choices and other businesses no possibility of success.) Northern Securities had been established by some of the country's wealthiest businessmen: **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937), **J. P. Morgan** (1837–1913), James Hill (1838–1916), and Edward Harriman (1848–1909). Roosevelt ordered the Justice Department to file a suit to dissolve the company. Within a few months, the president filed another suit, against a Chicago meatpacking company called Swift & Company. Roosevelt had made his point: Big business would have to deal with the federal government if it broke the law.

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Roosevelt's "Square Deal"

In May 1902, **coal miners** in **Pennsylvania** went on **strike** (refused to work). They had tried for months to meet with management and mine owners to negotiate better pay, shorter hours, and safer working conditions. When negotiations failed, the workers refused to enter the mines.

Anthracite (hard) coal was used to fuel trains and to heat houses and businesses. In 1902, as spring passed into summer and then into fall, Americans became concerned that the continued strike would result in a coal shortage: Businesses would close and citizens would freeze in their homes. In October, Roosevelt invited representatives from the miners and the coal operators to the White House. In doing so, he became the first president in history to mediate (act as a go-between in) a labor strike. The meeting was called the Coal Strike Conference of 1902. During the conference, Roosevelt expressed his concerns, and the miners agreed to go back to work if they could get a small, immediate pay increase and a promise that negotiations would continue. The coal operators refused, despite the president's involvement.

When Roosevelt realized the strike would continue, he took direct action. He threatened to send military troops to take over operation of the mines. If this were to happen, both the miners and the owners would lose. Both sides entered into negotiations with a committee appointed by Roosevelt, and miners returned to work on October 23. They had received a 10-percent increase in wages as well as a guarantee of shorter workdays.

Roosevelt's involvement in the mining dispute set a precedent (an established example) of what could happen in future labor-management conflicts. The working class realized it had the support of an intelligent, influential president. Big business was put on notice that its power was no longer limitless. Roosevelt called his program the "square deal," meaning both sides got fair treatment and consideration.

The president showed his support of business regulation again in 1903 when he passed a bill to establish the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor (ten years later it was split into two departments), and again when he passed the Elkins Act. This law prohibited railroads from giving rebates (refunds) to those shippers who used their services most. The refunds were discriminatory because they favored only the big companies; smaller companies did not do enough shipping to qualify for them. (See **Railroad Industry**.)

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Big Stick diplomacy

Days before President McKinley was shot in 1901, Roosevelt made a speech about foreign policy at the **Minnesota** State Fair, quoting an African proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick." With this slogan, Roosevelt expressed his belief that to be effective, the nation needed to back up its foreign diplomacy with an implied threat of military force. His ideas about foreign policy became known as "Big Stick diplomacy." The president embraced this policy throughout his two terms in office.

An example of Big Stick diplomacy was the U.S. role in the creation of the Republic of Panama in 1903. Roosevelt wanted to construct a canal in what was then Colombian territory to make shipping trade easier for the United States. When the Colombian government rejected Roosevelt's plan, the United States supported the independence movement in Panama, and sent the gunboat *Nashville* to prevent the Colombian military from sailing to the area to reassert its control. The United States was the first country to recognize Panama's independence, and later, Roosevelt sent troops to protect U.S. interests in Panama. In Panama, and in other areas of the world, when U.S. diplomacy failed, military force was the next step.

Reelection and retirement

Roosevelt was elected for another term in office in 1904 and continued in his quest for reform. His successor, whom Roosevelt had supported, was **William Howard Taft** (1857–1930; served 1909–13). Taft had made some decisions that Roosevelt disagreed with, and the former president decided to run against Taft in the 1912 presidential election. Roosevelt formed a new party, the Progressive Party, but lost the election to **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21).

Roosevelt spent his retirement years traveling on safari with his son Kermit. His health slowly declined, and he died in his sleep on January 6, 1919.

Rosie the Riveter

During **World War II** (1939–45), Rosie the Riveter was a popular image that represented the women who served their country by taking on the dirty and difficult jobs left vacant by men. Until the war, women were generally unwelcome in American workplaces. But with so many men

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drafted to serve in the armed forces, women's labor became necessary. Jobs that had once been acceptable only for men were now open to women.

Rosie helped America win the war by building bombers, tanks, and ships. She worked in shipyards, lumber mills, steel mills, and foundries. She operated buses, cranes, and tractors. She helped the police officers, taxicab drivers, and government workers by taking over their duties when they left to fight the war.

The image of Rosie the Riveter appeared in several ways during the 1940s. The first was a promotional film and poster series sponsored by the government. A song written in 1942 made the name popular. Perhaps the most well-known visual images are two paintings. The first, by J. Howard Miller, shows a woman with her sleeves rolled up, flexing her biceps, with the words "We can do it!" The second, a portrait by Norman Rockwell (1894–1978) that appeared on the cover of the May 25, 1943, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, shows a female worker with a rivet gun, used in assembly operations.

Over six million women followed the example of Rosie the Riveter during the war. The extraordinary opportunities to work, however, disappeared as suddenly as they had appeared. When the war ended and the servicemen returned home from duty, women were dismissed from their positions so men could be hired. Rosie the Riveter represented the patriotic efforts of women on the American home front. Without a war, there was no longer a need for her.

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Sacagawea

Sacagawea was a Shoshone interpreter and guide for the **Lewis and Clark expedition** of 1804 to 1806, the first non-Indian U.S. land expedition to the Pacific Coast and back.

Captured by Hidatsa war party

Sacagawea was born sometime between 1784 and 1788 into the Lehmi band of the Shoshone Indians, who lived in the eastern part of the Salmon River area of present-day central Idaho. Her father was chief of her village. In 1800, when Sacagawea was about twelve years old, her band was attacked by Hidatsa warriors at a camp in Montana. The Hidatsa killed the adults and older boys of the band and captured several children, including Sacagawea, and took them back to the Hidatsa village.

Sometime between 1800 and 1804, Sacagawea and another girl were sold to a French Canadian trader named Toussaint Charbonneau (1767–1843) who lived among the Hidatsa. He eventually married both young women.

Joins the "Corps of Discovery"

In 1803 President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; president 1801–09) authorized an expedition to explore the territory between the Mississippi and Columbia Rivers. Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809), who was Jefferson's secretary and confidante, and his friend William Clark (1770–1838) were assigned to lead the explorers. The "Corps of Discovery" of about forty-five men left St. Louis, **Missouri**, on May 14,

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Interpreter and guide Sacagawea helped lead the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific Coast and back.
MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

1804. After several months of travel, they arrived at the Mandan and Hidatsa villages near the mouth of the Knife River in North Dakota, where they settled in for the winter.

Lewis and Clark realized they needed someone to help communicate with the Shoshone when they passed through their territory. They hired Charbonneau and his wife, Sacagawea, as interpreters. The process of interpretation turned out to be quite complicated. Sacagawea understood the Shoshone language, and translated it into the language of the Gros Ventre Indians, which her husband understood. Charbonneau then passed on Sacagawea's words in French to a member of the party who spoke French and English; that person then relayed the information to Lewis and Clark. Sacagawea also used sign language, which many in the party could interpret.

Starting the journey

Before the company left the winter camp, Sacagawea gave birth to a son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau (1805–66). On April 7, 1805, Sacagawea—carrying her infant—accompanied the expedition out of the Mandan villages for the trek west. From the start, Sacagawea's help was invaluable. She revealed to Lewis and Clark important passageways through the wilderness. She also quickly demonstrated her knowledge of edible plants along the course, helping to feed the entire group.

On May 14 a canoe holding Charbonneau and Sacagawea overturned. It contained supplies and valuables gathered during the expedition, as well as Lewis and Clark's records of the expedition. Charbonneau could not swim, but Sacagawea jumped into the water and saved most of the supplies and records. In their journals that day, Lewis and Clark praised the strength and courage of their guide and translator. Throughout the trip, the explorers continued to be deeply impressed by

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Sacagawea's character and her skills. They even named a river in present-day **Montana** after her.

Reunion with the Shoshones

On July 30, 1805, the party passed the spot in Montana where Sacagawea had been taken from her people some five years before. As they continued their journey, Sacagawea recognized her homeland. One day in August, Sacagawea was summoned to interpret between Lewis and Clark and the Lehmi-Shoshone chief, Cameahwait. When she saw the chief, Sacagawea embraced him, recognizing that he was her brother. She quickly learned that her only surviving family members were two brothers and the son of her eldest sister, whom she immediately adopted. While among her people, Sacagawea helped to obtain horses, supplies, and Shoshone guides to assist in the expedition's trip across the Rocky Mountains.

Viewing the Pacific

Leaving her adopted son in the care of her brother, Sacagawea and the rest of the party traveled on, eventually following the Snake River to its junction with the Columbia River, and on toward the Pacific Ocean. They passed through the lands of many different Indian tribes. Clark commented that Sacagawea's presence assured them of peaceful relations with the Indians of the West. In November, more than a year after setting off from the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, a lead party from the expedition reached the ocean. Sacagawea insisted that Lewis and Clark take her there. After traveling so far, she wished to see the ocean.

Return trip

The party separated on the return trip in order to explore various routes. Sacagawea joined Clark, directing him through the territory of her people, pointing out edible berries and roots, and suggesting that he take the Bozeman Pass—a mountain pathway that runs between what are now the states of Colorado and Montana—to rejoin the other members at the junction of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers.

On August 14, 1806, the expedition arrived back at the Mandan villages. Charbonneau and Sacagawea decided to stay there. Clark offered to adopt their infant son Jean Baptiste, whom he had affectionately

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called "Pomp" on the trip. They accepted Clark's offer for a later time, after the infant was weaned. On the return trip to St. Louis, Clark wrote a letter to Charbonneau, inviting him to live and work in St. Louis and telling him that Sacagawea deserved a "great reward" for her help on the journey. Charbonneau was paid for his services; Sacagawea, as his wife, received no money of her own.

Controversy over Sacagawea's later years

Sacagawea did leave her son with Clark in St. Louis, and the boy grew up to become a respected interpreter and mountain man. Many historians believe that after that, she and Charbonneau traveled to the Missouri fur company of Manuel Lisa in South Dakota where, on December 20, 1812, Sacagawea is thought to have died of a fever. Some accounts, however, say she lived to the age of about 100, living as a tribal leader at the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.

Legacy

Sacagawea made vital contributions to the success of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Her skills as an interpreter and as liaison (go-between) between the Shoshone and the members of the Corps of Discovery, her knowledge of routes, her skills with the plants and wildlife, and her courage, common sense, and good humor contributed greatly to the journey's success.

Salem Witch Trials

Beginning in 1621 **Puritans** moved from England to settle in the American colonies, particularly in the area of New England. Their goal was to create communities centered around the church to support their Christian way of life. Interpreting God's word through the Bible defined life within Puritan communities. By the late 1600s this pious way of life was being affected by outside influences.

The pursuit of witches

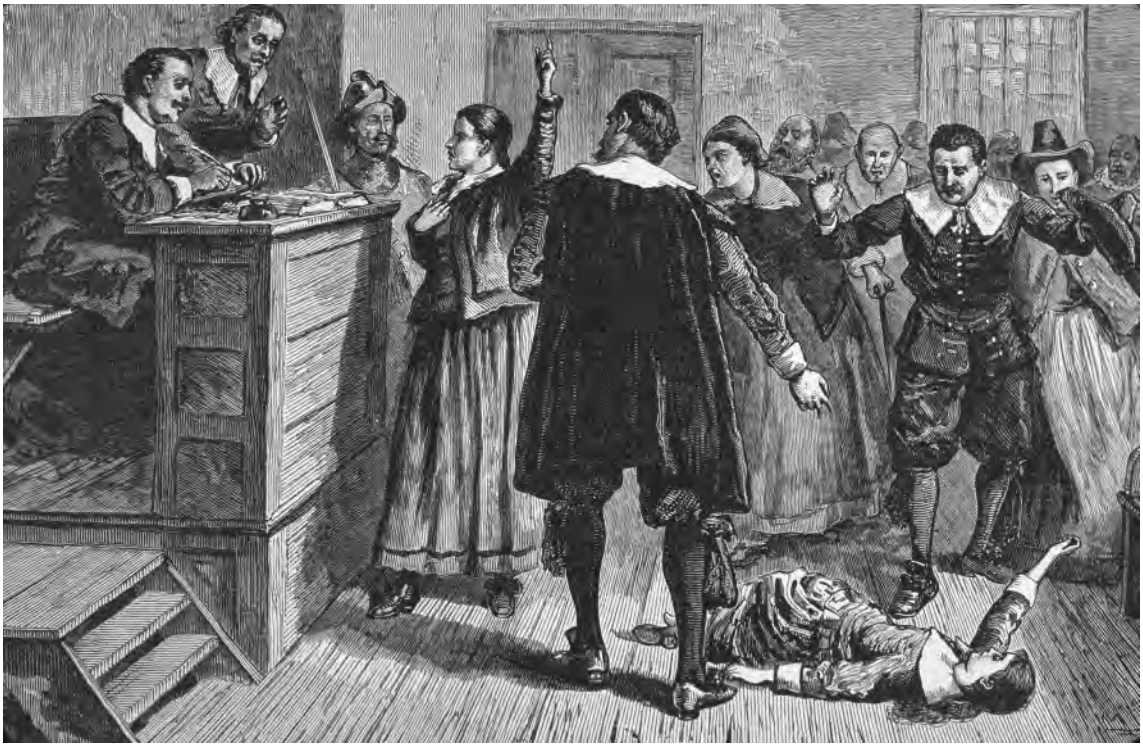
In **Massachusetts** in early 1692, a circle of young girls began to meet in the Salem Village home of a local Puritan pastor, Samuel Parris (1653–1720). Parris had a slave, Tituba. She shared with the girls

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voodoo-like tales and rituals from her native West Indies. Voodoo was an unwritten religious faith from western Africa that came to the Americas with captured slaves.

Some of the girls began to behave strangely, complaining of physical maladies, visions, and trembling, and babbling without restraint. The girls said their behavior was caused by Tituba and two other village women who practiced witchcraft upon them. Mysterious ailments among the Puritans were normally attributed to the work of the devil, and the incident sparked a determined effort to rid the village of evil influences.

The community's immediate response was to look to the Bible for guidance. Finding a statement that witches should not be allowed to live, their duty became clear. Two assistants of the Massachusetts General Court were called upon to conduct an investigation. Though many vil-



Based on testimony by "respected" citizens who claimed to have been put under spells, many people were convicted of witchcraft; some were even executed. TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

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lagers were skeptical of the girls' claims, Tituba confessed her own connection with the devil, implicating the two other women in the process. The three were sent to prison.

More accusations

More accusations came almost immediately. It seemed to many that the devil was actively destroying their community. The Massachusetts Governor's Council set up a special court of seven judges to handle the problem.

The judges heard testimony that included "spectral evidence," testimony by accusers that they had seen menacing specters, or spirits, resembling the accused witches. Because only a victim could see such a specter, such testimony had been rejected as evidence in past court cases. Accepting it in the Salem witch trials allowed testimony that could neither be supported nor refuted by investigation.

Over the course of 1692, 156 people were accused of witchcraft. Considering confessions as signs of repentance, the courts were more lenient with those who volunteered stories of dealing with the devil. Knowing that persistent denials were not believed, many confessed and implicated others in the process. Few of the staunch Puritans were willing to betray their morality by lying to save their lives. Twenty were sentenced to death.

By the time the twentieth accused witch was executed, public opinion no longer supported the trials. Many were being accused whom no one could believe guilty. Court procedures seemed to be aggravating the problem rather than alleviating it. Ministers from outside Salem expressed concern about spectral evidence and the continuing trials. Finally the governor dismissed the special court at the end of 1692.

The general court continued to hear cases through early 1693, but without admitting spectral evidence. Forty-nine of the fifty-two trials were immediately dismissed for lack of evidence. The governor soon gave reprieve to the others and all remaining prisoners were discharged.

Lingering effects

Citizens were relieved to return to a more normal life. In the following years many accusers repented, clearing the names of those they had accused of witchcraft. In 1709 and 1711 the Massachusetts General

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Court restored the good names of the accused and awarded financial compensation to families of those who had been executed. By taking responsibility the accusers and the Massachusetts authorities helped to prevent future hysteria and witchcraft trials.

Sand Creek Massacre

The Sand Creek Massacre remains one of the most historic events in American history. It is symbolic of the injustice suffered by the Native Americans at the hands of white people.

The nineteenth century was fraught with battles between whites and Native American tribes. This period of fighting was known as the **Plains Indian Wars** (1854–90). It was a violent era in history, one fueled by a general distrust and lack of communication.

In 1864, **Colorado** territory was governed by superintendent of Indian Affairs John Evans (1814–1897; served 1862–65). Unable to talk the Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples out of their hunting grounds (which he wanted for their rich mineral content), the governor ordered Colonel John M. Chivington (1821–1894) to get rid of the Native Americans. Chivington, a former Methodist minister, hated all Native Americans and publicly declared that all should be killed and scalped, including babies.

Together, the men raised a troop of volunteers known as the Third Colorado Cavalrymen. These men were drawn mostly from the territory's mining areas, which were known for their violence. They agreed to serve for one hundred days. Before the regiment could organize into action, a large number of Native Americans, led by Chief Black Kettle (d. 1868), approached Fort Lyon and requested peace. Major Edward Wynkoop (1836–1891) informed Evans of the request, whose response was to wonder what he would do with the regiment if they were not allowed to fight.

Regardless, Evans and Chivington promised safety to the Cheyenne and Arapaho if they would lay down their arms. They agreed and marched forty miles to Sand Creek, where they would receive rations (food) and await further instructions. Wynkoop treated the Cherokee and Apache decently, something Chivington could not abide. He replaced the commander with Scott J. Anthony (1830–1903), whose first order was to cut the rations and demand the surrender of weapons.

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By the end of November, only the Cheyenne tribal members remained at Sand Creek. As agreed, they continued to live there peacefully, and believed they would be afforded the safety they had been promised. The regiment, however, was nearing the end of its one hundred-day enlistment, and Chivington decided his men would see the battle he had promised them. On November 29, 1864, seven hundred volunteers surrounded the peaceful, unarmed village. The cavalry dismembered, tortured, and murdered around one hundred sixty-three Cheyenne, two-thirds of them women and children. Eyewitness accounts reported soldiers combing through the mutilated bodies in search of "souvenirs" such as scalps, body parts, and clothing.

The Sand Creek Massacre did not force the Native Americans to give up, as Evans and Chivington had hoped. Instead, it led to an investigation into the conduct of the volunteers and their commanders. Congress and **army** officials denounced Chivington, who had, by then, left the army and thus escaped discipline. The brutality also caused a review of Indian policy, and it would remain the symbolism for military brutality in the years to come.

Scalawags

Scalawag was a negative term used in the post-**Civil War** South. The origin of the term is unclear, but people used it before the war to describe a worthless farm animal or person. After the war people used it scornfully to describe a white southerner who cooperated with the **Union** troops or supported the efforts of **Republicans**, the party in power at the time, and their **Reconstruction** legislatures. (Reconstruction was the period after the American Civil War [1861–65] during which the southern states were reorganized and brought back into the Union.) Many scalawags became active politicians, helping to create a new southern environment.

Scalawags were drawn from all parts of southern society, but most came from small, nonslaveholding farms. They resented the planter society and its **slave** system even before the American Civil War. The immense production of crops by plantations made market competition by small farmers impossible.

Enthusiastic to make changes, scalawags joined Republican Reconstruction efforts in the South after the Civil War. They favored

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debtor relief, low taxes, and measures to restrict the voting rights of former confederates (those who supported the South during the war). Though they were willing to acknowledge some changes in political and civil rights for African Americans, they strongly opposed integration of white and black societies.

Democratic opponents of Republican politicians embraced the derogatory use of the term scalawag. They used it to paint Republican supporters as traitors to the South and to the white race. The verbal campaign was effective, and Democrats eventually regained political power in the South.

Scopes "Monkey" Trial

Twenty-four-year-old John T. Scopes (1900–1970) was a high school football coach and science teacher in Dayton, **Tennessee**, in the 1920s. In January 1925 the state passed the Butler Act, a law forbidding the teaching in public schools of any theories other than the story of creation as told in Genesis, a chapter in the Holy Bible.

The **American Civil Liberties Union** (ACLU) promised to defend any teacher who would test the constitutionality of the new law. Scopes discussed the possibility of his teaching Charles Darwin's (1809–1882) theory of evolution (a scientific theory of the origin of species and plants) to his class with the school board and the superintendent of schools. With their consent Scopes went ahead with his plan and was arrested.

Trial preparations

The Butler Act was written because many fundamentalist Christians (those who take the text of the Bible literally, without room for individual interpretation) feared that teaching evolution would undermine the authority and validity of the Bible. Between 1921 and 1929 thirty-seven similar bills were introduced in twenty states.

Within days of the report that Scopes had been arrested, William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925) announced he would help District Attorney A. T. Stewart prosecute the case. Bryan was a three-time

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Lawyer and politician William Jennings Bryan argues for the prosecution during the Scopes "Monkey Trial" in Tennessee in 1925. Scopes was found guilty but later cleared on a technicality. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Democratic presidential candidate from **Nebraska** (he lost all three times) as well as a vocal Christian fundamentalist.

Scopes would be represented by Clarence Darrow (1857–1938), the most famous trial lawyer in Dayton County. Darrow was an agnostic (someone who neither believes in nor denies the existence of God) who became interested in the case only after learning Bryan would be the prosecutor. At that point Darrow volunteered his services free of charge. Darrow would be aided by Dudley Field Malone and Arthur Garfield Hayes, a divorce lawyer and famous **civil liberties** (freedom from arbitrary government interference, such as freedom of speech) lawyer, respectively.

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A trial or a circus?

Because of the nature of the case and the fame of the lawyers involved, Dayton became the center of attention across the world. Reporters from all the major newspapers flocked to the small town, and readers followed the story with obsessive interest. The courthouse was wired for telegraph, and radio equipment was installed. It was the first trial broadcast in American history.

The usually quiet town went crazy. Locals rented out rooms of their homes when hotels and boardinghouses filled to capacity. Food and drink stands were built, and the streets looked like a carnival. Chimpanzees were brought in to perform on side streets. Some jokesters claimed they would testify for the prosecution, and the trial became known as the Scopes Monkey Trial.

The trial begins

The trial opened with a prayer on Friday, July 10, 1925. After jury selection the state presented its case: Three students testified that Scopes had taught evolution in their biology class.

Darrow had no plans to put Scopes on trial. He and the ACLU were more interested in proving that the Butler Act violated the civil rights of the state's teachers. The defense's plan was to show that evolution was not contrary to the Bible, nor was it nonreligious. In this effort the lawyers put together a panel of expert scientists who were both Christian and believers in evolution.

The prosecution objected to the use of scientists because any interpretation of evolution or the Bible would be opinion, not fact, and thus not admissible as evidence. The judge agreed and refused to allow the panel to testify. He advised the jury to remember that the only relevant question was whether Scopes had actually taught evolution. At that point the defense's case was destroyed.

Bryan testifies

The trial could have ended there if Bryan had not allowed Darrow to put him on the stand. He called Bryan to testify as an "expert" on the Bible, a title Bryan was honored to accept. It would be the turning point in the trial.

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Darrow relentlessly interrogated Bryan on his beliefs. In the one-and-a-half hour he was on the stand, Bryan was made to look a fool. In the end Bryan admitted he did not truly believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible. His admission shocked and dismayed his followers. Bryan's experience on the stand took a physical toll on his health. He was dead within five days, never having had the chance to leave Dayton.

No closing summaries were ever presented because the defense did not make one so the prosecution was not allowed one. Scopes was found guilty and fined a measly one hundred dollars. His lawyers appealed the verdict to the Tennessee Supreme Court, and the teacher was cleared on a technicality in 1927. The lower court had gone beyond its scope of authority by fining Scopes.

The Butler Act was upheld as within the boundaries of the **Constitution**, and it remained law until it was repealed in 1967.

Scots and Scotch-Irish Immigration

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, 4,319,232 people in the United States claimed Scottish heritage and 4,890,581 people claimed Scotch-Irish heritage. The two groups represent just over 3 percent of the U.S. population.

History of Scottish immigration

The earliest Scottish immigrants to the American colonies came because of conflicts with England. Until 1603 Scotland had its own royal family, but in 1603 King James VI of Scotland (1566–1625) became James I, king of England and Scotland, beginning the Stuart line of English monarchs (kings and queens). The Scots were proud to have a Scot on the English throne. When James's son Charles I (1600–1649) succeeded as king, though, he began to impose unwanted religious rulings on the Scots, who were mainly Presbyterian Protestants. Eventually they rebelled. Charles also offended the English Parliament, which overthrew and then executed him. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), the head of the English Parliament, took over the rule of the land, but the Scots did not accept him as their leader. Despite the conflict with King Charles I, they preferred to be ruled by his son, Charles II (1630–1685), and to retain the Stuart monarchy. Scotland fought a war with Cromwell's forces and

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was defeated in 1650. Cromwell then forcibly sent a thousand prisoners of war to the American colonies.

Scots were prohibited from emigrating until 1707, when the Act of Union united Scotland, England, and Wales as the United Kingdom, giving Scots the same rights as the English. At that time, trade between Scotland and America increased. Scots began to immigrate to Virginia, where tobacco production was a highly profitable business.

Conflicts with England broke out again, and between 1715 and 1745 more than fourteen hundred defeated Jacobite rebels (Scots who wanted to return a Stuart monarch to the throne of England) were sent to America as political prisoners of England. They were forced to become indentured servants—people who contracted to work for someone in the New World, for a set term, in exchange for the cost of their voyage.



English and Scottish citizens were at peace during the reign of James I, the king of England and Scotland. When his son, Charles I, took the throne, however, many Scots rebelled and immigrated to the American colonies. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Another large group of involuntary immigrants were Scottish soldiers, who were brought to America by the British to serve in the **French and Indian War** (1754–63), a war over territory between the French and the British. At the end of the war, the British offered the Scottish soldiers land in western **Pennsylvania** as an alternative to being shipped home. Of the twelve thousand Scottish soldiers, only seventy-six returned to Scotland.

Highlander immigration

The Scottish people belonged to two distinct groups, Highlanders and Lowlanders. Highlanders came from the north of Scotland, where the land was rugged and remote and the people were less influenced by England. Highlander society was organized around clans—communities of people with strong family ties. Highlanders wore tartan kilts (knee-length pleated skirts made from cloth with patterns associated with particular clans) and spoke the Gaelic language. One of the ways Highlanders made a living was by raiding, or stealing from, the more prosperous Lowlanders, who lived to the South and had more connections to England.

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In the mid-eighteenth century, the British prohibited the Highlanders from bearing arms. Without being able to raid, there was not enough work to support the clans. Around this time, wealthy landowners in America advertised for indentured servants. A number of Highlanders jumped at the chance. Others sold their farms and livestock to pay for their own passage to America.

Some Highland clan leaders organized large-scale migrations to the New World. Some of these migrations included thousands of people from the same town or area, and when they arrived in America, they settled in a community together. Scots settled in all of the thirteen colonies, with an especially strong concentration of Highlanders in North Carolina.

Scotch-Irish immigration

In the early seventeenth century, a large population of Scottish Presbyterians from the Lowlands immigrated to Ulster, a province of northern Ireland that was predominantly **Catholic**. King James I had decided he wanted a Protestant population in the area and evicted the Catholics so the Scots could move in. The Scots developed successful industries in Northern Ireland, but they lived in fear of the surrounding Irish Catholics. When King Charles I tried to impose elements of the Church of England on the Scotch-Irish in 1632, they resisted. The king sent in troops to evict them from their homes.

The Scotch-Irish began to leave Ireland in large numbers in the early eighteenth century, seeking a new home where they could govern themselves and practice Presbyterianism in peace. They learned that the colony of Pennsylvania encouraged religious freedom, and many immigrated there. By 1749 about 25 percent of the total population of Pennsylvania was Scotch-Irish.

Later waves of immigration

Back in the Highlands of Scotland, by the early nineteenth century the increase in the practice of raising sheep required vast amounts of land, pushing thousands of poor farmers out of their homes. Many made their way to the United States.

Perhaps the largest wave of Scottish immigration to the United States occurred after **World War I** (1914–18), when the United

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Kingdom descended into an economic depression with high unemployment. Over three hundred thousand Scots immigrated to the United States between 1921 and 1930 in search of better opportunities. Since then, much smaller numbers of Scots have moved to the United States.

Scottish American culture

The Scottish Highlanders spoke the Scottish Gaelic language when they arrived but soon shifted to English to avoid harassment. With little or no language barrier, Scottish and Scotch-Irish assimilation (blending in) was generally quick and uneventful after the early migrations. Like other groups, Scots married people from different national ancestries, and many lost touch with their roots. However, since the late twentieth century there has been a surge of interest in Scottish ancestry.

Scott, Dred

See ***Dred Scott* Case**

Secession

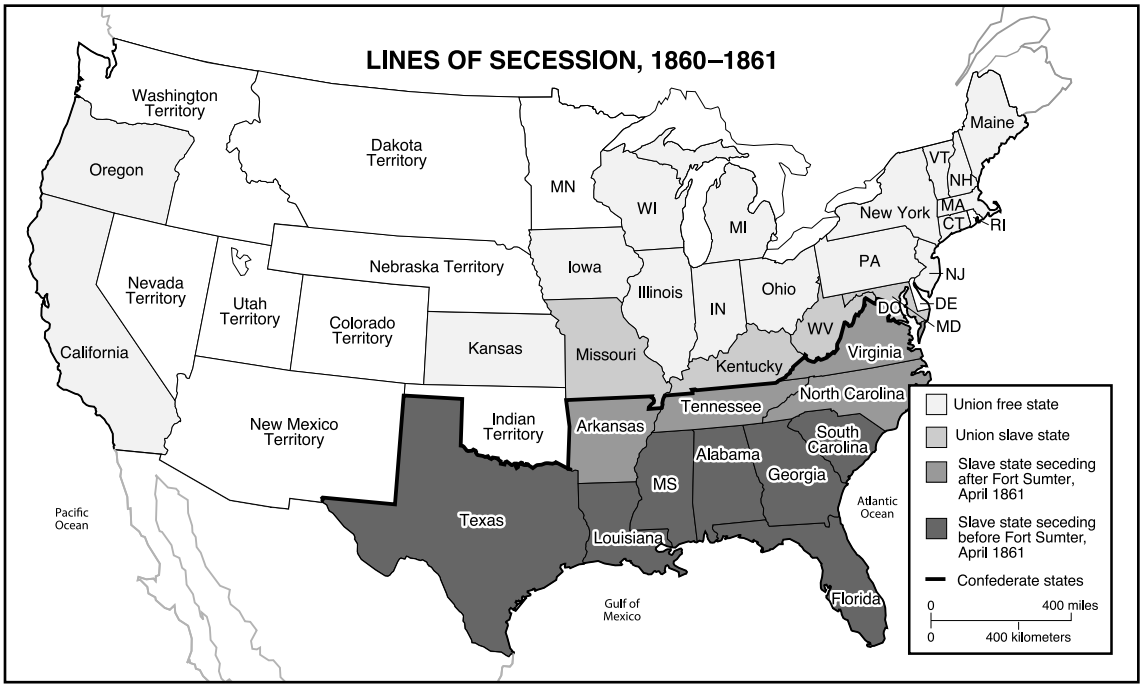
In response to the election of President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65), eleven slaveholding states officially seceded (withdrew) from the United States of America in 1860 and 1861. Citizens of the seceding states feared that Lincoln's government would try to abolish **slavery** in America. The eleven states united to form a new nation called the **Confederate States of America**.

Southern movement

The idea of secession from the United States was not new. At various times in the nation's history, other states had threatened to sever ties to the **Union** in protest of federal policies. As Northern and Southern economies grew in very different ways, however, the slavery issue began to create particularly severe disagreements between the states.

When United States territories expanded westward during the first half of the nineteenth century, the spread of slavery became the subject of national debate. Southern slaveholders, whose economies depended on farm labor, proposed that slavery be allowed to spread if those in control of new territories wanted it. Many Northerners argued for the pro-

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This map illustrates the lines of secession in 1860 and 1861, showing which states were Union and which were Confederate. THE GALE GROUP

tection of slavery where it already existed, but prevention of slavery in new territories. Northern economies depended on free immigrant labor rather than slaves, so expansion of slavery was not in the interest of Northern states. Voices for the nationwide **abolition** of slavery were in the minority and had little influence on federal policies. Slaves fought for freedom as best they could while still in bondage, but they had no political power to fight for their rights.

By 1860 Congress had legislated compromises that allowed slavery in some new territories and disallowed it in others. The compromises prevented the nation from splitting apart over the issue. Continued expansion to the west, however, kept alive discussion concerning the future expansion of slavery.

The **Republican Party** came into power in the 1850s on a platform opposed to the expansion of slavery into new territories. Although they believed in protecting slavery where it already existed, many Republicans also hoped for the eventual elimination of the institution. One of those

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men, Abraham Lincoln, was the Republican presidential candidate in 1860.

Rebellion

Southerners feared that President Lincoln and the Republicans were planning to abolish slavery throughout the Union. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina called a secession convention at which delegates voted to dissolve the state's relationship to the Union. Over the next two months, six other states in the deep South followed with their own votes to secede: **Mississippi**, **Alabama**, **Florida**, **Georgia**, **Louisiana**, and **Texas**.

Secession debates in eight other Southern states were slower thanks to large concentrations of non-slaveholders who resisted secession. When violence erupted between Southern and federal forces at Fort Sumter, **South Carolina**, in April 1861, however, the **Civil War** (1861–65) began. President Lincoln's call for troops to quell the rebellion spurred four more states to secede: **Virginia**, **Tennessee**, **Arkansas**, and **North Carolina**.

The other four Southern states—**Kentucky**, **Delaware**, **Missouri**, and **Maryland**—either stayed with the Union or declared neutrality. The northwestern part of Virginia also remained part of the Union, eventually becoming the state of **West Virginia**. Although Kentucky and Missouri did not vote to secede, the Confederate States of America claimed them as member states, and both had representatives in the Confederate Congress.

Political right or wrong

Most Northerners viewed the act of secession as rebellious and those who supported it as traitors under the law. Southerners argued that secession was legal, consistent with the belief that the people of each state have the power of self-government to organize as they see fit. Each state had willingly entered the Union with a vote to ratify the **Constitution**. That decision could be reversed through the same process of calling a convention to withdraw ratification. Northerners argued that state sovereignty had been surrendered with membership in the Union, and that therefore the legal right of secession did not exist.

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Debate over the legal nature of the Union was as old as the Union itself. In writing the Constitution in 1787, delegates to the **Constitutional Convention** struggled to compromise between states that wanted a strong central (federal) government and those that sought to preserve state powers. Ambiguity of power was necessary to provide a middle ground on which both sides could agree to ratify the document. Power divided between the federal and state governments provided that necessary compromise.

Ambiguity, however, allowed both sides to use the Constitution to support their views on the legality of secession. As each side sought either to preserve or to dissolve the Union, the legal debate evolved into the bloodiest war in American history. Some people consider the North's victory in the Civil War a confirmation of the view that states do not have the legal right to secede from the United States. Others believe that no government, through war or otherwise, can take away the people's right of self-government, which includes the right to decide whether to be part of a nation.

Second Amendment

The **Constitution**, written in 1787, did not specifically guarantee individual freedoms. The **Federalists** argued that, because the Constitution did not give the federal government power to violate individual freedoms, such guarantees were unnecessary. But many **Anti-Federalists** disagreed, arguing that unless individual freedoms were protected, the government would not be able to resist using its power to violate them. To resolve the conflict and ensure adoption of the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights**.

The Bill of Rights, which set forth ten amendments to the Constitution, was adopted in 1791. The Second Amendment protects one of America's most controversial freedoms: the right to bear arms.

The Second Amendment says, "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." Interpreting the meaning of this awkwardly written sentence has been the source of great disagreement in America.

On one side of the debate are people who focus on the language, "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

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Organizations such as the National Rifle Association (NRA) argue that this language gives Americans an unqualified right to own and carry weapons for their protection. The NRA and gun-rights advocates strongly oppose gun control laws.

Those on the other side of the debate stress that the right to bear arms was initially related to the need to arm militias (citizens organized for military service) that could protect states from attack by foreign powers. Because the federal military is now equipped to do this job, gun control advocates argue that individuals no longer need an unlimited number of weapons. Furthermore, they argue, deaths and injuries as a result of gun violence make gun control laws necessary and worthy.

There is another twist to the gun control debate and the meaning of the Second Amendment. Some Americans believe that the initial purpose of arming state militias was to allow states to protect themselves not only from foreign powers but from oppression by the federal government. This included the right to revolt against the federal government if necessary—a right the colonists exercised when they declared independence from Great Britain in 1776. Federal law today makes such a violent revolution illegal. If the Second Amendment is interpreted as protecting the right to such a revolution, then the federal law is unconstitutional.

Second Continental Congress

See **Continental Congress, Second**

Second New Deal

See **New Deal**

Securities and Exchange Commission

The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) is a government agency that regulates American stock exchanges and enforces federal securities laws. It was established by Congress under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934. Dishonest investment practices that led to the stock market crash of 1929 and the **Great Depression** (1929–41) that followed prompted Congress to establish both the SEC and a series of laws to regulate businesses and to hold them accountable to investors.

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Stock market practices

The stock exchange is an organization that gives businesses the ability to find investors. A business offers to sell shares, or stocks, that represent an investment in its company. The company uses the investors' money to improve business. If the business is successful and grows, the stocks become worth more than they cost. Likewise, if many people show an interest in a stock, the price increases. In either situation, investors make money. Investors lose money, however, if a business performs poorly or is unable to attract interest in its stock.

In the early 1900s, the stock market and investment companies were unregulated. As a result, several dishonest practices for manipulating stock prices emerged. Prices of a stock could be driven up by a group of corporate officials and market operators by creating the illusion of great interest in a stock. By buying and selling lots of stock quickly at the same cost, other investors were misled by the apparent frenzy of activity. Prices rose, and the officials sold their stocks at inflated prices to make a profit. The stock would then plummet, leaving other investors with a loss.

Similarly, insider trading was a practice by which business executives used knowledge of corporate performance to position their own investments before making the information public. By doing so, they could sell before the stock prices dropped on bad news or buy before prices soared on good news. Another unregulated practice involved investing in the market on margin, which means using borrowed money. Buying on margin made the market unstable and was a great factor in the Great Depression.

Regulation

Before the economic catastrophe of the Great Depression, the federal government did little to regulate business. As a result of the nation's desperation, the government became involved in the national economy in unprecedented ways. Among the pieces of legislation passed for regulating business was the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934. It established the Securities and Exchange Commission as a regulatory organization with quasi-judicial powers.

All national securities exchanges, or stock markets, must adhere to policies established by the SEC. Dishonest market practices, such as those that led to the crash of 1929, are either prohibited or regulated.

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The SEC monitors activity to encourage corporations and investors to be honest. Penalties for fraudulent, manipulative, or dishonest dealings result in fines, imprisonment, or both. As a result of SEC regulations, public confidence in stock markets has allowed them to outlast periodic dips in the economy.

Segregation

When the North's **Union** army won the American **Civil War** (1861–65) and the United States ratified the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the **Constitution** in 1865, the institution of **slavery** was dissolved. As such a centuries-old structure of race relations in the South was removed. Though the concept of freedom looked hopeful to the former slaves, the dominating white society resisted any suggestion that free meant equal.

Southern states worked quickly to enact pieces of legislation called **Black Codes**. These laws defined the new social status of blacks in southern society. In most instances the Black Codes acknowledged certain rights that came with freedom, but limited them.

Congress passed several **civil rights** laws to undo the limitations of the Black Codes. The nation also adopted the **Fourteenth Amendment**



Southern states, especially, created segregation through both legal and customary means. Blacks were forced to use different bathrooms, restaurants, hotels, churches, and waiting rooms. AP IMAGES

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Jim Crow

Jim Crow was a popular term used to describe racial segregation. The term alluded to both the legal aspects of segregation as well as the cultural conventions or behaviors that framed social relations between blacks and whites. Jim Crow laws established segregation policies, and Jim Crow signs established black entrances to public areas. Jim Crow was used wherever racial bias was apparent.

The term Jim Crow originated from the performances of a white minstrel, or entertainer, "Thomas Daddy" Rice, in 1828. He created a stage character based on a slave named Jim owned by a Mr. Crow. Rice represented Jim by blackening his face with burnt cork and wearing a ragged costume. Mocking the black race as he performed, Rice sang a song called "Jump Jim Crow." By the 1830s Rice's performances both popularized the term Jim Crow and propelled blackface minstrelsy into mainstream entertainment.

and **Fifteenth Amendment** to require equal rights under the law. Southerners responded by creating a social system of segregation. Through both legal and customary means, whites protected their economic and social advantages by separating themselves from blacks.

Segregation laws allowed racial designations to be separate for blacks and whites in public restaurants, hotels, transportation systems, schools, churches, and even residential areas. Patrons could be separated by race within different areas of the same establishment, or an establishment could be dedicated to serving only one race or the other. Sometimes access to a public park or theater was limited by race to certain times or performances. Customs, state laws, city ordinances, and company policies each played a role in establishing segregation as the norm in all aspects of public life.

Black Americans challenged segregation through petitions, **sit-ins**, boycotts, and court challenges. There were many white supremacist groups, however, like the **Ku Klux Klan**, devoted to keeping social advantages for whites. Blacks who challenged the system risked violent and often deadly retaliation from these groups.

For decades American courts, including the U.S. **Supreme Court**, found no legal basis for changing segregation laws. Court decisions upheld every kind of segregation policy, which opened the door for other discriminatory statutes and practices. As long as "separate but equal" facilities existed for the black population, courts said there was nothing to be done about segregation. While public facilities for blacks were rarely equal to those for whites, there was little interest among white majorities to change the system. Hence segregation became entrenched in southern living, where blacks effectively were second-class citizens.

While segregation took an unyielding hold in the southern states after the American Civil War, such laws began to fade in northern states following the end of slavery in 1865. Though racism still existed, civil

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rights began to grow for black Americans in the north. Through organizations such as the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP), black Americans continuously challenged the legal limits of separation. Black unions, civic leagues, voter organizations, and nationalist groups all organized to protest the injustices of segregation.

Particularly strong national efforts during the 1950s and 1960s brought about great change in the United States. With a change in policy from the U.S. Supreme Court, separate no longer counted as equal under the law. Legal segregation gradually ended in the latter half of the twentieth century with new congressional legislation and enforcement by the federal government. Now truly free under the law, many black Americans continued working to create equal economic and social opportunity in the United States.

Selma-to-Montgomery, Alabama, Civil Rights Marches

The Selma-to-Montgomery, **Alabama**, civil rights marches, were a series of three marches that took place in March 1965. They drew national attention to the harsh conditions faced by African Americans in the segregated South. Historians consider the Selma march to be one of the most decisive events in the history of the African American **civil rights movement**.

Voter registration drive in Selma

Selma was a small city in Alabama's highly segregated (separating black people from white people in public places) Dallas County. In the early 1960s only 3 percent of eligible blacks in the county were registered to vote. Activists from the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC; pronounced "Snick") began working with local black leaders in Dallas County in 1963 in an attempt to register black voters. The results of their efforts were poor because of the intense resistance of the county sheriff, James G. Clark (1923–2007), who used his police force to intimidate blacks who tried to register to vote. By 1965, only about three hundred of Selma's fifteen thousand eligible black voters were registered.

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Some thirty thousand people, including Martin Luther King Jr. (front right, with wife Coretta Scott King) participated in the five-day Selma-to-Montgomery march. This third attempt at the march proceeded without major violence. AP IMAGES

Voter registration was the chief focus of the black leaders of Dallas County, but they were equally concerned with police brutality, segregated schools, and widespread poverty because of job discrimination. They believed that gaining the vote would open the door to other reforms in the local communities. These local black leaders requested help from the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC), a national civil rights organization. SCLC agreed that Selma would be a good place to launch an all-out voter registration campaign. **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968), the SCLC's president and by then a Nobel Peace Prize recipient, arrived in Selma with other civil rights leaders and activists in January 1965 to spur the voter registration effort. SNCC also took part in organizing and leading events.

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The conflict begins

The civil rights workers immediately met forceful opposition in Selma. On January 19, 1965, Sheriff Clark roughly shoved a demonstrator as she participated in a march to the courthouse on behalf of black voter registration. He initially arrested sixty-seven blacks attempting to register to vote; over the next several weeks thousands more were arrested, including King. Clark's treatment of the demonstrators, closely covered by the national media, became more and more brutal. In one case he and his deputies arrested one hundred sixty-five protesters and then chased them out of town with electric cattle prods. A new wave of activists poured into Selma to support the effort.

An interesting arrival was the fiery activist and former Nation of Islam leader **Malcolm X** (1925–1965), who had long criticized King's nonviolent methods and philosophy. Nevertheless he arrived in Selma to support the imprisoned King. Malcolm X was undergoing a change in his views of the civil rights movement, but King, fearing violence, had not invited him to Selma and did not see him while he was there. Whether the two leaders could ever have found common ground was forever left unanswered because Malcolm X was assassinated a few weeks after his Selma trip. The potential connection between these two powerful leaders has intrigued historians since that time.

On March 3, after the police fatally shot a young civil rights demonstrator, King announced a protest march from Selma to the state capital at Montgomery, a distance of fifty-four miles.

Bloody Sunday

The first effort to march from Selma to Montgomery was made on Sunday, March 7, 1965. King and SCLC vice president **Ralph Abernathy** (1926–1990) were not in Selma for the march. SCLC leader Hosea Williams (1926–2000) and SNCC Chairman John Lewis (1940–) led a crowd of more than five hundred people out of Brown Chapel in Selma to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge. From there they had planned to march along Highway 80 toward Montgomery. Alabama Governor George Wallace (1919–1998) had banned the march the previous day, and Sheriff Clark was expected to try to stop it, but no one anticipated what was to come.

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As the marchers approached the bridge, they saw on the other side a large volunteer posse (an armed group of individuals brought together to help law enforcement) put together by Sheriff Clark. There was also a large group of state troopers. The sheriff ordered the marchers to stop and gave them two minutes to disband. Well before the two minutes were up, the police charged the marchers. Some members of Sheriff Clark's posse were on horseback, swinging billy-clubs. Others had whips that lashed into the marchers' bodies. Some fired tear gas canisters into the crowd. The marchers tried to flee, but troopers pursued them and continued to beat them viciously. About eighty people were injured that day, some seriously. Filmed and aired on television, the beatings on the Edmund Pettus Bridge provoked moral outrage across the United States. The first Selma march would be remembered as "Bloody Sunday."

Second attempt

King, who had been in Atlanta, **Georgia**, rushed to Selma and prepared for another attempt to finish the march on March 9. He appealed for help from around the nation. After watching the violence on television, the public was deeply sympathetic. Within two days about 450 white members of the clergy and a wave of other supporters poured into Selma.

At that point a federal judge issued a temporary order to stop the marches until he could rule on the validity of the governor's ban on the march. This order created a dilemma for King, who knew that if he defied federal officials he could jeopardize much-needed federal support for the movement. Behind the scenes, he worked out an agreement with the Alabama authorities that had been initiated by the federal government. The civil rights demonstrators could start their march as planned, but the state police would block the bridge. They would allow King and his marchers to stop, offer a prayer, and return to Selma unharmed.

Few people knew of these arrangements, however. On March 9 a crowd of about nine hundred people left Brown Chapel once again. The number swelled to more than fifteen hundred as they neared the bridge. Most assumed that they were on their way to the capital. As the marchers crossed the bridge, the police lines widened to let them pass. The marchers paused to sing "We Shall Overcome," and then, to their surprise, the march leaders turned the group around and headed back into town.

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This compromise arrangement deeply wounded the civil rights movement. SNCC members were already convinced that King's absence from the first march signaled his unwillingness to risk his own safety while SNCC voter-registration volunteers were in danger every day. When King ordered the marchers to return to Selma, they were angry at what they perceived as a betrayal.

Third march

The week following the second attempted march, a federal court declared the Alabama ban on demonstrations invalid. President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) spoke out forcefully to Congress and the nation on March 15 in support of the effort in Selma. He called what had happened on March 7 "an American tragedy" and said that the Selma campaign was important to all Americans. No president had ever taken this bold a public stand on civil rights.

On Sunday, March 21, about eight thousand people started out of Selma on the five-day march. Thousands joined as the march was in progress, including a number of celebrities and political figures. In the end about thirty thousand people took part. There were some violent eruptions in places, but the march proceeded without major incident. After the march, however, Viola Liuzzo, a white **Michigan** woman, was shot to death in her car as she and another marcher, Leroy Morton, drove local black marchers back home from Montgomery.

Aftermath

President Johnson took advantage of the national outrage over events in Selma. In the midst of the conflict, in a nationally televised address to both houses of Congress on March 15, Johnson called for a national effort to eliminate racism and hatred. He outlined the basic provisions of his **Voting Rights Act,** which he sent to Congress four days later. Congress passed the act, and Johnson signed it on August 6, 1965. Applying primarily to the southern states, the bill empowered federal authorities to take over the voter-registration process in places where discrimination existed. Though the bill was considered weak by many civil rights leaders, it quickly made a positive impact. Voter registration of blacks went from thirty-one percent of those eligible in 1965 to fifty-seven percent in 1968. In Dallas County, Alabama, newly registered black voters defeated Sheriff Clark when he ran for reelection.

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Seminole Wars

From the beginning of the 1700s and continuing for over a century, American Indians from various groups streamed into Spanish Florida. They fled there to escape white expansion, violent rivalries with other Indian nations such as the Creeks, and wars between the European settlers. In time, these Indians became identified as Seminoles, a Muskogee term that means "runaways."

The various groups of Seminoles cemented relationships with each other, eventually establishing loose military and political alliances. African Americans figured prominently in this alliance in the nineteenth century, both as **slaves** of the Indians (who had started keeping slaves at the end of the eighteenth century) and as Maroons, African Americans who had escaped slavery in **Georgia** and the Carolinas and made their way to live among the Seminoles in **Florida**. Even while Florida remained a Spanish holding, the Seminoles and other Florida Indians ran into conflicts with the United States. The result was a series of three wars.

First Seminole War (1817–18)

In 1816 the United States built Fort Scott near the border between Georgia and Spanish-held Florida. Across the Flint River in Florida was a settlement of the Mikasuki, a Florida tribe. Their chief, Neamathla, was violently anti-United States. He used the village as a base from which to stage raids into the southeastern part of the country and as a collecting point for loot and runaway slaves. The United States put together a small army to confront Neamathla. The result was a small battle on November 21, 1817, the opening action of the first Seminole War. After that battle the Mikasuki retreated eastward.

Two months later the U.S. secretary of war, **John C. Calhoun**, ordered Major General **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845) to lead a war against the Seminoles. At Fort Scott, Jackson built up a force of 1,500 white men and 2,000 Creek Indians. With this force, he pursued the Seminoles eastward, destroying their villages along the way. By early April he had broken all Indian resistance west of the Suwannee River. He next turned his force against the territories held by the Spanish in that area, all of which he conquered.

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Second Seminole War (1835–42)

The first Seminole War persuaded Spain to give Florida to the United States before it was lost through conquest. The transfer was completed in 1821. Without being consulted, the Florida Indians, including the Seminoles, were transferred to U.S. rule. Then, in 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which authorized relocating all Indians living in the eastern United States to lands west of the Mississippi River. Most of the Seminole Indians fiercely opposed being forced from their lands. They prepared to fight.

In December 1835 the war chief Osceola (1804–1838) killed an Indian agent and some U.S. soldiers. By that time Andrew Jackson was president, and he was an ardent believer in moving Native Americans out of the way of white settlement. He ordered American forces to fight the Seminoles. At first, the U.S. Army used classical military methods. The Indians countered with guerrilla tactics, using small, independent combat groups that wore down the regular army and made victory impossible. Jackson then sent Major General Thomas S. Jesup (1788–1860) to Florida.

Jesup had little respect for Indians and soon abandoned the conventions of so-called civilized war. He experimented with bloodhounds, forced captives on pain of death to betray their friends, and violated flags of truce and promises of safe conduct. Under a flag of truce he seized Osceola in October 1837. By the time Jesup was relieved of duty in May 1838, about one hundred Indians had been killed and twenty-nine hundred captured.

Warfare continued for four years. By 1842 there were no more than three hundred Seminoles left in Florida. The United States decided it would be easier to give them a small amount of land in Florida than to continue the battle. Accordingly, the few remaining Indians agreed in mid-August 1842 to confine themselves to the area south of Pease Creek and west of Lake Okeechobee.

Third Seminole War (1855–58)

When Florida became a state in 1845, it decided to expel the Seminoles completely. The state built roads leading into the Indians' lands, and the U.S. **Army** took measures to harass the Seminoles, hoping to push them into committing violent acts. One patrol vandalized some property deep

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in Seminole country that happened to belong to the foremost Seminole leader, Billy Bowlegs (c. 1810–c. 1864). This heedless act set off an explosion. Bowlegs, leading thirty-five warriors, attacked the U.S. patrol in 1855, killing six men. The third Seminole War was under way.

At the start of the third war there were perhaps 360 Seminole in Florida, 120 of them warriors. The United States and the state of Florida had a force of thousands, including hardened Indian fighters. The Seminoles were soon forced to surrender, and 165 Seminoles, including Billy Bowlegs, were sent to the lands in **Indian Territory,** in present-day Oklahoma. Bowlegs returned to Florida in December 1858 and helped to persuade another 75 to move to Indian Territory. Roughly 125 Florida Seminoles remained in their homeland and were never forced to leave.

Senate

See **Checks and Balances; Legislative Branch**

Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention

In the nineteenth century American women could not vote, hold office, or sit on juries. Married women were subjected to the will of their husbands. They were not even entitled to control the money they earned; their assets belonged to their husbands. Women were generally barred from speaking in public, even when the audience was reform-oriented.

By the 1830s a few brave women had begun to speak out against the low status of women in American society. Many had been working in the **abolition** (antislavery) movement and wanted to attain the same rights for women that they sought for freed slaves. Abolitionists **Sarah Moore Grimké** (1792–1873) and her sister **Angelina** (1805–1879) shocked the nation when they delivered a series of public lectures on women's rights in the 1830s. Even among reformers, it was unheard of for a woman to make a public speech.

Getting organized

In July 1848 antislavery activist **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (1815–1902) attended a tea with four friends—**Lucretia Mott** (1793–1880), Martha C. Wright (1806–1875), Jane Hunt, and Mary Ann McClintock. At this

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gathering Stanton expressed her frustration that women's rights were not protected under the **Constitution** or even included in the **Declaration of Independence**'s statement that "all men are created equal." Stanton's friends agreed passionately and the group decided to call a women's rights convention.

Within two days the group of women picked a date, found a suitable location, and placed a small announcement in the local newspaper for their convention. They described it as a convention to discuss "the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman." The gathering would take place at the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, **New York**, on July 19 and 20, 1848. It was the first such women's convention ever held in the United States.

The Declaration of Sentiments

The next step was to draw up plans for the convention. The experience of the Seneca Falls organizers in this regard was limited. To prepare they hurriedly read the reports of prior peace, temperance (refraining from drinking alcohol), and abolitionist conventions, to learn how to plan their program. Finally one of them picked up the Declaration of Independence and read it aloud. Instantly the group decided to pattern its Declaration of Sentiments on the historic document of 1776. Seeing that the Declaration of Independence listed eighteen grievances, they also listed eighteen injuries felt by women. Demanding that the rights in the declaration apply to women as well as to men, they reworded this document to include women. Thus, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal … " became " … that all men *and women* are created equal … " One of the primary messages of the document was that women had been robbed of their self-confidence and self-respect, and made dependent on men.

The declaration was followed by a list of resolutions, demanding that women be allowed to speak in public, be accorded equal treatment under the law, receive equal education, receive equal access to trades and professions, have equality in marriage, have the right to sue and be sued and to testify in court, and have guardianship over children. It also demanded, at the insistence of Stanton, that women be granted the right to vote (called suffrage), a highly controversial point at the time. Stanton's husband was so upset over the demand for the right to vote that he left town the day of the convention.

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The convention

On July 19 the Wesleyan Church filled with three hundred women and men. Stanton gave her first speech; then followed the resolutions and discussions. The Seneca Falls convention lasted two days and late into both nights. By the end all resolutions had passed unanimously except the resolution calling for the right to vote—this was approved with only a small margin. When the convention was over, the Seneca Falls leaders were ridiculed in the press. The American public was not prepared for women to exercise their voices.

Two weeks later the leaders held a second convention in Rochester, New York. The suffrage resolution was again debated and adopted, along with a resolution urging women to help raise the wages of the working class. As news spread of the Seneca Falls convention, preparations began for more conventions in Massachusetts, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Though the Seneca Falls convention was criticized in the press, it served as the model for similar gatherings that slowly changed public opinion and policy. Even so it would be seventy-two years before the **Nineteenth Amendment** to the Constitution gave women the right to vote.

Separatists

The Separatists were a radical group of **Puritans** in England during the late sixteenth century. Separatists wanted to separate from the Anglican Church, the official church of England. Frustrated by the slow and, in their opinion, insignificant reforms being made by the Anglican Church, the Separatists set up independent churches outside the established orders.

Separatists believed that God's will was the basis for establishing a church. They based each church they founded on a formal covenant, or agreement, to worship together as members. Each church, or congregation, elected its own officers, who were responsible for the guidance of the church.

Separation from the Church of England was a major violation of law, and those who did so faced persecution. This inspired congregations to leave England to seek religious freedom elsewhere. One separatist group established itself in Holland, but the members were disappointed by the difficulties of both making a good living and preserving their English heritage. Many of them returned to England in 1620 and

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boarded the ***Mayflower*** to sail to the New World. There they established **Plymouth Colony**, where they could freely practice their religion.

Settlements of other Puritans with similar religious intentions soon followed. Although these Puritans considered themselves part of the Anglican Church, like the radical Separatists they called for reforms to purify its practices. In establishing their own colonies, they accepted the Separatists' congregational form of church government. Eventually, the term Separatists became just another name for Puritans.

September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks

On September 11, 2001, a group of nineteen terrorists hijacked four passenger planes on their way across the United States. Under the hijackers' control, two of the planes crashed into the World Trade Center towers in **New York** City; a third plane crashed into the Pentagon building near **Washington, D.C.** The fourth plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania after passengers attempted to retake control of the plane. The immediate death toll was estimated at just under three thousand people.

The four strikes

The air strikes took place in less than an hour, beginning with the midair hijacking of American Airlines Boston–Los Angeles Flight 11. At some point after the plane's 8:00 AM departure, a team of five men, armed with box cutters and claiming to have a bomb on board, overpowered crew members and passengers and took control of the plane. Turning the plane south the hijackers directed it toward their target: One World Trade Center (WTC) at the tip of Manhattan in New York City. At 8:45 AM, Flight 11 crashed into the skyscraper's north side in the upper reaches of its 107 stories, setting off an intense fire with the twenty thousand gallons of jet fuel that it had carried for its intended cross-country journey.

With a daily population estimated at fifty thousand workers in the World Trade Center buildings, rescue efforts took on monumental proportions from the start. As firefighters raced up the floors of the WTC North Tower, thousands of office workers who escaped the effects of the initial impact poured out of the building in an orderly fashion. Workers in the tower's twin at Two World Trade Center also began to leave their

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building. At 9:03 AM United Airlines Boston–Los Angeles Flight 175 crashed into the southeast corner of the upper floors of 2 WTC, killing its sixty-five passengers and crew members on impact. It, too, had been overpowered by a group of five terrorists.



Plumes of smoke pour out of the two World Trade Center towers in New York City after terrorists crashed two passenger planes into the buildings on September 11, 2001. AP IMAGES

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Within minutes the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) shut down all air traffic at New York City area airports, and the Port Authority of New York and **New Jersey** closed all bridges and tunnels leading into the city. For the first time in history, the FAA announced at 9:40 AM that all flight traffic across the United States was suspended; all flights already in progress were ordered to land immediately at the closest airport.

Meanwhile another group of five terrorists hijacked an American Airlines flight and directed it into a collision course with the Pentagon, the headquarters of the U.S. military, in Arlington, **Virginia**, near Washington, D.C. Upon impact at 9:43 AM the plane ripped a 75-foot hole in the U.S. military building's west side and ignited an intense fire with its jet fuel. As an estimated twenty-three thousand Pentagon workers fled the building, staffers from the nearby White House also evacuated the area.

As the crisis on the ground unfolded, a struggle for control of a fourth hijacked plane, United Airlines Flight 93, traveling from Newark, New Jersey, to San Francisco, **California**, took place between a team of four terrorists and the plane's forty-five crew members and passengers. In the minutes after the hijackers seized control of the plane, several of its passengers had made phone calls to relatives and emergency officials and had learned of the fates of the other hijacked planes. Determined to prevent the plane from becoming another weapon of attack, a group of the passengers decided to overpower the terrorists. In the struggle to retake control of the plane, Flight 93 went down at 10:10 AM, crashing into a rural area in southwestern Pennsylvania. Although everyone on board died on impact, no lives were lost on the ground. Many experts believe the U.S. Capitol building or the White House were the intended targets.

The terrible toll

Shortly before ten o'clock that morning, the earth shook around the WTC complex as the South Tower at 2 WTC began to list. Although the building was supported by immense steel pillars and had withstood the initial impact of the airliner collision, the intense jet fuel fire heated up to an estimated 2,000°F, and the supports softened. At 10:05 AM the South Tower collapsed, sending tons of debris (shattered fragments of the buildings) into the streets of lower Manhattan and taking the lives of hundreds of rescue workers and office workers still trapped in the build-

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ing. At 10:28 AM the North Tower collapsed in similar fashion. The two tallest buildings on the New York City skyline disappeared in clouds of choking dust and debris.

Of the fatalities on September 11, 2,602 died in the World Trade Centers; 246 died in the four hijacked flights; and 125 people died in the Pentagon. Over 2,100 injured victims received medical treatment by emergency rescue teams in New York City. Adding to the physical damage of September 11, the forty-seven-story building at 7 WTC also collapsed, joined by the twenty-two-story Marriott Hotel at 3 WTC, two nine-story office buildings at 4 and 5 WTC, and an eight-story U.S. Customs house at 6 WTC.

Al-Qaeda and bin Laden

The following day the terrorist group **al-Qaeda** was firmly linked to the attacks. Al-Qaeda, a word that means "the base," was formed in the late 1980s by Saudi-born terrorist Osama bin Laden (1957–) and some of his colleagues, to carry out what they called a *jihad,* or holy war, on an international basis. "Jihad" is an Arabic term that means spiritual striving. In most interpretations of the Qur'an, the holy book of the Islam faith, jihad is considered either a reform movement from within or a call to defend Muslim peoples against aggression. Al-Qaeda's goal was to create a united movement of radical Islamic groups throughout the Muslim world. Among other things it vowed to expel non-Muslims from Muslim countries and to overthrow Muslim leaders it believes to have violated the key beliefs of Islam. The organization carries out its jihad through terrorist activities.

Al-Qaeda is not a single organization but a network of cells (small secret groups usually three to five people). Because secrecy and security are critical, cells do not normally communicate with each other. In fact members of one cell probably do not even know their colleagues in other cells. Estimates of al-Qaeda's 2001 membership vary from about five thousand to fifteen thousand; it is believed al-Qaeda cells were active in at least sixty countries, including the United States. Many of its members had been trained in camps in Afghanistan managed by bin Laden, one of the group's most visible leaders.

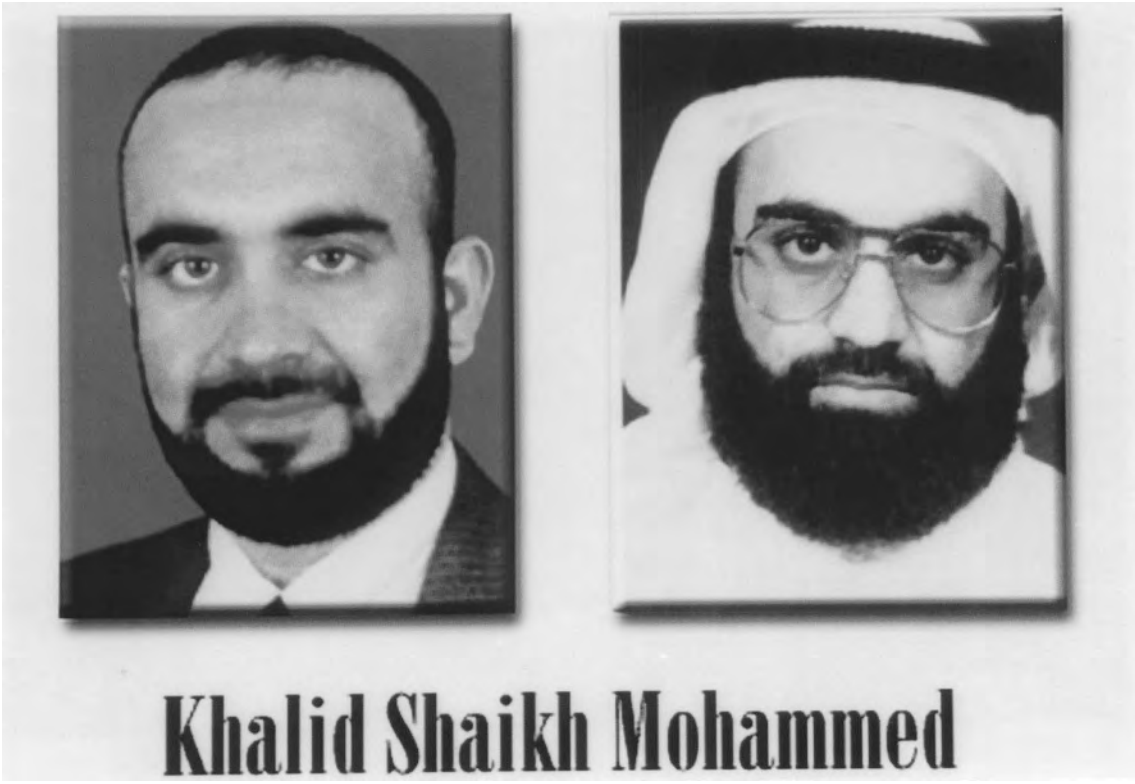
Bin Laden was wanted by the U.S. government for other terrorist attacks before September 11, 2001. In 1996, outraged by the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia, he issued a statement he called a *fatwa,*

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a decree usually issued by a Muslim religious leader. Bin Laden's fatwa declared it to be the duty of Muslims to kill Americans. The initial fatwa limited itself to attacks on official American targets, but al-Qaeda's second fatwa in 1998 stated that all U.S. citizens who paid taxes were involved in their government's actions and were thus legitimate targets. In 2001 al-Qaeda circulated a videotape of bin Laden in which he used religious imagery in calling for a jihad against the United States.

The key players in the attacks

According to later reports of the 9/11 Commission, the September 11 plot was created and organized by Pakistani terrorist Khalid Shaikh Mohammed (c. 1964–), who later confessed to being the mastermind of 9/11 and numerous other terrorist attacks. Bin Laden approved the plan.



According to the 9/11 Commission, the September 11 plot was organized by Pakistani terrorist Khalid Shaikh Mohammed who was added to the FBI's Most Wanted Terrorist list. TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

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Of the nineteen terrorists who hijacked the four attacking planes, fifteen were from Saudi Arabia, the other four from Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and Lebanon. Several of them, including the leader of the group Egyptian Mohamed Atta (1968–2001), had been working undercover in cells in Hamburg, Germany, in the late 1990s. They had probably trained at the terrorist training camps in Afghanistan from 1999 to 2000, where they would have met Osama bin Laden. They did not fit what many thought to be the profile of a typical suicide bomber. Most were older than expected and well educated. Some had lived in Germany or the United States for years, blending into their communities. The hijackers seemed to have lived quiet, unassuming lives in the months before the assault.

Atta arrived in the United States in 2000. He enrolled in flight training school in Florida with one of the other hijackers. There he received instructions on how to fly a jet. More of the attackers arrived in the United States as the summer progressed; some attended flight training school. Atta traveled freely, inside the United States and abroad, no doubt receiving full instructions from al-Qaeda organizers in other countries. Atta was the pilot of the first plane to crash into the World Trade Center. In his luggage (which did not make the flight) authorities found instructions in Arabic, calling on the hijackers to be calm in their last moments before death and not to unnecessarily alarm their victims.

A war on terrorism

The September 11 attacks on U.S. targets by al-Qaeda agents brought about the first war between a national government and a terrorist network. Trying to fight al-Qaeda posed an enormous challenge: how to go to war and overcome an enemy that has no territory, no army, and no government.

In response to the attacks, U.S. president **George W. Bush** (1946–); served 2001–) immediately declared a war on terrorism. In March 2002 the United States launched an offensive against the Taliban, the fundamentalist Islamic government of Afghanistan that was harboring al-Qaeda. The offensive drove the Taliban from power and sent many al-Qaeda leaders into hiding. Bush restructured the U.S. government to establish a **Homeland Security Department** and enacted a number of measures to coordinate efforts of the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) and the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI). Among his administra-

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tion's new security policies, Bush sought more power for the federal government to gather intelligence, entering into controversial policies that detracted from Americans' **civil liberties** (protections for individuals from the power of the government; for example the right to privacy, the right to a fair trial, and freedom from torture). Bush then focused on Iraq in his war on terrorism, though it had not been linked with al-Qaeda in the past, and the **Iraq Invasion**, which began in 2003.

Serial Killers

Serial killers are murderers who hunt humans. They find a thrill not only in killing but in stalking their victims. In twentieth-century America, serial killing was a crime of the middle classes. This particular type of murder became a source of great fascination in American culture of the 1970s and 1980s.

The term "serial murder" was first used by **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) Agent Robert Ressler in the 1980s, though multiple homicide has been part of human history for as far back as anyone can remember. Mass media—fixated on sensational stories that attract attention—took the term and disseminated it throughout the culture, replacing the terms "lust murder" and "mass murder." In the twenty-first century, the term "mass murder" (killing many people at one time) means something different from "serial murder" (killing many people, one at a time).

The first serial killer to gain notoriety was not American, but English. Jack the Ripper murdered five London prostitutes in 1888. His legend is shrouded in mystery because his identity has never been revealed with absolute certainty. Hundreds of books and stories and more than a dozen movies feature Jack the Ripper.

In 1984 the FBI published a series of articles listing primary offender characteristics. The data was compiled from interviews with thirty-six imprisoned serial killers, all male. Based on these interviews, the profile of a typical serial killer is that of a white male between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, often an only child or the eldest child in a family, who believes he is more intelligent than ordinary people. As a consequence of this supposedly heightened intelligence, he believes the rules of society do not apply to him.

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One of the most famous American serial killers was Ted Bundy, whose all-American good-looking appearance forever changed the way people viewed serial killers. AP IMAGES

These characteristics are not absolute. For example, there have been female serial killers, the most famous being Hungarian Countess Elizabeth Báthory. She and her female followers imprisoned and murdered hundreds of women in her castle in the early seventeenth century.

Famous serial murderers

Several serial killers became household names. Albert DeSalvo (1931–1973) was better known as the Boston Strangler. John Wayne Gacy (1942–1994) was convicted and executed for the murder of thirty-three boys in the 1970s. He buried most of their bodies under the floorboards of his house. Ted Bundy (1946–1989) went on a killing spree across the United States between 1974 and 1978. Although the total number of victims will never be known, he eventually confessed to raping and murdering thirty women. He was sent to the electric chair for his brutal crimes.

David Berkowitz (1953–), better known as Son of Sam, killed six people and wounded many more in the 1970s. He was sentenced to six life sentences in prison. Ed Gein (1906–1984) was a Wisconsin native who murdered his victims and then skinned them. He used their skin to make clothing and cover furniture. Although only two murders could be pinned on Gein with certainty, his brother died under mysterious circumstances in 1944, and six people disappeared from rural Wisconsin communities between 1947 and 1957.

Jeffrey Dahmer (1960–1994), another Wisconsin native, was indicted for the murder of fifteen men and boys between 1978 and 1991. One of his victims managed to escape, only to be returned to his custody by the Milwaukee Police Department. Dahmer killed, dismembered, and ate his victims. After being sentenced to 937 years in prison, Dahmer was beaten to death by an inmate.

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In the media

Serial killers have been the subject of books and films for decades. Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) portrayed serial killers as villains in a number of his films, including *The Lodger* (1926), *Psycho* (1960), and *Frenzy* (1972). Crime fiction writer Thomas Harris (1910–1995) invented Hannibal "the Cannibal" Lecter, a serial killer who is also a psychiatrist. All of Harris's Hannibal books were made into movies, the most famous being *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991). The Hannibal Lecter character was based on Ed Gein, as was Norman Bates in *Psycho*.

As far back as the 1940s, serial killers have been featured in television programs. Examples include *Unsub* (1989), *Twin Peaks* (1990–91), the various editions of *CSI* (2000–), *Criminal Minds* (2005–), and *Law & Order: Criminal Intent* (2001–).

Settlement House Movement

Settlement houses were centers that provided community services for the urban poor and underprivileged. The philosophy behind the movement was that reform was the responsibility not only of the government but also of the people.

The first American settlement house, University Settlement, was established on **New York**'s Lower East Side in 1886. By 1910 more than four hundred settlement houses were operating across America's urban landscape. These settlements were actually experiments not in charity but in social organization. Historians consider settlement houses the first example of social services but emphasize a major difference: social services provide specific services, whereas settlement houses aimed to improve neighborhood life as a whole.

Those who ran the settlement houses did so on a voluntary basis. Women were the primary reformers in the settlement house movement, with **Jane Addams** (1860–1935)—cofounder of Chicago's Hull House—being the most famous. (See **tenement housing** entry.)

Settlement houses provided medical services and legal aid to a mostly **immigrant** population. The immigrants who came to America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries knew nothing about the society into which they immersed themselves. Few could speak English, let alone read and write it. Settlement houses provided free education in which immigrants and other working-class poor could learn English as

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well as vocational (career) skills. They also provided kindergartens, library services, recreation clubs for boys and girls, and classes on nutrition and banking.

Settlement houses depended on volunteers not only to staff and operate them but for funding. Reformers used newspapers and clergy to spread the word about the houses and explain the movement's mission to the public. The women activists formed relationships with business and civic leaders and then approached them for assistance in the form of either money or time and skills.

In addition to providing social services, settlement houses became central locations for workers involved in political reform as it related to labor, women, and economics. Reformers worked toward legislation to



Settlement houses provided several services, including medical, to the poor and underprivileged. Chicago's Hull House was the best-known settlement house. AP IMAGES

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protect children from labor and immigrants from exploitation (being used for someone else's benefit).

Settlement houses still exist, although they have become more specialized. Some of their services—providing libraries and kindergartens, for example—became the responsibility of municipal and state governments.

Seventeenth Amendment

The Seventeenth Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** was ratified on April 8, 1913, and put into effect for the 1914 election. It allowed for senators to be elected by the people living in the state they represent rather than take office by appointment of the state's legislature.

Prior to the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment, only members of the House of Representatives were elected by citizens. As more and more people began to understand the importance of casting a vote, the belief that senators should be elected in the same manner gained widespread acceptance.

There were logical reasons for wanting to elect these politicians. As the system stood corrupt politicians appointed senators whose support they knew they could buy. This made for a Senate that was often seriously incapable to the point of frequent deadlock (where no agreement can be reached), and a legislature that neglected its official duties because its members were so focused on electoral contests.

The Seventeenth Amendment did more than give Americans the right to elect their senators. African Americans had just been legally granted suffrage (right to vote). Despite the law it was not uncommon for whites to prohibit African Americans from voting. They did this by threatening their lives or by requiring them to pass literacy tests everyone knew they could not pass. Under the new amendment if any local political party authorities refused to allow an African American to vote based on his race, it now became a constitutional issue.

Each state was to be represented by two senators elected for a six-year term. In the event of an unexpected vacancy, such as by death, the state legislature could appoint a temporary senator to sit in until an election for a new senator could be held.

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Seventh Amendment

When the **Constitution** was written in 1787, it contained few guarantees of individual freedom and liberty. **Federalists** were people who argued that such guarantees were unnecessary because the Constitution did not give the national government power to violate individual freedoms. In contrast, **Anti-Federalists** argued that unless individual freedoms were specifically protected in the Constitution, the government would not be able to resist using its power to violate those freedoms. To convince the Anti-Federalists to adopt the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights** to protect individual freedoms from the government.

The Seventh Amendment was the seventh of ten amendments included in the Bill of Rights, which the United States adopted in 1791. It reads, "In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law."

The purpose of the Seventh Amendment was to protect the right to a jury trial in most civil cases involving monetary damages. A civil case is a dispute between private parties, or a noncriminal dispute between a private party and the government. In contrast, a criminal case is a dispute in which the government seeks to punish someone for committing a crime.

The main body of the Constitution protects the right to jury trials in criminal cases, but says nothing about jury trials in civil cases. The Seventh Amendment fixed that omission. It provides that most civil cases in federal court involving monetary damages must include the option of a jury trial. The parties, however, may waive the right and choose to be tried by a judge instead. Finally, the Seventh Amendment says that after a jury trial is finished and all appeals are done, facts resolved by the jury cannot be tried again in another federal court in a different trial.

Sharecropping and Tenant Farming

After the American **Civil War** (1861–65), southern plantation owners were challenged to find help working the lands that **slaves** had farmed. Taking advantage of the former slaves' desire to own their own farms,

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plantation owners used arrangements called sharecropping and tenant farming. Both methods required the planters to divide their plantations into smaller parcels of land, which they continued to own. Using smaller parcels of property, the owners forged mutually beneficial arrangements with independent farmers to work the land.

In sharecropping land owners provided sharecroppers with a house and a plot of land, as well as all the seed, fertilizer, and tools necessary to cultivate crops. Owners dictated what crops were to be raised and supervised laborers who worked in the fields. In exchange the sharecroppers worked the fields from seed through harvest.

At harvest the entire crop was given to the owner, who sold it. After deducting the cost of supplies for which the owner had paid, the owner shared the remaining profits with the sharecroppers. Sharecroppers usually received between one-third and one-half of the remaining profits.

When the weather was poor or prices for the crops were low, profits often did not cover much more than the cost of supplies. Sharecroppers frequently wound up in debt. Sharecroppers who managed to make a profit and save money eventually gained more independence as farmers. Some moved to their own farms, while many who could not afford land became tenant farmers.

Tenant farmers were more independent than sharecroppers. Although they also did not own the land they farmed, they were completely in charge of their crops from start to finish. They were responsible for all the necessary supplies and got to select the crops they wanted to raise. The entire harvest was theirs to sell or use as needed. Plantation owners, in exchange for use of their land by tenant farmers, received either a cash payment or a share of the crop as rent. Though tenant farmers faced challenges in their quest for independence, some managed to remain debt-free long enough to save money to buy their own parcels of land.

Sharecropping and tenant farming began to fade in the 1930s when Congress passed laws to help farmers acquire their own land. Congress also worked to improve conditions for sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The mechanization of agriculture and the growth of urban employment furthered the decline of sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the twentieth century.

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Shays's Rebellion

In the years after the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the newly formed states struggled to establish strong working economies. Many of the former colonies had large war debts and had to find ways to pay their creditors. Economic conditions were particularly challenging in **Massachusetts**, as farmers and merchants struggled to establish a livelihood under heavy state taxes. In 1786 frustration and anger at the government's refusal to provide relief for struggling citizens erupted into a rebellion led in part by Daniel Shays (1747–1825).

Protests

Economic hardship in Massachusetts stemmed largely from the demand of most creditors to be paid in hard money, meaning silver or gold coin. Such money was in short supply. Because the state needed it to pay its creditors as well, taxes could only be paid in hard money. These taxes were high, and most citizens were challenged to pay them at all.



Fighting during Shays's Rebellion, during which Massachusetts farmers rose up to force the government to decrease taxes. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

In 1786 the Massachusetts General Court's taxes amounted to more than 30 percent of the average citizen's income. (General Court was the name for the legislature of Massachusetts.) The brunt of the taxes fell on struggling farmers and the poor, who were already in debt. Unable to pay their debts and taxes, many had their lands and other property seized, or faced imprisonment in debtors' prisons.

Citizens voiced their concerns through petitions to government officials and state legislators. The people asked for a reduction in taxes, the printing of paper money, and reform of debtors' courts. The state legislature stubbornly refused to take such action.

The problem worsened when many people realized they did not possess the property qualifications to vote. In the spring of 1786, when the General Court announced its intention to raise taxes again, several Continental army veter-

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ans, those who fought for the American colonies in the American Revolution, decided to take action.

Rebellion

Daniel Shays, an army captain during the revolution, was one of three men to lead protests throughout Massachusetts. By late August armed mobs began to intimidate and close the debtors' courts to prevent action against debtors. The protestors organized themselves into an army they named the Regulators.

In September the Regulators marched to Springfield, Massachusetts, and forced the Massachusetts Supreme Court to adjourn despite the presence of six hundred militiamen. Because Springfield was also the site of a federal arsenal, Congress authorized federal troops to be raised. Under the pretense of needing them for fighting Native Americans on the frontier, 1,340 men were mustered for the federal government.

On January 25, 1787, Daniel Shays and fifteen hundred Regulators marched into Springfield again, this time headed for the arsenal. They ignored warning shots fired by a small state militia that was standing guard. As a result a cannon was fired directly into the ranks of the Regulators, killing four men and wounding twenty more.

Shays and his men fled but were pursued by 4,400 federal and state militiamen. When Shays and his men were taken by surprise on February 4, many rebels were captured. Shays managed to escape, and he fled to Vermont. By the end of the month the rebellion had collapsed.

Reactions

The Massachusetts government acted quickly in response to the rebellion. Massachusetts courts sentenced fourteen of the rebels to die, and fined or imprisoned hundreds more. The legislature passed a special Disqualifying Act that pardoned other Regulators but barred them from jury duty, voting, and certain jobs for three years. The government still failed to resolve the political concerns that sparked the rebellion.

The citizens responded in the state elections of April 1787. The state governor and more than half of the legislators were defeated. As a result the new General Court quickly began to address the concerns of the rebels. It reduced taxes, lowered court fees, and allowed the use of property to pay debts. It also eliminated the Disqualifying Act and provided pardons to all

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but Shays and three other rebel leaders. Shays eventually received a pardon on June 13, 1788, but he never returned to Massachusetts.

Shays's Rebellion convinced many people that the United States needed a stronger federal government to regulate currency and suppress uprisings. In autumn 1787 the states began debating whether to ratify the **Constitution** of the United States, which was written in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, that summer. Supporters of the Constitution argued that a stronger federal government might have been able to crush Shays' Rebellion more easily. This contributed to Massachusetts' ratification, or approval, of the Constitution in February 1788.

William Tecumseh Sherman

William Tecumseh Sherman served during the American **Civil War** (1861–65) on behalf of the federal government. Although his army career was unremarkable at the start, Sherman eventually earned the rank of general. He is remembered for his devastating march from Atlanta to Savannah, **Georgia**, during the war. Sherman and his men destroyed everything in their path as they made their way across Georgia, and their efforts helped the **Union** win the war. **Sherman's March to the Sea** was one of the first incidents of total war.

Early life

William Tecumseh Sherman was born in Lancaster, **Ohio**, on February 8, 1820. His parents, Charles and Mary Hoyt, named him **Tecumseh** after a famous Shawnee tribal leader. In 1829 his father died, leaving his mother to care for their eleven children. Without Charles's income as an attorney and judge, the family was forced to separate, and Sherman went to live with family friends, Thomas and Maria Ewing.

While living with the Ewings, Sherman was baptized and given the Christian name William. Thomas Ewing was a senator, and he provided Sherman with an excellent education. At sixteen, Sherman obtained an appointment to West Point, a military academy. He graduated in 1840, sixth out of forty-three in his class.

Military career

After graduating from West Point, Sherman served with the U.S. **Army** until 1853. His military career was fairly unremarkable. He served as sec-

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ond lieutenant in Florida, South Carolina, and California. Although he was sent to fight the Seminole Indians in Florida and the Mexicans in California, Sherman was sent too late to participate in combat situations. In September 1853, he resigned.

Marriage and civilian life

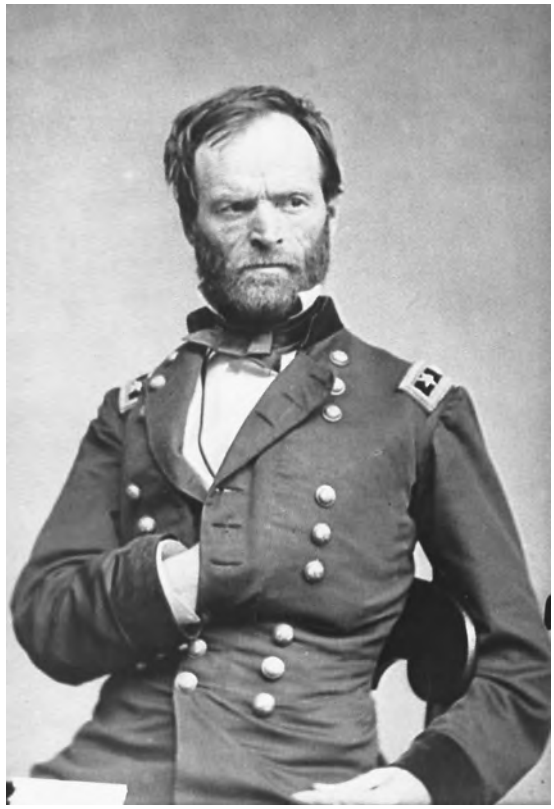
After leaving the army, Sherman married his foster sister, Ellen Ewing, and accepted an offer to become a partner in a San Francisco bank. In 1859 the Shermans moved to **Louisiana**, where Sherman took a position leading the Louisiana Seminar of Learning and Military Academy (later renamed Louisiana State University).

The Civil War

When Louisiana **seceded** from the Union in January 1861, Sherman left his job at the academy and returned to the army. In April 1861 the first battle of the Civil War occurred at Fort Sumter, **North Carolina**. In May 1861 Sherman was appointed colonel of the Union army's thirteenth infantry.

After the **Battle of Bull Run** in July 1861, Sherman, who fought in Bull Run as a colonel, was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers, and he soon gained a reputation for being unstable and manic depressive. Gradually, however, he gained the confidence of his peers. His role as a major general under Lieutenant General **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885) was particularly impressive. Serving under Grant, Sherman performed admirably and continued to rise in rank. He eventually assumed command of the Army of Tennessee and the entire western theater.

Sherman is best remembered for his actions in 1864 across Georgia. In charge of over one hundred thousand men in three armies, Sherman was given the mission of capturing Atlanta. Brutal fighting raged around Atlanta starting in July, and the Confederate soldiers left the city in early September. Sherman evicted the civilians and burned the city. He then led an aggressive march toward Savannah, and along the way he destroyed Southern support for the war and the infrastructure that supported it.



General William Tecumseh Sherman marched his Union troops across Georgia, burning everything in their path. The devastation they caused severely hurt the Confederate forces. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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Sherman spread his army out into two vast columns over a width of 60 miles (97 kilometers). The soldiers sustained themselves by taking what they needed or wanted and left the region destroyed in their wake. They took or destroyed food, animals, and equipment. They destroyed the railroad system and burned down buildings as they advanced.

Sherman's men far outnumbered any Confederate troops that they encountered, so they were hardly challenged along the way. On December 10, after seizing four other cities, including the state capital of Milledgeville, Sherman arrived just outside Savannah. Throughout a ten-day siege, Sherman and his men forced out the Confederate troops, moving into Savannah on December 21.

Sherman then began a similar march north through the Carolinas, destroying at least twelve towns. As a result of Sherman's total war campaign, Southern support began to collapse. On April 9, 1865, Confederate general **Robert E. Lee** (1807–1870) surrendered to Union general Ulysses S. Grant in Virginia. Less than three weeks later, on April 26, Confederate general Joe Johnston surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina. Confederate resistance collapsed entirely, and the war was over.

Later years

Sherman continued his service to the U.S. Army after the Civil War. He headed the Military Division of Missouri until Grant became president in 1869. Under President Grant, Sherman served as general of the army and commander in chief. These years were challenging, because Secretary of War William Belknap repeatedly bypassed Sherman's authority. In reaction, Sherman moved the army headquarters to St. Louis, **Missouri**, and did not return to Washington until Belknap had been impeached in 1876. Sherman remained in his position until 1883, when he retired.

Sherman spent four years of his retirement in St. Louis. He died in New York City from complications from pneumonia in 1891 and was buried in St. Louis.

Sherman Antitrust Act

As the United States experienced the rise of industry and big business at the turn of the twentieth century, trusts became a problem. A trust is a company comprised of several companies that have joined together to

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take control of a particular sector of business. Trusts have total control and operate without fear of competition.

The concept of trusts made it difficult at best for smaller businesses to grow and thrive. For years, however, nothing was done to strip trusts of their power, mainly because the wealthy big-business owners donated large sums of money to powerful politicians. It was a you-help-me, I'll-help-you sort of relationship that benefited both sides.

On July 2, 1890, U.S. Congress passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, which was named after U.S. senator John Sherman (1823–1900) of **Ohio**, who introduced it. The law declared it illegal to form **monopolies and trusts** (similar to trusts; one person or company is the sole seller of a specific good or service) both within the United States and when dealing with foreign trade.

At first the law was not strictly enforced because the maximum fine of just five thousand dollars and one year imprisonment was not enough to deter powerful businesspeople from breaking the law. But when **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) became president, he enforced the Sherman Act with full force. So intent was he on bringing down trusts and leveling the playing field for all businesses that he became known as the "trust-busting" president.

Sherman's March to the Sea

The American **Civil War** broke out in 1861, and in 1864 battles continued to rage across the war-weary South. In mid-November to late December, **Union** General **William Tecumseh Sherman** (1820–1891) changed tactics not only to force the surrender of the **Confederate** army but to break the spirit of the Confederate people. Leading 62,000 Union soldiers from Atlanta, **Georgia**, Sherman marched east across the land toward the seaport of Savannah. In their wake they left a trail of destruction up to sixty miles wide. The event is now known as Sherman's March to the Sea.

Sherman's inspiration to change tactics came from his frustration in leading his army against the Confederates between Chattanooga, **Tennessee**, and Atlanta, Georgia. Delaying tactics by Confederate General Joseph Johnston prevented any major confrontations. When General John Bell Hood replaced Johnston, skirmishes finally occurred, but Sherman found himself chasing Hood across territory previously

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crossed in pursuit of Johnston's army. When General Hood abandoned Atlanta and headed off to Union supply dumps at Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee, Sherman revised his approach. He sent a relatively small force of his men after Hood under the charge of George Thomas. Sherman and the remaining men turned toward Savannah.

By September 1864, Sherman had chased the Confederate army out of Atlanta, a major supply station for the Confederates. Before turning to begin his march across Georgia to Savannah, Sherman and his men ensured the disabling of Atlanta by setting much of it on fire. The next part of his campaign was aimed at destroying Georgia's economic resources, particularly those that supplied the Confederate army with food and other necessities. Not only did he hope to weaken the Confederate army, but he intended to break the will of the people to continue the war. Sherman began his march the next day, November 15.

The march

With a total of 62,000 men, Sherman spread his army out into two vast columns over a width of sixty miles. They sustained themselves by taking what they needed or wanted, pillaging chickens, cows, vegetables, and horses and wagons. They destroyed the railroad system and burned down buildings as they advanced. Wherever they went, Sherman's army made sure that the horrors of war were known.

The Confederate troops were far outnumbered, and as a result Sherman's men were hardly challenged along the way. On December 10, after seizing four other cities, including the state capital of Milledgeville, Sherman arrived at Savannah and began a ten-day siege. His troops forced out the Confederate troops, and Union troops moved into Savannah on December 21.

Though Sherman's initial plan ended with taking Savannah, he decided to extend his campaign. After refitting his men with supplies, he began a march north into the Carolinas in much the same way. By late March 1865, Sherman was in the middle of North Carolina when he again faced the Confederate opposition of General Johnston. On April 9, Confederate General **Robert E. Lee** surrendered much of the army to Union General **Ulysses S. Grant** in Virginia. General Johnston followed Lee's example. On April 18, 1865, General Johnston signed an armistice with Sherman, ending the Civil War.

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Sit-in Movement of the 1960s

Despite the gains made in **civil rights** in the late 1950s, the Jim Crow system of legally imposed racial separation, or **segregation**, remained a fact of life in the southern states. One of many types of discrimination blacks faced was the widespread policy of variety stores prohibiting blacks from sitting down and being served at the stores' lunch counters with other customers.

In 1960 Greensboro, **North Carolina**, was a rapidly growing city of 120,000 that prided itself on the progressive nature of its race relations. Even so Greensboro had made only token steps toward integrating its schools (mixing black and white students). Lunch counters in Greensboro served blacks only if they stood in a designated area.

A simple act of protest

On February 1, 1960, Ezell Blair Jr., Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil, and David Richmond—freshmen students from the all-black North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (A & T)—entered the Woolworth store in downtown Greensboro. As planned, they first bought toothpaste and school supplies as proof that the store would sell them merchandise. They then took seats at the lunch counter, to the amazement of store employees and other patrons. They were refused service and told that black people had to stand at another counter to eat. The young men asked why Woolworth would sell them toothpaste but not coffee, and remained in their seats until the store closed. There was no confrontation with the police, although a reporter did arrive and news of the sit-in was reported by the local press.

The "Greensboro Four," as they came to be known, had decided the night before to challenge the Jim Crow system of segregation at lunch counters. No civil rights organization had been involved. They were motivated simply by a sense of justice.

The movement grows

News of the act of protest spread rapidly over the A & T campus and throughout the city. The next day twenty-three additional students accompanied the Greensboro Four to Woolworth to sit at the lunch counter. Soon the demonstrators were working in shifts, and the sit-in

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One of many ways blacks were segregated was through the widespread policy of stores prohibiting blacks from sitting down and being served at the stores' lunch counters with other customers. To protest this treatment, blacks would organize sit-ins, nonviolent demonstrations to take a stand for equality. AP IMAGES

spread to Kress, the other downtown variety store. The demonstrators were well dressed and emphasized their commitment to nonviolence. The stores refused to serve them but did not ask the local police to arrest them.

By the end of the week the sit-ins had gained participants from Bennett College, a black women's college in town, and from Greensboro's white colleges. Support came in from Greensboro's black community and from the national civil rights organization Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which began to organize boycotts (refusal to do business with) of Woolworth and Kress. On February 8 sit-ins began in the neighboring city of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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Standoff in Greensboro

The city of Greensboro tried to mediate between the protesting students and the stores. For a month during negotiations the students ceased their sit-ins. Sit-ins resumed on April 1, though, because the stores had not desegregated the lunch counters. On April 2 the two stores closed their lunch counters. Greensboro's black community boycotted the stores and participated in street demonstrations. The picketing soon attracted a counterdemonstration organized by the **Ku Klux Klan**, a secret society of white supremacists known for their use of intimidation and terrorist methods against minority groups. The mostly peaceful confrontations between the two groups became a feature of life in downtown Greensboro.

Kress reopened its lunch counter later in the month but roped it off to allow store personnel to control access. When students peacefully moved into the restricted area, some forty-five of them were arrested, including three of the Greensboro Four. This was the only mass arrest during the sit-in campaign. The students were released without bail.

Soon the downtown stores found that their business was falling off; Woolworth's sales fell by 20 percent, partly due to the boycott but also because many whites were staying away to avoid trouble. Pressure for a settlement mounted. Finally on July 25, 1960, the stores desegregated their lunch counters.

Peaceful protests

The Greensboro sit-ins touched off the tidal wave of direct, confrontational nonviolent protest that marked the early 1960s (see **Civil Disobedience**). Sit-in protests spread from Greensboro to other cities in North Carolina, then to Nashville, Tennessee, and to dozens of other southern cities as well as a number in the North. By the end of 1960 approximately one hundred southern cities had experienced sit-ins and roughly one-third of them had desegregated their lunch counters. More would follow in subsequent years as approximately seventy thousand people participated in the sit-in movement.

Organizing black students

The Greensboro sit-ins reflected the impatience of the younger generation of southern blacks with the pace of change in race relations. While

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the sit-ins were still going on in Greensboro, the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC) organized a meeting of black student leaders in Raleigh, North Carolina. **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) and other civil rights leaders addressed the students, who decided to set up their own organization. Out of their efforts the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC) was born. It quickly became one of the most active civil rights organizations of the 1960s and was involved in most of the major civil rights campaigns of the decade.

Sitting Bull

Sitting Bull was a medicine man, chief, and warrior in the Hunkpapa clan of the Sioux Nation of Native Americans. He fought in battles against the U.S. government, which sought to remove Native Americans from valuable land wanted by Americans. In captivity Sitting Bull was forced to perform in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, a touring show that featured cowboys and Indians performing stunts and battles.

No one knows for sure where Sitting Bill was born, but he was probably born near Grand River in **South Dakota** in 1831. His name as a boy was Jumping Badger, and his nickname was Slow. After he fought bravely against other Native Americans at age fourteen, his father renamed him Sitting Bull.

Sitting Bull was married many times. His first wife died in 1853, and a four-year-old son died in 1857. That year he adopted two children. In 1872 he married two wives with whom he had five more children.

After the **California gold rush** of 1849, **westward expansion** by American settlers led to decades of conflict with Native American tribes. The federal government sent the military to remove Indians from land the settlers wanted. The Native Americans resisted, leading to many battles. Native Americans also had ongoing disputes with each other, such as between the Sioux, Crows, and Flatheads.

Sitting Bull and many clans of Sioux Indians fought the federal government in the 1860s. In 1868 the government negotiated a treaty to end the fighting. Sitting Bull refused to sign, so the government acquired signatures from other Indians. Sitting Bull's refusal to acknowledge the treaty drew criticism from the federal government.

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The discovery of gold in the Black Hills of South Dakota led to another round of battles. Sitting Bull fought in the Battle of Rosebud with **Crazy Horse** against General George Crook's men on June 17, 1876. Eight days later, Crazy Horse led the Sioux to victory in the Battle of the Little Bighorn against General George Custer, also known as **Custer's Last Stand**. Native Americans called it the Battle of the Greasy Grass. Sitting Bull prepared medicine instead of fighting that day.

By May 1877 the federal government had defeated the Sioux, so Sitting Bull retreated into Canada with some of his people. After some of them left and the Canadian government declined to support him, Sitting Bull surrendered to the U.S. government in July 1881. He was confined at Fort Randall in South Dakota for two years, and then used as an attraction for two years in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show.

In 1890 a Paiute prophet introduced a ghost dance to the Sioux Indians. He said the dance would eventually eliminate white men and return land to the Native Americans. Fearing that Sitting Bull would use the ghost dance to inspire an uprising against the federal government, the government arrested him at his home on Standing Rock reservation in North Dakota on December 15, 1890. A fight ensued during the arrest, and Sitting Bull was killed by police.

Sixteenth Amendment

On February 25, 1913, the Sixteenth Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** was ratified, which required Americans to pay income tax. It took nearly four years of debate to get this amendment passed.

The idea of paying income tax was not new in 1913. As far back as the **War of 1812** the concept of using taxation to fund a federal issue was considered. The war ended before the tax levy could be legalized, and the question of taxation did not come up again until the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

The Internal Revenue Act of 1862 taxed incomes in a progressive manner. This meant that the higher the income, the higher the tax. Those with incomes up to ten thousand dollars paid a 3 percent tax; those who earned more than that annually paid a 5 percent tax. Although rates fluctuated the law was in effect until 1872, when Congress let it expire. Business owners were unhappy with the tax and

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pressured lawmakers for change, since they viewed it as being penalized for being successful.

In 1894 Congress passed the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act, which imposed a 2 percent tax on all annual incomes over four thousand dollars. The law was declared unconstitutional the following year, however, in violation of the Constitution's prohibition of direct taxation.

Many citizens fought for the adoption of income taxation. It was an easy way to raise money that could be used for any number of things. The main concern was that the bulk of the country's wealth lay in the hands of just a few people. This was seen as a threat to democracy, and the income tax could reverse that trend. Conservatives opposed the use of taxation as a means for the redistribution of wealth.

As it became apparent that the income tax measure might become reality, a Constitutional amendment was submitted to the states in 1909. The back-and-forth fighting over the issue continued into the second decade of the twentieth century. In the end only five states rejected passage of the amendment.

Sixth Amendment

The Sixth Amendment was the sixth of ten amendments included in the **Bill of Rights**, which America adopted in 1791. It contains some of the **Constitution**'s rights for people accused of crimes.

The Constitution originally had few guarantees of individual liberty. Many people, called **Anti-Federalists**, believed the government would violate individual freedom unless the Constitution specifically mandated otherwise. The Anti-Federalists were persuaded to adopt the Constitution in 1787 after the **Federalists** agreed to add a series of amendments, which became the Bill of Rights, to specify individual freedoms to be protected.

The Sixth Amendment says criminal defendants have a right to a speedy and public trial in both the state and district in which the crime was committed. A speedy trial means the prosecution cannot delay the process for too long, and a public trial means courtrooms must be open to the public during trials. The requirement that trials happen in the district in which the crime was committed was in reaction to the British practice of taking colonial defendants from America to England for tri-

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als. American states are divided into districts to apply this portion of the amendment.

The next clause says criminal defendants have a right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation against them. This means the federal government must tell the accused specifically which crimes he or she is charged with committing. Notice of the charges is supposed to allow the accused to prepare a full defense.

Two clauses in the Sixth Amendment concern witnesses in criminal trials. One says criminal defendants have the right to be confronted by the witnesses against them. In most cases, this means defendants have the right to face the witnesses in court and to cross-examine them after they present their evidence against them. The other clause says defendants have the right to force witnesses in their favor to attend the trial to present their evidence.

The last clause of the Sixth Amendment says criminal defendants have a right to assistance of counsel for their defense. This usually means that if the person can afford a lawyer, the person may use any lawyer he or she can hire. In the twentieth century the U.S. **Supreme Court** decided that the Sixth Amendment requires the federal government to pay for lawyers to defend poor people who cannot afford their own attorneys.

The Text of the Sixth Amendment

The Sixth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution says, "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence."

Skyscrapers

Skyscrapers evolved in the late 1800s in the United States. Before then, building heights were restricted by the abilities of masonry walls to support the weight of additional stories. The public's willingness to climb stairs also limited heights. Technical advancements in building and an increased need for space in cities spurred the development of grand, multistoried buildings.

By the mid-1800s, buildings in large cities had reached heights of only four to five stories. While taller buildings could have been built, people were less willing to climb stairs to greater heights. When Elisha Graves Otis invented the passenger elevator in the 1850s, builders were

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encouraged to build higher. By the 1860s, the elevator was being used in buildings that reached nine or ten stories.

Throughout the late 1800s, real estate in cities became more expensive. Technological advancements like electrical power, incandescent lighting, and the telephone made urban spaces attractive to businesses. Jobs in new industries attracted more and more people to live in cities. As a result, the need for space grew, and the space that existed was expensive and difficult to get. The solution was to build upward, packing more stories into a building.

In 1891 a sixteen-story masonry building, the Monadnock Building, was erected in Chicago, **Illinois**. It is still the highest masonry building in the world. To support the building's height, the walls at the bottom had to be 6 feet (2 meters) thick. Such walls were not only expensive and cumbersome, but also made doorways deep and windows pointless. Masonry buildings had reached their limits, but the human need for more urban spaces had not.

In 1890 William LeBaron Jenney introduced a new method for building. An internal steel frame was used to support the weight of the building. The outside walls merely supported their own weight and were attached to the frame. The ten-story Home Insurance Building in Chicago was the first to be built this way.



The Empire State Building, built in 1931, was the world's tallest skyscraper for over forty years. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Louis Henri Sullivan used this method to design what is considered to be the first skyscraper in 1890, the Wainright Building in St. Louis, **Missouri**. Sullivan's inspirational designs led architects to incorporate modern elements of style in their own creations. Soon, taller and taller buildings graced urban areas, reflecting the booming growth and success of the industrial age. Some skyscrapers earned memorable reputations as a result of their designs. The Chrysler Building, completed in 1930 in **New York**, and the Howells-Hood Chicago Tribune Tower, completed in 1925 in Chicago, are among them.

The skyscraper became a symbol of American progress and prosperity. The taller they were, the greater the successes of America.

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It soon became a competition to build the tallest skyscraper, and building heights quickly soared. In 1900 the Park Row Building in New York City was the tallest in the world. It towered at 382 feet (116 meters) and thirty-two stories. The Woolworth Building, completed in 1913, in New York, remained the tallest at 792 feet (241 meters) for seventeen years.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, buildings rapidly overcame each other. In 1931 the Empire State Building topped them all. With a height of 1,472 feet (449 meters) and 102 stories, it maintained the world's record for over forty years. In 1973 the World Trade Center's twin towers in New York took over the record and revived the competition to build the tallest building. Their reign ended when Chicago's Sears Tower became the highest in 1974.

In 1998 the competition became an international one when the Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, became the tallest in the world. In 2003 Taipei 101 in Taiwan towered above the earth at a record-breaking 1,671 feet (509 meters). The final planned height for the Durj Dubai being built in Dubai remains a secret, but it became the world's tallest free-standing structure when it reached 1,821 feet (555 meters). When it opens in June 2009, it will officially become the world's tallest building.

The skyscraper was a technological and economic solution to an urban problem that has evolved into a unique status symbol. The world beyond the United States has embraced the skyscraper as a symbol of prosperity and progress. The skylines of the world's cities have been defined by the unique designs of skyscrapers, and taller is better in the public imagination. With a global economy, the race to build higher and higher has been spurred. In this race for height, the country with the tallest building has the symbolic reputation of being the most economically successful in the world.

Slave Rebellions

As long as there was **slavery** in the United States, there were attempts by those enslaved to break the chains of their oppressors. In the **antebellum** South (the slaveholding southern states from about 1810 to the start of the American **Civil War** in 1861) rebellions were a constant threat to slave owners. Even a rumor of revolt often led masters to take dramatic measures against their slaves. Because most slaves were isolated and

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unarmed and unable to effectively organize themselves, their attempts to escape enslavement were desperate acts that usually ended in tragedy.

Nonetheless many slaves resisted their bonds. One means of resistance was to obstruct the work process on the slave owner's farm or place of business. Slaves secretly slowed their pace of work, abused farm animals, pretended illness, broke tools, and stole crops. In more desperate efforts they poisoned slaveholders, burned storehouses, escaped, and staged violent revolts. In the nineteenth century up until the time of emancipation (freeing of the slaves) in 1863, about fifty thousand slaves a year ran away for varying lengths of time.

The Seminole maroons

In Spanish colonial **Florida** escaped slaves from **Georgia** and **Alabama** settled among the Seminole Indians, forming the largest and most successful maroon (fugitive slave community) settlement in the country. The Seminole maroons in Florida lived in their own villages, cultivated crops, and tended cattle. In the early nineteenth century the Florida borders were in constant turmoil with Spain trying to maintain its control and the United States edging in. In 1818, to appease slaveholders in Georgia and Alabama, President **James Monroe** (1758–1831; served 1817–25) sent Major General **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served as president 1829–37) to punish the Indians for harboring slaves. Jackson and his army launched the First **Seminole War** (1817–18), destroying Seminole and maroon settlements. His invasion convinced Spain to relinquish Florida to the United States in 1819.

The conflict with the Seminoles continued, however. The United States demanded that this group of Florida Indians relocate to **Indian Territory** in present-day **Oklahoma**, but the Seminoles refused to go. The status of the maroons was an important part of the conflict between the Americans and the Seminoles. A major point of contention in Seminole refusal to resettle in Oklahoma was the absence of a guarantee that the maroons would be permitted to leave with the tribe without being reenslaved. The Second Seminole War (1835–42) was as much a slave-catching expedition as a battle against the Indians. After three years of fierce fighting with the maroons in the forefront, American forces agreed that they would not be reenslaved and could accompany the Indians to Oklahoma.

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Slave rebellions happened frequently as slaves tried to resist their bonds and escape. Nat Turner, left, led an uprising of seventy slaves that killed over fifty whites. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Early rebellions

The Seminole Wars were perhaps the most successful armed rebellion by U.S. slaves. Armed struggle was difficult in the United States, where whites greatly outnumbered blacks. Nonetheless there were at least forty-three important slave revolts or conspiracies in North America from the seventeenth century to the American Civil War (1861–65). One of the earliest revolts took place in New York City in 1712 when over two dozen slaves set fire to a building and ambushed whites who came to put it out, killing nine and wounding seven others. The retaliation (payback) against the slaves was brutal. Twenty slaves were hanged, three were burned at the stake, one was broken on the wheel, and one was starved to death. Six slaves committed suicide before being taken into custody.

In September 1739 about twenty-one slaves in **South Carolina** under the leadership of a slave named Jemmy rose up, raided a store for arms and ammunition, and marched toward Florida, killing more than twenty whites and burning their homes. A military force routed the

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slaves, killed about fourteen of them, cut off their heads, and placed them on mile posts. About twenty-five whites and fifty slaves were killed in the uprising.

Influence of the Haitian Revolution

The most successful slave insurrection in history was the Haitian Revolution, which lasted from 1791 to 1804, where former slaves such as Toussaint-Louverture (c. 1743–1803) and black leaders such as Jean-Jacques Dessalines (c. 1758–1806) overthrew the French colonial government, eliminated slavery from the island, and formed the first black republic in the New World. The revolution was marked by almost unparalleled violence. Between the slave uprising of 1791 and the creation of the independent nation of Haiti in 1804, one-third of the population of five hundred thousand died. In the United States white slave owners feared that the revolution would inspire similar slave revolts in the South. Indeed many African Americans learning of the successful rebellion resolved to revolt against slavery in the United States.

The insurrection in Haiti inspired Gabriel Prosser (c. 1776–1800), an enslaved black man in **Virginia**. Together with his wife and his brothers Solomon and Martin, Prosser planned to attack Richmond, the state's capital, in August 1800. He made plans to seize the armory, capture the governor, and negotiate for the slaves' freedom. As many as two thousand slaves were probably recruited to participate in the revolt, but it would never come to pass. A few of the slave recruits revealed the plot to authorities. More than two dozen slaves, including Prosser, were executed for participating in the conspiracy.

One of the largest slave rebellions in the United States took place in **Louisiana** in January 1811. Some four to five hundred slaves under the leadership of a free mulatto (a person of mixed white and black ancestry) from Haiti, Charles Deslondes (died 1811), invaded a plantation about thirty-five miles north of New Orleans. They killed two white people, burned fields, and stole guns and ammunition as they marched from plantation to plantation with drums and flags. A military force stopped the revolt, killing sixty-six of the slaves immediately. Sixteen slaves were tried and convicted in New Orleans. They were beheaded and their heads were placed on poles along the Mississippi River from the city to the location of the uprising as a warning to other slaves.

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Denmark Vesey's revolt

Denmark Vesey (c. 1767–1822) was an enslaved carpenter in Charleston, South Carolina, when he won a lottery in 1799 and bought his freedom. Vesey was an avid Bible reader, was fluent in several languages, and he continually preached to his friends that blacks should be equal to whites. In the winter of 1821 to 1822 he began organizing for an armed revolt. He planned to take the arsenal (a building for storing arms and ammunition) and guardhouse in Charleston and then start several fires. As whites left their homes Vesey and his lieutenants would kill them before they could assemble.

Vesey recruited among slaves and free blacks of diverse occupations and backgrounds to participate in his plan. He urged the recruits to action, using the Bible, the Haitian Revolution, and the U.S. congressional debates about slavery to support his argument. Vesey and his aides even wrote letters to Haiti requesting assistance in the uprising they scheduled for mid-July 1822. The plan was destroyed when one recruit informed his master about Vesey's plans. Vesey, learning that white authorities knew of his plans, moved the date of the uprising forward, but it was too late. The authorities had already begun arresting the participants. During the summer of 1822 the authorities executed thirty-five black Carolinians, including Vesey, and deported forty-three more from the state.

In the year following the foiled conspiracy frightened South Carolina legislators passed a series of laws restricting the movement of African Americans, including a Negro Seamen Act ordering all free black sailors to be jailed while their ships were in port. Other southern states followed suit, and when federal courts eventually ruled such laws unconstitutional, it only fueled the debate over states' rights (the idea that the powers of the federal government are limited and should not be allowed to interfere with the powers of the states to govern themselves).

Nat Turner's rebellion

Nine years later another large uprising occurred in Virginia that confirmed southern fears. A slave named Nat Turner (1800–1831) believed that it was God's will for him to rise up and end slavery. On August 21, 1831, Turner and several other slaves killed the members of his slaveholder's household and then marched from farm to farm, slaughtering the owners, gathering recruits, and heading for Jerusalem, the county-

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seat. Over a span of about twenty miles and forty hours, Turner's band grew to about seventy slaves; they killed at least fifty-seven whites. Initially Turner's rebels repulsed the militia that pursued them, but the militia surprised them when they stopped to rest about three miles from Jerusalem. Turner escaped capture but nearly a hundred slaves were killed. As in other uprisings the heads of more than two dozen were severed and placed atop poles as a warning to other slaves. Turner was captured about two months later and executed.

In the aftermath of Turner's rebellion, the slave states strengthened their slave codes (laws passed to regulate slavery) even more. It was against the law for slaves and even free blacks in many states to learn how to read and write. Manumission (slaveholders freeing their slaves) became more difficult. Not more than five African Americans, slave or free, could meet together even for prayer services without a white person being present. Slaves could not leave plantations without passes and could not blow horns or beat drums. Unless proven otherwise, every black person was assumed to be a slave and was subject to the authority of slave patrols (locally organized bands of young white men who rode around at night and guarded against slave insurrection). The South became an armed camp where practically every white person, adult or child, feared violent rebellion, and because of this allowed even fewer human rights to the slaves.

Slave Ships and the Middle Passage

During the four centuries of the **Atlantic slave trade,** an estimated twelve to fifteen million Africans were shipped from the west coast of Africa to the New World on slavers, or slave ships, to be sold as slaves. For the kidnapped Africans, this passage was almost unbearably horrible.

The suffering began well before the journey to the New World. European traders either kidnapped or purchased African men, women, and children from rival tribes. The captives were bound together and marched to the coast—sometimes hundreds of miles away—heavily burdened with goods for trade. When they reached the coast, many of the captives were brought to forts called barracoons, where they were confined in hot, airless cellars. Others were simply brought to the shore, where European ships bearing guns, rum, and other goods had come to

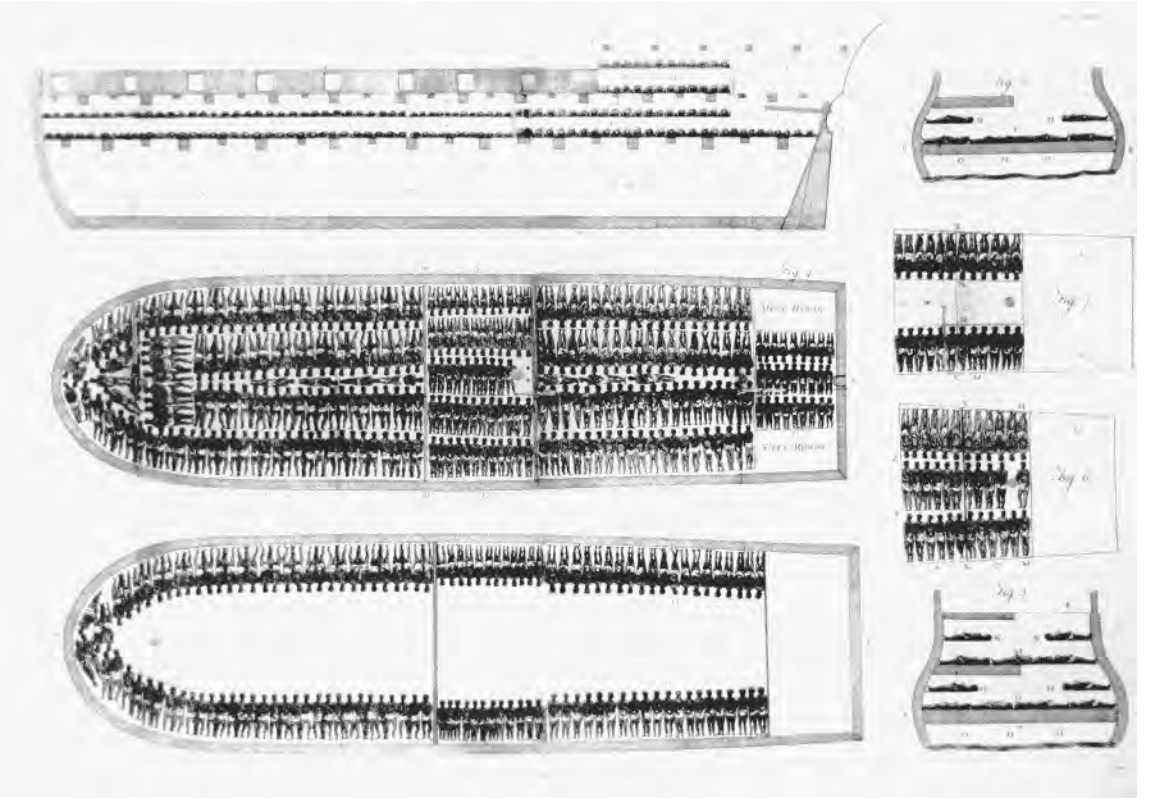
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exchange their wares for human beings. The European sailors then brought the captives to the slave vessels.

The slave ships remained anchored off the coast until they had a full cargo of captives. Many of the Africans being taken aboard came from inland societies. They had never before seen ships, the ocean, or white men. Most had been torn from their families and they faced an unknown and very frightening future. Sailors who witnessed it described the terrible sound of the Africans crying out in utter anguish as they were boarded onto the slave ships.

Middle Passage

The Atlantic slave trade was a triangular, or three-legged, trade. A captain in Europe would load up his ship with trade goods and sail to Africa.



Tight packing was the practice of cramming slaves into all available space of the slave ships. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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There he would exchange the goods for slaves. He would then take the Middle Passage, the base of his triangular run, transporting the captives from Africa to the West Indies or South America to sell them. In the West Indies the captain took on a cargo of rum or other goods, which he would transport back to Europe to start the cycle over again. Later the American colonies developed a triangular trade based in New England rather than Europe. The triangular trade ensured great profits because a captain was never forced to sail with an empty hold. Historians estimate that somewhere between thirty thousand and fifty-five thousand Middle Passage voyages were made between 1503 and 1888, the year slavery was finally outlawed throughout the Western Hemisphere.

The ships

Slave ships were regular cargo ships (ships used for carrying goods) that had been converted to carry slaves. Slave ship owners wanted to carry as many Africans as possible so their profit would be greater. They divided the hull (the main frame of the ship) into "between decks," or "tween decks." These were dark, airless, and cramped decks immediately below the main deck of a sailing ship. There the human "cargo" would be confined throughout most of the journey across the Atlantic Ocean.

In the early days of the trade slave traders attempted to make some provisions for the welfare of their human cargo, such as "loose packing" (not overcrowding the slaves), arguing that the fewer the slaves who died the greater the profits. Later most slavers became convinced that it was more profitable to pack slaves into every available square foot of space, a practice called "tight packing." With good winds the voyage could be made with little loss of life in two months, but if the winds were poor the trip could last several months, and most of the human cargo would be lost.

The male captives were packed into the dark decks of the ship in spaces only as wide as their bodies and usually between three and four feet high—a space so small they either had to crouch or lie down. The males were usually shackled together, with the right foot or wrist of one captive shackled to the left foot or wrist of another. Women and children were usually not shackled. They were kept in separate quarters, where many were sexually assaulted by the slave ship crew.

Keeping the captives in cramped quarters without relief would often make them lame by the trip's end, which would clearly make them bring

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in less money in a slave auction, or sale. Thus the slave traders found it necessary to bring small groups of captives on deck for short periods during the day and force them to "dance" to restore their blood circulation. On deck the men were heavily shackled. Nets had to be rigged along the ship's sides to prevent the slaves from leaping overboard and drowning themselves.

Life at sea

Food for the captives varied from trader to trader. Horse beans—huge, foul-tasting beans usually used to feed horses—were one of the common elements of a slave ship meal. The beans were mixed with palm oil and flour and covered with red pepper to hide the bad taste. Many slaves refused to eat and had to be force-fed by a device that resembled a funnel, which was forced down the slave's throat. Because stores of water took up so much space on a ship, water rations were usually very small; dehydration, or the body's condition when suffering from a lack of water, was common among the captives.

Sanitation needs of the captives were usually ignored. Seasickness and dysentery (severe diarrhea) created appalling conditions in the between decks. Infectious diseases spread quickly. Many of the captives died of dysentery, smallpox, and what the slavers called "fixed melancholy," or simply despair. The heat was often unbearable. The sailors whose job it was to oversee the captives were generally a rough lot. Equipped with whips and lashes, their treatment of the captives was often inhumane.

Perhaps the most difficult time for the captives was in stormy weather, when they were forced to remain below deck all day and night and were not given their normal rations of food or water. The cramped quarters smelled of vomit, human waste, and often the rotting flesh of those individuals who died.

Rebellion

The captains and crews of the slave ships lived in constant fear of slave uprisings. All slave ships hired extra crew and armed them. Any sign of resistance by the captives was severely punished. In fact **slave rebellions** on these ships were fairly common; a few were successful. Most often the captives rose up in rebellion as they were being boarded into the slave

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ship off the coast of Africa. Realizing this was probably their last chance to see their home again, they risked death rather than face the frightening journey and their futures as slaves in the New World.

Slavery

The practice of enslaving Africans dates to the fifteenth century. The Portuguese began the practice during exploration of the West African coast. Acquiring slaves from other Africans, the Portuguese took them back to Europe to be employed as servants or laborers.

Labor in the New World

Exploration opened up the New World to European countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Soon colonies were being established. Economic interest in trade created a demand for cheap labor.

New World colonists tried various solutions to the labor shortage. Efforts to enslave Native Americans failed. Native Americans lacked immunity to European diseases. Their ability to organize and rebel against slavery made such efforts impractical.

When England's lower class experienced food and work shortages, many immigrated to the new colonies as indentured servants. They agreed to work for seven years to pay the price of their passage. This system worked for a time, though it had many problems, including that of runaway servants. When the English economy improved at the end of the seventeenth century, fewer people were willing to agree to the arrangement.

African slavery in America

The first African laborers arrived in the American colonies as early as 1619. About twenty Africans were brought to the English colony of **Jamestown**, **Virginia**. Historians are uncertain of the social status of these men. It is possible they were **indentured servants** rather than slaves. Their arrival, however, marked the beginning of African servitude in America.

Unlike runaway indentured Europeans who passed themselves off as free, Africans were easily identifiable in the New World. Cutoff from their communities back home, Africans were unable to organize to

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An advertisement for blacks to be sold as slaves promising that they are free of the smallpox disease. To fill demand for workers in the colonies, more than five million blacks were forced into slavery in the New World. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

defend themselves. Bolstered by the racist notion that the white race was superior to Africans, legislation and court decisions between 1620 and 1670 made African slavery legal in all of the colonies.

By 1700 African slaves were approximately 10 percent of the population throughout British North America. The expansion of colonial agriculture during the eighteenth century intensified the demand for labor. **Tobacco**, coffee, sugar, and rice were the colonies' chief exports, and all required a strong and dependable workforce. To fill this demand more than five million slaves were forced into slavery in the New World through the eighteenth century.

Antislavery movements began to appear in the late seventeenth century. **Pennsylvania Quakers** issued a formal denunciation of slavery in 1687. Known as the "Germantown Statement," it established a model

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for others who would publicly denounce slavery using pamphlets during the eighteenth century. **Abolitionist** (antislavery) societies began to form toward the end of that century. The horrors of slavery were publicized through sermons, newspaper articles, pamphlets, and other antislavery literature.

Slave culture

During the antebellum era in the South, slaves developed a highly distinctive culture of their own. By the nineteenth century most American slaves had been born in the United States and had few direct ties to the African countries from which their ancestors were kidnapped. Slave culture was thus shaped within the American plantation system, but African influences were apparent in virtually every aspect of antebellum slave culture, including religion, music, folktales, and social institutions.

Even working fifteen hours a day, slaves still managed to find opportunities for socializing amongst themselves. Field hands in gangs, for example, talked, sang, and courted among themselves. From sundown to sunup, they were left to themselves. Weekend parties and Sunday celebrations, as well as Christmas festivities, provided a sense of community ties. So did some group work activities, such as corn shuckings, in which slaves were able to combine work with play, singing as they shucked the corn and concluding the day with music and dance. African American culture grew especially in those areas of life where masters rarely intruded.

Many slaves practiced the Christian religion, but they also retained remnants of the African religions of their ancestors. Though it was illegal for black preachers to conduct religious services for black people without a white minister present, slaves held their own religious meetings in secret. They prayed together in a blend of African tradition and Christian concepts. Their prayers often broke into song and dance, intermixed with preaching, shouting, and storytelling in a rhythmic call-and-response pattern. The person expressing a spiritual experience would call out words and melody, and the rest of the group would answer in a repeated refrain. While many of the words of these songs, called spirituals, came from the Bible, the call-and-response pattern had its roots in Africa. Many slaves found comfort in the Christian idea that their rewards for a hard life would come in the afterlife. Still southern whites correctly feared African American slave religion because it encouraged

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slaves to think about their human condition and measure the injustices they faced. Some of the biggest **slave rebellions** were planned by black preachers.

Revolution and slavery

The **American Revolution** (1775–83) had the potential to end American slavery completely. The fight for natural rights and independence contradicted the colonists' enslavement of African people. This philosophic environment affected the nature of the debate between proslavery colonists and the growing numbers of abolitionists.

While slavery existed in the northern states, the economy there did not depend on it for strength and stability. A constant stream of immigrants fed the need for labor in the North. This economic reality, combined with the growing acceptance that slavery was immoral, led the northern states to change policies. Between 1777 and 1786 all of the northern states provided for either immediate or gradual emancipation of slaves.

Emancipation in the North was a threat to those in the South. Their agricultural economy benefited from the cheap, controlled labor of slavery. To defend the practice, southern thinkers crafted arguments based on race, economic necessity, history, and religion. Proslavery arguments asserted that the institution was a "positive good" that benefited both the slave and the master.

Slavery was an important topic when North and South gathered in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1787 to write the **Constitution** of the United States. Southern states would not approve a constitution that did not protect the institution of slavery. In the end the U.S. Constitution made it illegal for Congress to outlaw the importation of slaves before 1808. It required free states to return escaped slaves to their owners. Finally it counted each slave as three-fifths of a person for calculating a state's population, which determines the number of congresspeople a state gets in the House of Representatives.

King cotton

In 1793 **Eli Whitney** (1765–1825) invented the **cotton gin**. While cotton was a financially attractive crop to grow, it had been labor intensive and difficult to harvest. The cotton gin solved those problems, making

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cotton farming more profitable. Sprawling plantations of cotton arose, and production continued to rise until it represented 57 percent of all U.S. exports in 1860.

As cotton farming increased throughout the South, so did the need for cheap labor. Even though the importation of slaves was illegal in the United States after 1808, estimates say that at least three hundred thousand African slaves were smuggled into the country. A strong slave trade developed between the states, and many from the northern areas of the nation were sold to southern plantations.

A national debate

As the number of slaves increased in the South, fear of revolts provoked southern legislation restricting the rights of blacks, both free and enslaved. Southern states looked to the federal government to support their policies and to protect their slave "property" throughout all of the states. Southern states also sought to expand slavery into new territories as the country grew westward in the nineteenth century.

Economic and philosophic differences between the North and the South caused passionate debates on these issues. Congress passed compromise legislation and the U.S. **Supreme Court** decided cases to try to balance the rights of the northern and southern states.

The human rights of slaves got no protection in this national political dance. In one of its most famous decisions, the Supreme Court decided that a slave was property instead of a citizen. Southern slavers celebrated the result. Abolitionists condemned it. Drawing language from the **Declaration of Independence**, the abolitionists argued that slavery could not exist in a truly free society founded on the natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Emancipation

The differences between northern and southern states erupted in 1860 with the election of **Abraham Lincoln** (1809 –1865; served 1861–65) as president. Fears arose in the South that Lincoln's administration would abolish slavery throughout the nation. In early 1861 before Lincoln took office, several southern states announced they were leaving the **Union**. They formed the **Confederate States of America**, which fought a **civil war** against the United States from 1861 to 1865.

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Halfway through the American Civil War, Abraham Lincoln issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**. Although it was an important step in the path to freedom for African Americans, it was also a military tactic. Lincoln used it to declare freedom for slaves in the rebelling states but not for slaves in border states that remained with the Union, such as **Delaware** and **Maryland**.

In January 1865 Congress proposed a constitutional amendment to outlaw slavery forever in the whole country. Northern victory in the American Civil War cleared the political path for adoption of the amendment. By December the amendment had been approved by twenty-seven of the thirty-six states, officially making it the **Thirteenth Amendment** to the Constitution. All of the states that existed at the time eventually ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, Mississippi most recently, in 1995.

Slavery in the Antebellum South

In the early part of the nineteenth century, many Americans believed that the institution of **slavery** would soon die out of its own accord. And yet it was just about to undergo a profound change that would make it the leading factor of the economy of the **antebellum** ("before the war") South, the period falling roughly between 1810 and the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

The cotton gin

At the end of the eighteenth century the farming economy of the South was in trouble. Many wished to convert their farms to grow **cotton** because England, having recently developed new machines to process cotton into cloth, would buy as much cotton as southerners could grow. But separating the fragile cotton fibers from the seed—a process known as ginning—was too time consuming and costly to make a profit on the crop. Then in 1793 inventor **Eli Whitney** (1765–1825) invented a cotton gin that could process fifty times the amount of cotton that a laborer could process in a day. With the invention of the gin, cotton suddenly became a highly profitable cash crop and there was a tremendous increase in cotton cultivation in the Deep South (the southeastern region of the United States comprised of **South Carolina**, **Georgia**, **Alabama**, **Mississippi**, and **Louisiana**). U.S. cotton exports skyrocketed from about 3,000 bales in 1790 to 178,000 bales in 1810.

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For southern slaves Whitney's invention was a disaster. Growing cotton required large gangs of workers moving through the fields at different times in the growing cycle, planting, hoeing, and harvesting. The new cotton economy of the South depended on a huge slave labor force.

The value of a slave

The rise in need for slaves came exactly at the time that Congress banned the **Atlantic slave trade**, which forbade the importation of slaves from foreign lands. Slaves suddenly became much more costly. In 1810 the price of a "prime field hand" was nine hundred dollars; by 1860 that price had doubled to eighteen hundred dollars. Despite the ban on foreign slave trade, slavery grew. By 1860 the South's investment in its slaves actually exceeded in value all its other investments, including land.

Plantations of the "Old South"

The years from 1831 to 1861, the high point of cotton plantation culture, came to be known as the classic era of the "Old South," often depicted in popular literature with images of large plantations with pillared mansions run by aristocratic gentlemen with hundreds of slaves. In fact the vast majority of southerners at the time were struggling farmers who did not own any slaves. Of the people who did own slaves, more than half held five or fewer, and 88 percent owned twenty or fewer. Though few in number, the large plantations and their farming operations worked more than twenty slaves—and often many more—and were a major fact of life in the antebellum South. These large plantations were the "big business" of the antebellum South.

Plantations were self-sustained communities, with slave quarters, storehouses, smokehouses, barns, tools, livestock, gardens, orchards, and fields. Slave laborers usually worked in gangs. Skilled slaves worked as handymen, carpenters, blacksmiths, millers, gardeners, and domestics. Care was taken to keep as large a number of slaves as possible busy throughout the year. Owners were often absent, and overseers were paid by how much cotton they produced, not by the condition of the slaves they supervised. The larger the plantation the more highly organized it was apt to be.

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Demand for cotton meant increasingly long, backbreaking days in the cotton fields for slaves on plantations. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Regulating slavery

Southerners lived in great fear of slave uprisings and did everything in their power to prevent their slaves from finding opportunity to discuss plans for escape or revolt. The southern states passed "slave codes," which made it illegal for slaves to read and write, to attend church services without the presence of a white person, or to testify in court against a white person. Slaves were forbidden to leave their plantation without a written pass from their masters. Between 1810 and 1860 all southern states passed laws severely restricting the right of slave owners to free their slaves, even in a will. Free blacks were considered dangerous, for they might inspire slaves to rebel. As a consequence most southern states required that any slaves who were freed by their masters leave the state within thirty days.

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To enforce the slave codes authorities established "slave patrols." These were usually locally organized bands of young white men who rode about at night checking that slaves were securely in their quarters. They were known to abuse slaves who had permission to travel and free blacks as well, but no one stopped them because they made the white families feel more secure.

Expanding southwest

As depleted soil lowered farm productivity in states such as **Virginia** and South Carolina, cotton planters moved into Georgia, Alabama, **Tennessee**, Mississippi, Louisiana, **Florida**, **Missouri**, **Texas**, and **Arkansas** between 1790 and 1860, bringing their slaves with them. From the 1830s through the 1850s the steady shuffle of slave coffles (groups of slaves chained together) southward and westward was a common sight. These moves uprooted roughly six hundred thousand slaves. The mass migration disrupted slave families and taxed slaves with the intense work of cutting dense cane, draining swamps, building levees, and planting in the new territory.

The internal slave trade

Because it was illegal to import slaves from other countries, an internal slave trade developed among the slave states of the South. It was an ugly business and slave traders were considered the least reputable of white men. Nevertheless the southern plantation economy could prosper only because of the transfer of surplus slaves from the upper South to the plantations of the cotton-growing Deep South and Old Southwest. Two million slaves were transferred from one region to the other between 1790 and 1860.

Slave life on plantations

Life for slaves on plantations was, at best, very difficult. While many plantations were run by impersonal overseers who did not hesitate to apply the lash, some wealthy southern plantation owners viewed themselves as father figures for their slaves and took pride in treating them with kindness. People who owned smaller farms and worked alongside

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the slaves tended to be less brutal. Even in these circumstances, though, slaves were treated as inferior beings and denied the ability to choose their own path in life.

Most plantation managers kept a strict eye on profits. This meant that slaves received a bare minimum of the necessities of life. Food was rationed. Shoes were only provided for winter months. Slaves lived in tiny cabins with no doors or windows and very little furniture. To save space and costs, slave owners often crammed as many slaves into a cabin as possible. Sleep was kept to a minimum; work was kept at a maximum.

Slaves struggled to keep stable family relations in very difficult situations. Members of a slave family could be sold to a faraway owner and never seen again. Slave owners often raped slave women and in such cases, a woman's offspring might not be the offspring of her husband. Still most slaves placed a high value on marriage. Family and community ties were very strong under the extraordinary circumstances.

Resistance and escape

In most southern states, whites outnumbered slaves. The strict slave codes and slave patrols made it difficult to escape, and the lack of mountains and forests made it difficult to hide. Nonetheless up until the time of emancipation (freeing of the slaves) in 1863, about fifty thousand slaves a year ran away for varying lengths of time. Most of these attempts ended in tragedy. Slaves found other ways to quietly resist their bonds. They secretly slowed their pace of work, abused farm animals, pretended illness, broke tools, and stole crops, all efforts to damage the owner's business. Some slaves poisoned slaveholders, burned storehouses, escaped, and staged violent revolts.

Southern slaves were largely illiterate and many did not know that a conflict had erupted between the North and the South. When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, they observed it cautiously at first. Once they understood that the war could hasten their freedom, most slaves took every opportunity to aid the **Union** army (the army from the North) against the South. During the war approximately five hundred thousand slaves escaped or found haven within the Union lines.

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John Smith

John Smith, an English explorer, helped establish **Jamestown**, the first permanent English settlement in America, in what is now **Virginia**. He explored Chesapeake Bay and the coast of the region. His books and maps contributed greatly to English knowledge of the New World.

Early life

John Smith was born in Lincolnshire, England, in 1580.His parents were George and Alice Rickards Smith. His father was a farmer who, while not wealthy, lived comfortably, owning one small farm and leasing another.

Unlike a majority of English children, John Smith attended grammar school, where he learned to read and write. He attracted the attention of Lord Willoughby (1555–1601), the English baron from whom his parents rented land, and the lord's support helped Smith leave the farms of Lincolnshire. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to a merchant in the seaport of King's Lynn. The death of his father and remarriage of his mother left him with a small inheritance. The first thing he did was to end his apprenticeship, thus freeing himself to follow a military career.

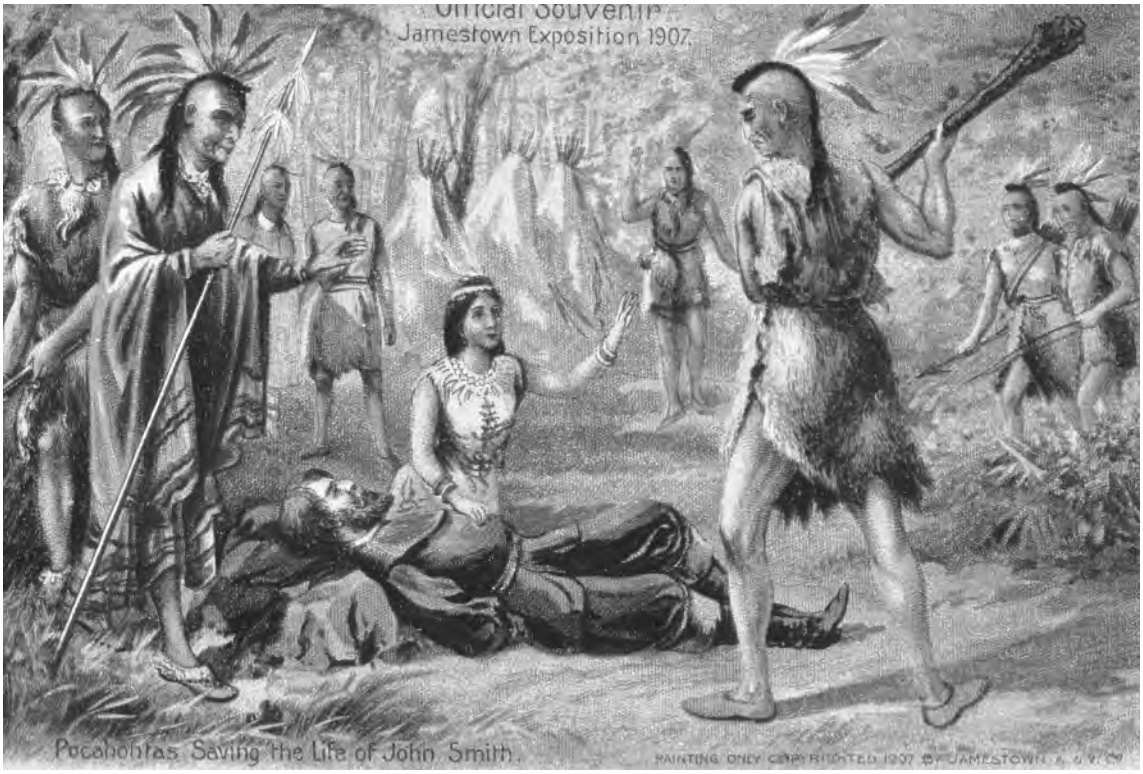


English explorer John Smith helped establish Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Military service

Striking out on his own at the age of sixteen, Smith left his home in the English county of Lincolnshire to become a soldier. He first joined the French, who were at war with Spain. Later he fought with the Dutch, who were revolting against their Spanish rulers. In 1600 he joined the army of Austria against the Ottoman Turks in eastern Europe. According to Smith, while fighting with the Austrian army he was responsible for two great victories and single-handedly fought three Turkish warriors in a row. Impressed by Smith's bravery, Prince Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613) of Transylvania (a region now part of Romania) granted him a coat of arms and an annual pension.

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Native American Pocahontas, daughter of Chief Powhatan, trying to prevent her father from having the captured John Smith executed. KEAN COLLECTION/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

During subsequent fighting in Transylvania Smith was taken prisoner by the Turks and was sent to Constantinople (the city that is now called Istanbul). While in captivity he was given as a present to the wife of a Turkish military official. According to Smith, she fell in love with him and sent him to her brother in the port of Varna on the Black Sea for safekeeping. There he was enslaved, and he killed his master to escape. Returning to Transylvania, he received protection from Prince Sigismund.

Voyage to the New World

Following a trip to Morocco Smith met an English naval ship and returned to his native country in 1605. His next plan was to join a group of colonizers who were going to Guiana, a region on the northeastern coast of South America. This scheme did not succeed, however, and

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instead Smith joined the Virginia Company of London, a group of 105 men who were going to establish the first permanent English settlement in America. The expedition set sail in three small ships on December 20, 1606.

In April 1607, after a voyage of four months, they arrived along the coast of what would be the colony of Virginia. Smith was a troublemaker on the journey, and Captain Christopher Newport (c. 1561–1617), who led the three ships, had planned to execute him upon arrival in Virginia. After landing at what is now Cape Henry on April 26, 1607, the travelers opened sealed orders from the Virginia Company regarding their duties. The orders revealed that Smith had been named one of the seven members of the governing council of the settlement, which was to be named Jamestown. This news forced Newport to spare Smith.

Leader of the Jamestown settlement

As the colonists established themselves at Jamestown, Smith quickly proved himself as a leader. He took charge of exploring and mapping the surrounding territory and establishing trade relations with neighboring Native Americans to acquire necessities for the colonists. Smith guided the settlement through its difficult first years, during which 80 percent of the colonists died.

Smith's first trip into the wilderness took him up the James River as far as the site of present-day Richmond. On an expedition to the Chickahominy River in December 1607 he was captured by members of what the English called the Powhatan tribe. They took him to the main camp of Chief Powhatan (c. 1547–c. 1618), whose real name was Wahunsenacawh. Smith was condemned to die, but he was saved at the last minute by Powhatan's eleven-year-old daughter, **Pocahontas** (c. 1595–1617). This famous story may or may not be true, but Pocahontas (whose real name was Matoaka) did exist. She later married another English settler, John Rolfe (1585–1622), and moved with him to England, where she eventually died from smallpox.

Search for the Pacific Ocean

During the summer of 1608 Smith made two major expeditions. He had received instructions from London to search for a passage westward from Chesapeake Bay to the Pacific Ocean. Smith sent his account of these

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explorations in a work called the *True Relation of … Virginia*, written in July 1608, as well as in *A Map of Virginia*, drawn in 1612. These documents gave the English their first knowledge of the area that was to become Virginia and Maryland.

On their first attempt to find a passage to the Pacific Ocean, Smith and his companions traveled up the coast of Chesapeake Bay as far as the Patapsco River, where Baltimore now stands. On their return they went up the Potomac River as far as the site of present-day **Washington, D.C.**, taking a detour up the Rappahannock River. At this point Smith was seriously injured. While spearing fish for food he was stung by a stingray, a marine fish related to the shark. His body was so swollen and his fever so high that his companions thought he was going to die. Smith recovered, however, and the spot where he was injured has been called Stingray Point ever since.

The goal of Smith's second expedition was to travel all the way up Chesapeake Bay. His party reached the Patapsco within two days, and from there they explored the mouth of the Susquehanna and other rivers that flow into the north end of the bay. Finding a waterfall on the Susquehanna, Smith named it after himself. Smith also explored the Patuxent, Rappahannock, and Nansemond rivers.

During their exploration for a passage westward, the men encountered two previously unknown groups of Native Americans, the Massawomekes and the Tockwoghs. Smith also met a party of Susquehannock traders, who came from an Iroquois tribe unrelated to the Algonquins he had previously known. The Susquehannocks had European goods that Smith rightly guessed had been obtained by trading with the French.

President of Jamestown colony

By September 1608 Smith was the only councilor still in Virginia, so he became president by default. While Smith was able to keep an underprovisioned colony together, he did so at the expense of his own popularity. He coerced, rather than persuaded, the other colonists, causing much resentment and bitterness. Nevertheless, he saved the colony by bartering with the Native Americans for corn.

In 1609 new orders arrived from England along with several of his old enemies. Smith might have been able to weather these changes in Virginia, but he had been severely wounded when a stray spark from a fire

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lit his gunpowder bag as he lay napping. The explosion and fire burned him so badly there was a question of his survival. Just before October the little fleet that had brought news of a new government to Virginia sailed back to England with a gravely injured and dispirited Smith.

Exploration of New England

In March 1614 Smith was sent by a group of London merchants to explore the region north of Virginia and to report back on its prospects for settlement. He returned to England with a valuable cargo of furs and fish, and he used his new knowledge to write *A Description of New England* in 1616. This book was the first English work to show the contours of New England. In fact, it was in this work that Smith gave the region its name. He also used several other names, including Plymouth, that were kept by the later **Puritan** settlers.

Impressed by Smith's accomplishments, a wealthy English merchant, Sir Ferdinando Gorges (1566–1647), sent him on two additional voyages of exploration. Neither was successful. On the first trip Smith was forced to turn back when his ship lost its mast in a storm. He set out again and was captured first by pirates and then by a French naval ship. After helping the French fight the Spanish, Smith was released at the French port of La Rochelle. He tried to sail to America once more in 1617, but his ship was forced to turn back because of bad weather.

Writing in his later years

Smith hoped to establish a colony in New England, and he wanted to go to Plymouth with the ***Mayflower*** settlers, but none of this worked out. Realizing by 1622 that he would never return to the New World, Smith turned his efforts toward writing.

In 1624, just about the time that the Virginia Company went bankrupt and King James I (1566–1625) of England took over Virginia as a royal colony, Smith published his greatest work, *The Generall Historie*, to record English colonization up to that point. His autobiographical work chronicling the settlement of Jamestown was titled *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith*. Published in 1629, it is a book whose accuracy has been debated since its first appearance.

Smith wrote many more books before he died on June 21, 1631, in London, England, at fifty-one years of age.

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SNCC

See **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**

Social Security Act (1935)

The United States suffered a major economic crisis between 1929 and 1941 called the **Great Depression**. Most families struggled to survive the difficult challenges of the time. Many lost their savings, their jobs, and their homes.

In 1932 the nation elected **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) to be president. Supporters hoped he would guide the nation through changes for improving the economy. At Roosevelt's request Congress enacted many pieces of important legislation between 1933 and 1939, collectively referred to as Roosevelt's **New Deal**. One of these laws was the Social Security Act of 1935.

Initiation

By the 1930s much of western Europe had laws providing unemployment compensation for people who lost their jobs and financial assistance for the elderly. The United States lagged behind in such efforts, but there were a few citizens attempting to motivate Congress. President Roosevelt responded to citizens' initiatives by creating a special committee in 1934 to investigate the concept of social security.

The committee's recommendations became the foundation for the Social Security Act. The act provided unemployment insurance, aid to the poor, and pensions for the elderly. Rejecting warnings that the act would destroy individual responsibility and self-help, Congress passed it, and Roosevelt signed it into law on August 14, 1935.

The act's provisions

An important part of the Social Security Act was the pension plan that provided income to citizens over sixty-five. The size of the pension depended on funds raised through taxes that both employers and employees paid over the duration of employment. Originally the pension did not apply to those who could not contribute to the fund (nonworkers, for example), nor to family members of a deceased pensioner, nor to

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farmers and domestic laborers. In 1939 Congress amended the act to allow payments to be passed on to family members who survived a deceased pensioner.

The act also created funds for other assistance programs. Unemployment insurance provided income for people who lost their jobs. It was funded by taxes paid by employers and employees. Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) was designed to help single parents who could not adequately support their children. Amendments would broaden the aid of this program to poor, two-parent families and to their children as well. Finally the act created programs for assisting the blind, providing aid to those with other physical handicaps, and providing funds for rural health programs and vocational, or job, rehabilitation.

Legacy

The Social Security Act is now the largest, costliest, and some say most successful domestic program in the history of the United States. As the **baby boom generation** born after **World War II** (1939–45) reaches retirement, however, many are concerned that Social Security programs will not have enough money to meet growing demand. So far the government has managed to change the act to preserve its programs.

In 1950, there were sixteen workers paying into Social Security for every person drawing benefits. In 2007, there were just 3.3 workers for every person drawing benefits. By the time baby boomers retire in large numbers, that figure will drop to 2.1 workers. The system will have more recipients coming in than it can afford to pay out. The Government Accountability Office of Congress estimated that by the mid 2020s, the federal government will need to come up with more than $200 billion a year just to pay Social Security benefits. That number will eventually climb to $300 billion.

Socialism

Socialism is a set of beliefs that has roots in political, social, and economic philosophies. The term first appeared in 1832 in Paris but took on many meanings as the doctrine grew and expanded. Over time, many

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versions of socialism have appeared. They share, however, some essential characteristics.

One essential characteristic that all versions of socialism share is a criticism of wealth, particularly an abundance of wealth among only a few people. Socialists want to eliminate the extremes of wealth and poverty by creating collective ownership and responsibility for society. In some cases, this means that there would be no private ownership of property; everything would be shared. They also seek to equalize social power. Large corporations and business interests would be less influential in decisions, and human interests would be more influential.

Opposition to Socialism

Socialism has strong opponents in the United States and around the world. Many believe that it is unfair for government to try to distribute wealth among the people. Those who favor capitalism believe that a person who runs a business and makes a better product or provides a better service deserves more wealth than those who merely work in such businesses. They also believe that socialism encourages, or even rewards, laziness by distributing wealth to people who do not work.

Socialism took root with the onset of the **Industrial Revolution**. At that time the great inequalities in social and economic conditions created by capitalism enraged many people. Business owners were making more money than they could ever spend, while their workers were barely able to afford homes or food. Socialists called for changes to economic, political, and social systems that would lessen the inequalities or even erase them altogether.

Socialism is often associated with political movements in Russia. While aspects of socialism were embraced there, it is not the only place where socialists made significant accomplishments. The Spanish Civil War (1936–39) was inspired in part by socialism. In the United States, however, socialism is commonly viewed as an extremely radical philosophy. While it has influenced social movements like labor rights, it has never become a major political force.

Because socialism requires community participation in a system, it is not only a belief system but also a movement. Socialists work to create changes in society that support their goals and ideas. Socialism, however, has many forms, because there are many thoughts on how best to accomplish those changes. As a result, socialists rarely agree enough among themselves to build the social movements that are needed to create the changes they desire in an entire society.

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Hernando de Soto

Hernando de Soto was a Spanish explorer whose life was shaped by his relentless quest for gold in the New World. Hoping to find treasure, he and his army traveled throughout what is now the southeastern United States, becoming the first Europeans to explore that part of the country.

Goes to the Americas

De Soto was a descendant of a noble family but grew up poor. By the time he was nineteen years old, he had become a soldier and was sent to Spanish-controlled Darien (part of present-day Panama).

In 1532 de Soto was sent to South America to help Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541) lead the conquest of the area ruled by the powerful Inca empire in present-day Peru. Together the two men led their expedition through the Andes Mountains to meet Inca ruler Atahualpa (c. 1497–1533). Although the Inca had an army of 40,000, the Spanish tricked them, capturing and eventually killing Atahualpa, after taking his abundant treasures of gold. They went on to destroy the Inca empire forever.

Longs for adventure

De Soto's share of the Incan treasures made him a rich and famous man. He returned to Spain temporarily, but longed to be back in the New World. The Spanish king made him governor of Cuba and captain-general of Florida, which had been initially explored by **Juan Ponce de León** in 1513. De Soto's mission was to explore the entire region of the present-day southeastern United States, start settlements, and conquer and convert the native peoples to Christianity. For de Soto, though, the most important thing was to find gold.

De Soto left Spain in 1538 with an army of six hundred men and two hundred horses. They landed on the site of present-day Tampa Bay, **Florida**, in May 1539. Finding no gold, de Soto and his men headed northward along the western coast through the swamplands, and fighting mosquitoes, insects, alligators, and snakes. They set up winter camp in the area of present-day Tallahassee, Florida, and in the spring of 1540, headed northeast. Their search for gold proved worthless, though in

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present-day **Georgia**, they did gather about 350 pounds of freshwater pearls.

Enslaves Native Americans

At first, many of the **Native North Americans of the Southeast** welcomed and befriended the Spanish visitors. De Soto, on the other hand, conquered, destroyed, and enslaved many of the Native Americans who trusted him. A favorite trick of his was to invite a chief to visit him and then hold him for ransom, demanding payment from the tribe in exchange for their leader's life. After the ransom was paid, the chief was often killed and his people enslaved.

Word spread from one tribe to another that the Spanish were not to be trusted. The Native Americans became hostile and tried to fight the Spanish soldiers, but their weapons and methods usually proved ineffective against the more advanced arms of the Spanish army. To rid themselves of the invaders, the Native Americans began make up stories of vast quantities of gold in distant lands.

Following the leads of Indians who always directed them to faraway places, De Soto's expedition traveled through the present-day states of Georgia, South Carolina, and **North Carolina**, then crossed the Appalachian Mountains into **Tennessee** before heading south into **Alabama**. In the fall of 1540, near Mobile Bay in present-day Alabama, de Soto and his men engaged in a fierce battle with a group of Choctaw Indians led by Chief Tuscaloosa (birth and death dates unknown). The Spanish killed three thousand Native American warriors, and only twenty-two Spanish soldiers lost their lives.

Follows visions of gold

In the spring of 1541, the expedition headed northwest, running low on supplies and horses. In May they came upon the wide Mississippi River just south of present-day Memphis, Tennessee. They camped along its banks for a month, building barges in order to cross it. Still searching for gold, de Soto pushed his men westward through present-day Arkansas. The only treasures they found were buffalo hides. Many soldiers were killed in fighting with Native Americans or died of hunger and illness as they worked their way south along the Mississippi River.

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In the spring of 1542 de Soto himself fell ill, probably of malaria (a fever spread by mosquitoes), and died at the age of forty-two. So that the Native Americans would not find de Soto's body, his soldiers weighted it with sand and cast it into the Mississippi River.

The surviving soldiers (about half of de Soto's original army) eventually made their way to Mexico and to Spain. The information they took back about the present-day southeastern United States later proved valuable to Europeans who colonized the area. De Soto's expedition had demonstrated to the Spanish that North America did not have great treasures and that the natives were difficult to conquer. Spanish authorities lost interest in Florida for several decades.

The Native Americans had suffered thousands of deaths in battle and had lost tens of thousands more as a result of the diseases that the Spaniards had brought with them. De Soto's invasion thus left the southeastern Indians unable to withstand the invasions of European settlers that grew steadily during the seventeenth century.

South Carolina

South Carolina entered the **Union** as the eighth state on May 23, 1788. Located in the southeastern United States, it is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, **Georgia**, and North Carolina.

Several Native American groups inhabited the region, including the Iroquois, Sioux, and Muskogee. Spanish sea captains explored the coast in the early 1500s, but it was the English who established the region's first permanent European settlement, in 1670. Settlers cultivated rice in the swampy coastal areas, and the colony flourished.

South Carolina's wealthy plantation owners profited by using **slave** labor. More than half the state's population between the **American Revolution** (1775–83) and the **Civil War** (1861–65) were slaves. Once the South lost the Civil War, the slaves were freed and granted the rights to vote and hold political office during **Reconstruction** (the time of rebuilding in the South).

South Carolina was a state in turmoil from the 1880s to the 1890s. Residents suffered from economic recession, political corruption, social unrest, and crop failures. Rice and **cotton** farming were replaced by **tobacco** and soybean cultivation, and it was difficult for large farms to thrive without the use of slave labor. As freed slaves migrated to urban

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areas around 1900 and found work in textile mills, textiles became the state's leading industry.

The state's total population in 2006 was just over 4.3 million; 67.4 percent were white, 28.5 percent were African American, and 3.3 percent were Hispanic or Latino. That same year, 19.3 percent of the labor force worked in trade, transportation, or public utilities; 17.5 percent were employed by the government; and another 13.7 percent held manufacturing jobs. Greenville was the most heavily populated city, with 417,166 residents.

About 75 percent of the millions of tourists who travel throughout South Carolina are out-of-state residents. Popular attractions include Myrtle Beach and Hilton Head Island resorts. Golf generates more income than any other single entertainment or recreational activity, but tourists also appreciate the forty-six state parks.

South Dakota

South Dakota entered the **Union** on November 2, 1889, as the fortieth state. Located in the western north-central United States, it is bordered by **Nebraska**, **Wyoming**, **Montana**, **North Dakota**, **Minnesota**, and **Iowa**.

Although the area was once home to several Native American tribes, by the mid-1830s the Sioux (Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota) were dominant. The United States acquired present-day South Dakota through the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803, and the **Lewis and Clark expedition** passed through in 1804 and 1806.

The Dakota Territory was organized in 1861 to include present-day Wyoming and Montana as well as the Dakotas. Within seven years it included only the Dakotas. A gold rush in 1867 brought thousands of settlers and prospectors to the Black Hills.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most residents made a living by farming and livestock raising. Others sold grain and mined for gold. After a road system was built and a tourist industry developed in the early 1900s, the job market opened up. In the 1930s the state was heavily hit by drought and the **Great Depression**, but the economy revived after **World War II** (1939–45). Federal programs helped both whites and Native Americans during periods of difficulty.

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In 1890, responding to an uprising, the U.S. cavalry massacred hundreds of Sioux in the Battle of Wounded Knee. In 1973 about two hundred armed Sioux, led by members of the **American Indian Movement**, took over the village of Wounded Knee and staged a demonstration, protesting broken treaties, that lasted for seventy days. In 1980 the U.S. **Supreme Court** upheld an award of $105 million in compensation for land in the Black Hills that had been unlawfully taken by the federal government in 1877. Native Americans, who wanted not money but land, refused the settlement.

South Dakota's population in 2006 was 781,919. About 88 percent were white, with 8.4 percent American Indian or Alaska Native and 1.9 percent Hispanic or Latino. The largest city is Sioux Falls, with 139,517 residents. The state capital is Pierre.

Agriculture continued to dominate the state's economy in the early twenty-first century. Grains and livestock are the main farm products. South Dakota's manufacturing employees work primarily in food and food-related products industries, computer equipment, and machinery. The state's largest industry is tourism. Most tourist attractions lie west of the Missouri River, mainly in the Black Hills region. Visitors come to see **Mount Rushmore**, the Badlands National Monument, and the childhood home of author Laura Ingalls Wilder (1867–1957).

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

In 1957 a group of young southern ministers formed an organization in Atlanta, **Georgia**, called the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration. These ministers shared a belief that the black church should play an important role in the African American **civil rights movement**. They created a coalition—a combination of different organizations in one overall structure—comprised of local civil rights organizations and churches. The group's name soon changed to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The new organization was led by civil rights activists **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) and Joseph Lowery (1921–). King, already one of the nation's most famous civil rights activists due to his role in the **Montgomery bus boycott** in 1956 in **Alabama**, gave the organization immediate renown. He would head the SCLC until his assassination in

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Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) cofounder Joseph Lowery. Several ministers in the African American community combined local civil rights organizations and churches to form the SCLC. AP IMAGES

1968, and for many Americans the SCLC was "his" organization. Lowery was SCLC's president from 1977 to 1997.

Goals and methods

Montgomery's bus boycott had convinced SCLC founders that a mass protest movement could desegregate (stop policies and laws that separated black and white people in public places) the South. The boycott, a year-long nonviolent campaign in which blacks refused to ride the **segregated** buses, had resulted in a Supreme Court order to end bus segregation in Montgomery. As the SCLC established its purpose in the wake of this success, some of its immediate aims were: to register black voters and obtain political representation in local and national government; to

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draw national attention to the plight of southern blacks; and to pressure the federal government to step in and protect the constitutional rights of blacks.

From the start the SCLC was built on a philosophy of nonviolent direct action (see **Civil Disobedience**) based on the teachings of Jesus Christ and Indian political leader Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948). King repeatedly emphasized active nonviolence to members of SCLC. Protesters were trained not to inflict physical harm on others. King warned that those who wished to join in nonviolent action might be beaten, humiliated, insulted, or arrested, but they were never to strike or even insult those who tried to harm them. The fight was between justice and injustice, not individual people.

Early accomplishments

In 1960 SCLC helped create a student civil rights organization, **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC), from the emerging **sit-in movement**. SNCC went on to become one of the most active nonviolent protest civil rights organizations in the early 1960s.

In late 1961 SCLC began desegregation campaigns in Albany, Georgia. Their work there was met with violence in August 1962, when members of the **Ku Klux Klan** (a secret white supremacist society known for its methods of intimidation and terrorism against minority groups) burned Albany's black churches. In 1963 SCLC undertook a long and dangerous protest campaign in highly segregated Birmingham, Alabama (see **Birmingham Protests**), calling for desegregation and economic justice.

Also in 1963 the SCLC helped promote the civil rights **March on Washington**, the largest demonstration for human rights the country had ever seen. At the march King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech, electrifying his huge audience of a quarter of a million people with one of the most famous speeches in U.S. history. In 1965 King, as head of the SCLC, led a march from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery to extend voting rights to black Americans. Black marchers in the first attempt at this march, later known as "Bloody Sunday," were attacked by state and local police, stopping the march. The televised scenes of violence brought about strong national support for black voting rights.

The most concrete rewards for the SCLC's campaigns came when the federal government finally lent its support to the civil rights move-

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ment with the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the 1965 **Voting Rights Act**. Though these acts did not reach as far as hoped, they set significant milestones in desegregation and voting rights, particularly in the South.

After 1968

By 1968 there were strong divisions within the civil rights movement between those advocating nonviolent action and those who called for a more combative struggle. The SCLC suffered from the conflicts, losing membership and focus. King led his organization as before, using nonviolent methods and basing actions on religious beliefs. But before his death King's emphasis had changed from strictly African American civil rights to economic reform. His interests were drawn to poverty, the plight of blacks in northern cities, and the lot of low-income workers everywhere. His strong opposition to U.S. involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) blurred the focus of the SCLC from its once solid concentration on the civil rights of African Americans.

When King was assassinated in 1968, the SCLC maintained its philosophy of nonviolent social change but it no longer initiated large-scale national actions. Longtime civil rights leader **Ralph Abernathy** (1926–1990), who succeeded King as head of the SCLC, directed the organization's efforts in the Poor People's Campaign. This project focused national attention on the needs of poor people in the United States, especially food aid and low-income housing. Without King, though, the campaign failed to win public support.

Following the Poor People's Campaign, the SCLC went into a steady decline. Today, though rarely in the public eye, the SCLC continues to organize, educate, and register voters in the southern United States. The SCLC also focuses on problems within the black community, including crime and drug abuse.

Space Race

Germany developed the world's first long-range guided missiles during **World War II** (1939–45). When the war was over and Germany was defeated, the United States recruited its rocket scientists to help establish the U.S. missile program. The United States's premier rival was the Soviet Union, and the two countries were engaged in what is known as

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the **Cold War** (1945–91, political and ideological tension between the two countries). One facet of the cold war was the arms race, which included the development and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and missiles.

Missile testing began in the early 1950s at Florida's Cape Canaveral. The Soviet Union surprised the United States when it became the first nation to place a satellite in orbit around the Earth in October 1957. That satellite was called *Sputnik I* and was followed by a second satellite in November, this one carrying a dog. Americans suddenly felt vulnerable to foreign attack and felt its self-proclaimed scientific superiority threatened. The space race was on.

In December of that year, the United States was embarrassed when its first attempt at launching an orbiting satellite ended in the explosion of the missile on liftoff. One month later *Explorer 1* successfully launched, and in 1958 Congress established the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration** (NASA).

The Soviet Union bested the United States again in April 1961 when it sent the first human into orbit around the Earth. Within one month the United States did the same by sending astronaut Alan Shephard (1923–1998) into space. The United States was keeping up, but it wanted to lead.

In 1961 President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) publicly pledged to land an astronaut on the moon by the end of the decade. That same year John Glenn (1921–) became the first American to orbit Earth. Under the auspices of NASA, Project Mercury and Project Gemini launched more manned flights into space. In late 1966 Project Apollo was introduced as the heart of the lunar program. In 1967 a space capsule fire claimed the entire Apollo astronaut crew before even leaving the launchpad. It was not until October 1968 that manned space flights were resumed. On December 24 of that year, the first Apollo mission to orbit the moon sent back pictures of Earth.

America wins the race

On July 20, 1969, Apollo 11 astronauts Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin (1930–) and Neil Armstrong (1930–) became the first humans to walk on the moon as half a billion people around the globe watched on live television. The United States won the space race.

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Five more Apollo missions resulted in men walking on the moon and driving lunar roving vehicles. The Apollo program came to an end in December 1972 after the Apollo 17 mission. Because of the cost and turmoil of the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) and the resulting unrest of the American public, funding was cut back and three planned Apollo missions were cancelled. The space race was over.

Impact

The United States's effort in the space race is considered one of the greatest peacetime national efforts in history involving government, the military, science, and industry. The Apollo program cost more than twenty-five billion dollars, and the six billion dollar space budget in 1966 was larger than the amount of federal money spent on housing and community development. More than four hundred thousand people were employed in the space race effort.

The accomplishments of the space race were primarily political in nature. Scientific benefits were limited, but they did help the medical field with advances in technological developments.

Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War lasted just four months, but it had a major impact on international relations.

A splendid little war

In 1898 the United States had been an independent nation for just a little over a century. Its leaders were still eager to expand its territory as well as its power. The war with Spain served several purposes, and U.S. secretary of state at the time, John Hay (1838–1905), called the conflict "a splendid little war."

The reason for declaring war on Spain was the United States's interest in Cuba. Cuba was one of the biggest colonies of Spain, and it had been getting ready for a revolution throughout the nineteenth century. The Cubans wanted their independence, and the United States understood that desire. They were already involved in a war with Spain, so Cuban rebels looked to the United States for help.

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The United States had good reason for wanting to aid Cuba. It had fifty million dollars invested in the island, and the annual sugar trade there totaled one hundred million dollars. In addition the United States had long believed that the Spanish rule in Cuba was wrong for humanitarian reasons. This viewpoint was encouraged by newspapers of the day, which covered the situation with great passion—and without a steady reliance on fact.

Sinking of the *Maine*

On February 15, 1898, the United States found a reason to declare war on Spain. The U.S. battleship **U.S.S. *Maine*** had been docked in the Havana Harbor, where it had made a courtesy visit. The ship exploded and sank, killing 266 Americans. At the time a naval investigation concluded that the cause of the explosion was external, meaning something from outside the ship was responsible. More modern experts surmise the explosion probably occurred due to faulty equipment from within the ship, but nothing has ever been determined with certainty.

One **New York** newspaper printed photos allegedly showing how the Spanish attached an underwater bomb to the ship and had detonated it from the shore. This type of less-than-truthful reporting was called yellow journalism, and newspapers resorted to it frequently in an effort to increase circulation and sway readers to agree with publishers' points of view.

Spain did not want to go to war with the United States, but it refused to negotiate on the sole issue that would have prevented conflict: Cuba's independence. In response President **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) ordered Spanish troops to withdraw from Cuba. When that failed to happen, war was officially declared on April 25.

The war ended within four months and claimed the lives of around 379 American soldiers. Thousands more, however, died from disease as a result of unsanitary living conditions and lack of supplies. On August 12 a peace treaty was signed. Its final terms were set on December 10 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Cuba was finally independent. Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were now under the control and authority of the United States. The Philippines would revolt and win their independence in 1946. In July 1900 **Hawaii** became a U.S. territory, and so the United States had become a world power.

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Economic progress

The war improved the U.S. economy, but not without cost. The government paid $250 million for that four-month war, and it would have to deal with major unrest in the Philippines for years to come. Despite these facts the American public was, for the most part, happy with the outcome.

Spanish Civil War

The Spanish Civil War was a domestic war in Spain from 1936 to 1939. On one side was the Republic of Spain, the government that had come to power in 1931 when King Alfonso XIII (1886–1941) left the country. Supporters of the Republic were called Loyalists. On the other side were the revolting Nationalists, led by the Spanish military under General Francisco Franco (1892–1975). The Nationalists won by April 1939.

The Spanish Civil War was the result of government policies that were unpopular with powerful parts of Spanish society. After coming into power in 1931, the Republic confiscated land owned by the Roman Catholic Church in Spain. The Church accused the government of violence against **Catholic** priests and nuns. The Republic also imposed government policies that threatened landowners and other wealthy Spaniards.

Precursor to world war

Europe was divided over the war. England and France tried to remain neutral. Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) in Germany and Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) in Italy supported the revolting Nationalists, which some feared wanted to impose a fascist government on the country. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) supported the Republic, which made the Republic's opponents fear that Spain would follow the Soviet Union and become a one-party **Communist** state.

The Spanish Civil War affected American society in a number of ways. At the time, the United States had a neutrality law that barred arms shipments to nations at war with one another. Technically, the law did not apply to the Spanish conflict, so American manufacturers sold aircraft and other supplies to the Loyalists. Congress reacted in January 1937 with a law imposing the restrictions on the Spanish conflict, broadening the neutrality act to cover civil wars, too. President **Franklin D.**

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The Abraham Lincoln Brigade

The United States remained officially neutral throughout the Spanish Civil War. Many Americans, however, fought in the conflict in support of the Republic as part of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The brigade was raised, trained, and transported to Spain by the Communist Party of America. Out of approximately twenty-eight hundred men, eight hundred died in the fighting.

Roosevelt (1882–1945; served 1933–45) and Congress wanted to stay out of the conflict, as did most Americans.

The arms question and the politics surrounding the whole conflict led to division in American society. Most American Roman Catholics, appalled by the Republic's treatment of the Church, supported the Nationalists. Many of them feared Communism in the ranks of the Loyalists. Most American Protestants and Jews supported the Republic as the legitimate government of the country and feared the fascists among the Nationalists.

Spanish Colonization

See **New Spain and Spanish Colonization**

Spanish Conquistadors

Spain was the first European country to build an empire in the New World. When **Christopher Columbus** (1451–1506) landed in the Caribbean islands in 1492, it alerted Spain to the existence of the New World and to prospects of precious metals and wealth to be gained there. Further Spanish expeditions to Hispaniola, Puerto Rico (1508), Jamaica (1509), Cuba (1511), and especially Mexico brought more tidings of gold and silver. Hundreds of Spanish *hidalgos* (pronounced ee-DAHL-goes; meaning noblemen) rushed to join the expeditions heading for the Americas.

The Spanish hidalgos knew they would have to conquer the native peoples in the New World to fulfill their ambitions of wealth and power. The Spanish queen insisted that the Native Americans be taught Christianity and tutored to become Spanish citizens, but most of the Spanish hidalgos prepared to use brute force. Their rule over the New World was assured by the conquistadors (meaning conquerors), Spanish soldiers, explorers, and adventurers who acted as agents of the Spanish crown. Most of them were minor nobles and military officers fresh from the wars between Christians and Moors (North African Muslims) in Spain.

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Hernán Cortés and the Aztecs

The natives of the Caribbean islands quickly learned that the Spaniards wanted gold, so they made up stories about gold mines in faraway places, hoping to make the Spanish go away. Rumors of rich cities with streets paved with gold circulated and grew among the eager Spanish. In 1519 the governor of Cuba appointed Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), the most famous of the Spanish conquistadors, to lead an expedition to explore the interior of Mexico where, he had heard, there was an advanced and wealthy civilization called the Aztecs.

Cortés's goal was to conquer the Aztecs and establish himself as the lord of Mexico's vast civilization. With an army of about 600 conquistadors, Cortés marched to Tenochtitlán, the large and wealthy Aztec city. The once powerful Aztecs had been weakened by **epidemics** of infectious diseases, and the Spanish army was able to defeat them after a harsh and bloody war. Cortés had the city of Tenochtitlán torn down to the ground



The Spanish army, led by Hernán Cortés, defeated the Aztecs in a violent war. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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and built present-day Mexico City on top of the ancient metropolis. The beginning of Spanish Mexico commenced in the old Aztec capital.

Pizarro and the Incas

In South America, the Spanish learned of another fabulously wealthy people, the Inca of Peru. The conquest of this civilization was undertaken in 1530 by a group of conquistadors led by Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541). The Inca were a strong and sophisticated civilization, but they had been recently divided by war. The conquistadors brutally destroyed them despite fierce resitance in 1533, finding immense quantities of gold and silver in the kingdom. The conquistadors became very wealthy even after they had given the Spanish king his large share of the Inca fortune.

Most of the Spanish empire lay in what is now Latin America, but Spanish conquistadors were the first Europeans to explore and settle the southern part of what is now the United States, including **Florida**, the Southeast, **Texas**, **New Mexico**, **Arizona**, and **California**. Some of the most famous Spanish conquistadors in these northern areas were **Juan Ponce de León** (1460–1521), the members of the Pánfilo de Narváez (c. 1480–1528) expedition, **Hernando de Soto** (c. 1496–1542), and Francisco Vásquez de Coronado (c. 1510–1554).

Finding Florida

Juan Ponce de León, the European discoverer of Florida, came to the New World in 1493 with Christopher Columbus' second expedition to the West Indies. Ponce de León conquered Puerto Rico in 1508. In 1513 he began his search for the island of Bimini, which, according to the Indians of Hispaniola, had a fountain whose waters could return old men to their youth. Sailing from Puerto Rico, Ponce de León landed on an unknown shore and named the area "La Florida," either in honor of the Easter season known as "pascua florida," or because of flowers on the shore. The conquistador and his expedition explored the coast of Florida for about two months, still believing it to be an island. They had many hostile encounters with Indians along the way.

In 1521 Ponce de León, encouraged by more tales of riches, fitted out two ships to establish a settlement in Florida. (Another Spanish explorer had discovered that Florida was not an island in 1519.) Ponce

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de León's expedition included 200 men, 50 horses, and other domestic animals and farm implements. After landing on the west coast, Ponce de León was shot by an arrow in an Indian attack. He died from his wounds within a few days and the expedition returned home.

Following in his footsteps, in 1526 conquistador Lucas Vasquez de Ayllón (c. 1475–1526) established San Miguel de Guadalupe, the first European settlement in what is now the United States, on the Pee Dee river in **South Carolina**. The Indians refused to assist the Spaniards and within three months, provisions gave out, sickness spread, Vasquez de Ayllón died, and the disheartened settlers abandoned the project. Thus, the first attempts to settle Spanish Florida ended in failure.

The Narváez expedition

The next attempt to settle Florida was led by the new governor of Cuba and military commander of Florida, Pánfilo de Narváez, who sailed from Santo Domingo in 1528. The Narváez expedition landed at Tampa Bay and split into two sections. One group was to search inland for the rumored cities of gold, while the other was to sail northward and find a good harbor where both groups could meet at a future date. Narváez led the first party inland. Each Indian village appeared poorer than the last, but the inhabitants all told of richer cities to the north. By the time Narváez reached a site near present-day Tallahassee, he realized there was no gold. He headed for the coast to find his ships.

Reaching the sea at Apalachee Bay, Narváez found no ships (they had already returned to Cuba). He and the remaining men built small boats and set sail for Mexico. They sailed along the Gulf Coast to Galveston Island in present-day Texas, where several of the ships sank and Narváez disappeared at sea. Four survivors, led by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (c. 1490–c. 1560), were captured by Indians and passed as slaves from tribe to tribe. They finally escaped and made the difficult journey to Mexico City by foot in 1536, the only survivors of the inland expedition.

De Soto continues the quest

Cuban governor and conquistador Hernando de Soto, hearing of the wealth in Florida, set sail from Havana in 1539. He landed at Tampa Bay, where his ships were immediately attacked by local Indians. The

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Hernando de Soto searched for gold in Florida, Georgia, and several other southern states, but found little precious metal. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Spanish defeated them in a short battle and de Soto and five hundred and fifty men began a march into Florida's interior. In 1540, de Soto moved northward, searching for gold. He and his men traveled for four years through the present-day states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. They were the first white men to identify the Southeast tribes. They saw the Great Smoky Mountains, and charted and located parts of the Mississippi and Arkansas rivers.

During the arduous journey, the de Soto expedition treated the Indians with great cruelty. Each conquered tribe promised the conquistadors that the Indians farther to the west possessed much gold and silver but, to the Spaniards' disappointment, few precious metals were found. Where the Arkansas River joins the Mississippi, de Soto fell ill and died on May 21, 1542.

The first permanent settlement in the United States

These early expeditions demonstrated to the Spanish that Florida was a formidable wilderness and that Florida Indians were difficult and uncooperative. There were few, if any, stores of gold or silver to attract future conquistadors. While the land was rich in natural vegetation, agriculture was extremely difficult in the sandy coastal soils. Finally, the region was plagued by severe storms and hurricanes during certain seasons of the year, which made shipping hazardous. The Spaniards ignored Florida for the next twenty years. During that time the French established a small settlement there.

The king of Spain had no intention of allowing the French to take over his lands. He ordered Spanish navigator Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519–1574), along with a dozen ships and 2,646 men, to expel the French and secure Florida for Spain. Menéndez surprised the French at their settlement, Fort Caroline, and quickly defeated them, cruelly ordering those who survived the battle to be executed. On August 28, 1565, Menéndez's fleet dropped anchor at his new settlement site,

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which he named San Augustín (later St. Augustine) for the saint whose festival was celebrated on that day. St. Augustine, Florida, still exists today. It was the first permanent European settlement in the United States.

Coronado explores New Mexico

One of the survivors of the Narváez expedition claimed to have found the Seven Cities of Cibola—a mythical set of large, wealthy cities in New Mexico. Based on this story, Spanish nobleman Francisco Vásquez de Coronado mounted an expedition heading for New Mexico from Mexico City in 1540. He quickly found and captured the Zuni pueblo of Hawikuh, reportedly one of the cities of gold, but was bitterly disappointed to find no treasures there. Meanwhile, he had sent ships up the west coast of Mexico. The men on these ships landed at the Colorado River and explored it.

Coronado sent out exploring parties to the northeast, which discovered the villages of the Hopi Indians as well as the Grand Canyon. One group went east to the country of the Rio Grande Pueblo, moving as far north as Taos. Lured on by tales of gold, in 1541 Coronado pushed east into the Great Plains in quest of the fabled wealthy country of Quivira. His search led him instead to the homely grass huts of the villages of the Wichita Indians in what is now **Kansas**. They had no treasures. The disillusioned Coronado returned to Mexico in 1542. He had discovered no cities of gold, but his journey was an important one, for it opened the Southwest to future European exploration and settlement.

Spanish gold

The conquistadors' insatiable appetite for gold and silver fueled the exploration of a vast portion of the modern-day United States. The conquistadors, however, left a horrible trail of murder, plunder, and disease behind them. Some historians estimate that 90 to 95 percent of the Indian population of North America was wiped out during the first 150 years of the European colonial period in America. Most of this decimation was caused by diseases such as smallpox, typhus, measles, and influenza, but the Spanish conquistadors also slaughtered thousands of native people in their furious search for gold and silver.

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Spanish Missions

When Spanish Queen Isabella I (1451–1504) proclaimed the New World to be a part of the Spanish Empire in 1493, she ordered that its native peoples were to be treated humanely and converted to Christianity. Spanish settlement then proceeded quickly in the Caribbean islands and Mexico, where gold and silver attracted large forces of **Spanish conquistadors** (conquerors) and settlers. Despite the queen's intentions, the process of converting the native people to Christianity was often brutal and was almost always secondary to obtaining their labor in the mines and fields.

The process of settlement was very different in the northern borderlands of **New Spain**, a region that would one day be part of the United States and included present-day **Florida**, **Texas**, the Southwest, and **California**. There, no great riches were found to draw the conquistadors. In many cases, the Spanish missionaries led the settlement and early government of these remote outposts.

Spanish missionaries were people who were sent by the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish royal authorities to other lands to convert people to Christianity. The missionaries who served in the northern borderlands of New Spain served under one of two major Roman Catholic orders: the Franciscans (members of the Order of Friars Minor, a religious order of men founded by Francis of Assisi [1181–1226]) and the Jesuits (an order called the Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius de Loyola [1491–1556] in 1534).

The model for the missions

In the early seventeenth century the Jesuits in South America began establishing communities called *reducciones,* from the Spanish word *reducir,* "to bring together." A few priests and their assistants usually presided over a community of several thousand Indians, teaching them European agriculture, music, architecture, and religion.

Spain wanted to establish similar communities throughout its new territories, creating Christian towns that would quickly be able to govern themselves. The Spanish crown sent both priests and soldiers to establish these communities. Each mission received a ten-year charter (authority to run a town); at the end of that period the mission communities were expected to become independent towns.

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To found a mission, the missionary priests would select a spot near an Indian settlement. There they would erect a temporary chapel and a few crude log cabins. After setting up, they would immediately begin working to convert the Indians, usually getting their attention by giving them glass beads, clothing, or blankets. Once the bare essentials of a mission community had been established, the priests usually requested military protection. The Spanish crown then sent soldiers to establish a military outpost near the mission.

Over the years, many missions grew into thriving farming, religious, and commercial complexes. The military outposts expanded into armed garrisons, or *presidios.* The inhabitants of the presidios needed the necessities of life—food, clothing, and manufactured goods. Civilian settlements quite often developed near mission/presidio complexes to satisfy such needs.

Missions in La Florida

The first mission in the northern borderlands of New Spain was San Augustín (St. Augustine), founded in the territory of La Florida (present-day Florida) in 1565 by Jesuit missionaries. By 1655 Florida had several more missions. The new missions had converted an estimated twenty-six thousand Indians to Catholicism and extended from San Augustín north to the Carolinas and west to the Gulf Coast. The La Florida missions did not survive long, however. Between 1702 and 1706, British troops stationed in South Carolina invaded Florida and burned all the missions to the ground. Some missionaries were massacred and thousands of Indians were sold into slavery in Charleston.

Texas missions

Two Spanish missions were founded in what is now east **Texas** in the late seventeenth century. They were established there to stop the French from settling in the area. Some of the native peoples in the area were hostile to the Spaniards, and the missions were abandoned in 1693. They were later reestablished, but by 1773, the east Texas missions had declined in importance and most settlers moved to San Antonio. There, five missions were built along the San Antonio River that flourished throughout the eighteenth century. By the end of the century, however, most of the missions had fallen into disrepair. Texas missions as a whole produced few lasting results among the native people.

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Missions in New Mexico

In 1598 Spanish conquistador Juan de Oñate led four hundred colonists to the lands along the Rio Grande north of present-day El Paso. The new colony was to engage in ranching and included in the group were twelve Franciscan missionaries to provide the local Pueblo Indians with religious instruction. The Pueblos already had a stable economy, elaborate social structures, and a sophisticated religion, but the missionaries did not appreciate the virtues of Pueblo civilization. They established a missionary program to eliminate the religious practices and beliefs of the Pueblo and to teach them Christianity and European ways.

The Pueblos were trained from childhood to cooperate and to adapt to social pressure. Thus, for decades they did not outwardly resist the missionaries. In the 1670s famine, disease, and mounting war casualties convinced most Pueblos that they had been wrong to accept the outsiders' religion. They believed it was time for them to return to their traditional ways.

Pueblo revolt

In August 1680 an alliance of Pueblo warriors led by leader Popé (d. 1692) attacked the Spanish colonists, forcing them to flee. The revolt was specifically aimed at the religious mission. Twenty-one out of the thirty-three missionaries in **New Mexico** at the time were killed. Angry Indians burned churches and destroyed records of baptisms, marriages, and burials while also destroying all the religious statues and altars they could find. This coordinated uprising expressed their determination to reject Christianity and to maintain their own religion and culture.

The Spanish later returned to New Mexico, but Spanish authorities never allowed the priests to have as much power as they once had. Even so, the Pueblo were forced to accept the strong presence of the Catholic Church. Many Pueblo communities and individuals attended Catholic services while practicing their own religion in secret.

Eusebio Kino and Arizona's missions

In 1687 Jesuit missionary, explorer, and mapmaker Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645–1711) set out from Mexico City as a missionary in the region then called Pimería Alta (modern northern Sonora, Mexico, and southern **Arizona**). This land of deserts and mountains was inhabited by the Pima

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Indian tribe. From his base at Mission Dolores in the southern part of the region, Kino pushed northward, establishing missions in one river valley after another until his network of missions extended far into present-day Arizona. Kino personally baptized some forty-five hundred Indians.

A born organizer, Kino provided a sound economic base for his missions, teaching the Pima to raise cattle and to grow new crops like wheat. The combination of economic planning and a broad tolerance for Indian customs was the basis of Kino's success in his campaign of peaceful conquest. He trained some of the Indians he converted to Christianity to win additional converts among their own people. Communities of these Christians became self-sufficient spiritually as well as economically.

The California missions

The Spanish did not seriously explore the region that is today known as California until 1769. That year, when explorer Gaspar de Portolá (1723–1784) led an expedition into California, seasoned Franciscan missionary Junípero Serra (1713–1784) went with him. Serra was on hand when Portolá proposed to open a new section of the borderlands around the head of the Gulf of California. Serra and his Franciscan colleagues, accompanied by a handful of soldiers, explored the new areas to establish additional missions. The Spanish king wanted to establish mission communities in California to stop other countries from settling in the region.

In 1769 Serra founded the mission of San Diego, the first of nine California missions established during his lifetime. The following year he founded San Carlos Borromeo much farther north on Monterey Bay, choosing this second mission settlement as his headquarters. The Franciscans, who served as guides for Serra, subsequently founded San Antonio (1771), San Gabriel (1771), San Luis Obispo (1772), San Francisco de Assisi (1776), San Juan Capistrano (1776), Santa Clara (1777), and San Buenaventura (1782). The work continued after his death, and between 1769 and 1823 a total of twenty-one missions were built. The missions were placed a day's walk from each other, and extended 650 miles along the California coast.

Life in the missions

The earliest buildings in California mission compounds were crude structures with dirt floors and thatch roofs. In time these were replaced by adobe

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Mission Dolores in San Francisco was founded June 29, 1776, under the direction of Junípero Serra. The King of Spain established California missions to stop other countries from settling in the region. HANSEL MIETH/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

buildings with stone floors and tile roofs. Typical mission sites featured a rectangular enclosure that contained a church, a convent, dormitories, a school, storerooms, and workshops. Miles of surrounding countryside contained the orchards, gardens, fields, and livestock that fed and clothed local inhabitants. At their peak, the mission communities collectively owned 230,000 cattle, 268,000 sheep, 8,300 goats, and 3,400 swine. In their most prosperous years, the mission farms yielded 125,000 bushels of grain together with a wealth of produce from vineyards and orchards.

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Once an Indian converted to Christianity he or she was taken into the mission to live and could not leave. Daily life consisted of prayers, meals, hard work for adults either in the fields or at simple industries, and school for children.

The missionaries enforced their demands of work and obedience with physical punishments involving whippings, shackles, stocks, and the barbed lash; they also used solitary confinement, mutilation (cutting or amputation), branding, and even execution as punishments. Some of the missionaries were appalled at the cruelty and tried to help the Indians, but they were outnumbered by their colleagues who favored strong disciplinary action. Mission Indians were often undernourished and extremely vulnerable to new diseases brought over by the European settlers, especially given their cramped, poorly heated, badly ventilated living quarters. The death rate in the missions was even higher than in the general Native American population. The Spanish missionaries systematically discouraged Native ceremonies and traditions as well as the use of Native languages.

The end of the mission system

For better or worse, the Spanish missionaries "settled" much of the Southwest and California by entrenching Spanish authority there. They did it using only a smattering of troops and at almost no cost, since labor was performed by unpaid Indians. At a high cost to the Indians within, the missions became the centers around which the settlements, towns, and cities of the northern borderlands developed. Historically, culturally, and architecturally, the early Spanish missions left their mark on the American West.

Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1810. Most Mexicans believed the missions oppressed Indians and had to be eliminated. In many areas of the Southwest, secularization took place on its own, since the missions had prepared their communities for independence. Secularization is a process in which the church compounds became towns, and their Native inhabitants became taxpaying citizens. The Catholic Church retained the missions' chapels and priests' quarters and operated them as community churches. The rest of the land and its buildings were given to the community. California missions were slow to accept secularization. In 1834 Mexico passed an act for the secularization of California missions, and in the following years the Franciscans began

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to abandon their missions. After secularization, Indians deserted the California missions. Despite Mexico's intentions that the Indians would maintain the mission community for their own gain, the mission lands fell into private hands.

Spies and Spying

As long as nations have fought wars, they have used spies. During the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the Connecticut-born Nathan Hale (1755–1776) volunteered to spy on the British. Hale, a soldier in the Continental Army under **George Washington** (1732–1799), disguised himself as a civilian and infiltrated British lines. He hid documents indicating the strengths and weaknesses of the British army in his shoes. The British captured Hale and found the hidden documents. They hanged the twenty-one-year-old spy on September 22, 1776. Before his death, he uttered the famous line, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Spies in the **Civil War** (1861–65), for both North and South, were often women. One of the more successful was **Union** spy Elizabeth Van Lew (1818–1900), of Richmond, **Virginia**. Van Lew pretended to be eccentric (odd) so that Confederate officials would consider her crazy but not dangerous. She helped prisoners escape from Richmond and gave General **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885) information that helped him capture the Confederate capital city. Van Lew received much of the information she passed along from a former servant, who, at her suggestion, took a job in the home of Confederate president **Jefferson Davis**. Van Lew was appointed postmistress of Richmond at the end of the war.

The United States employed spies in both world wars and in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) as well. But it was the **Cold War** (1945–91), a period of great tension and strained relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, that led to one of the most famous cases of American espionage.

Julius Rosenberg (1918–1953) was an electrical engineer who had worked for the U.S. **Army**. Both Rosenberg and his wife, Ethel Rosenberg (1915–1953), were arrested in 1950 on charges of conspiracy to commit espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union, although there was little evidence implicating Ethel. Historians believe the American gov-

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ernment was hoping to use her arrest as leverage to persuade her husband to confess and name other spies.

The trial of the Rosenbergs began in March 1951. American public opinion overwhelmingly held that the two were spies. The jury, along with the public, became convinced that Ethel was the mastermind behind the operation. Both Rosenbergs were found guilty as charged and sentenced to death. They maintained their innocence until their execution, on June 19, 1953. In the decades since, debate has raged over the Rosenbergs' guilt or innocence, as well as over the handling of the prosecution. After the fall of the Soviet Union, documents came to light suggesting that Julius had passed classified military information to the Soviets and had served as the coordinator of a large spy network. Nevertheless, many view their trial as unfair, given the tense political climate during the Cold War, and their death sentence as severe.

The Cold War resulted in massive spying campaigns on the part of both America and the Soviet Union. In 1983 the U.S. government tried five cases, and another fourteen in 1984. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger (1917–2006) called 1985 "the year of the spy," because so many arrests for espionage were made that an accurate count could not be given to reporters.

At the center of another famous espionage trial was Alger Hiss (1904–1996), an adviser to the State Department. In 1948 Whittaker Chambers, an admitted member of a **Communist** spy ring, testified that Hiss was also a member of that ring and had passed secret State Department documents to him in 1938. Hiss denied any wrongdoing. Although he could not be tried for espionage because of a statute of limitations (the charges would have come too many years after the alleged crime), in 1950 he was found guilty on two counts of perjury and served three years in prison.

The CIA, the FBI, and the Military

The **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) is the intelligence unit of the federal government. Its function is to collect and analyze information about foreign governments, businesses, and individuals so as to advise public policy makers. Some agents of the CIA are spies. The **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) is another government agency that func-

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tions as a domestic intelligence agency. Its other purpose is to serve as a federal criminal investigative body. The FBI was a key player in the **Red Scare** of the 1950s, in which many U.S. citizens were investigated for their alleged ties to the Communist Party.

Espionage and infiltration became particularly threatening to the United States after the **al-Qaeda** terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon on **September 11, 2001**. Many public officials blamed the CIA for not doing more to prevent the attacks. In 2001 a Strategic Assessments Branch of the CIA's Counterterrorist Center was established to further analyze al-Qaeda. In addition, the U.S. **Navy**, **Marine Corps**, **Air Force**, Army, and **Coast Guard** maintain intelligence units for collecting information.

St. Valentine's Day Massacre

The St. Valentine's Day Massacre, which took place in Chicago in 1929, has become a symbol of the violent rivalry between organized crime gangs. During the era of **Prohibition** (1920–33), it was illegal to make, sell, or transport alcohol. The Chicago gangs made millions of dollars through the illegal manufacture and selling of alcohol, a practice known as bootlegging. Competition for control of the bootleg trade was fierce, culminating in the massacre.

Prohibition

Beginning with the first European colonists in America, there have been attempts to limit the consumption of alcohol. In the late 1800s the movement to eliminate alcoholic beverages entirely gained momentum. The social reformers behind the temperance movements believed that alcohol caused many problems in society, including moral decay, laziness, and corruption, which in turn could lead to crime.

In 1918, as a result of the persistent efforts of temperance reformists, Congress passed a resolution to prohibit the manufacture, sale, transportation, and importation of alcoholic beverages. On January 16, 1919, this law became the **Eighteenth Amendment** to the **Constitution**. An enforcement law, the Volstead Act, was passed the following October. Prohibition officially began on January 17, 1920.

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Prohibition and crime

In general, the law was a failure. Drinking became a popular rebellious act. Rather than improving the country's moral behavior, Prohibition gave rise to criminal activities throughout the country, including smuggling rings and bootlegging operations. In Chicago the market for illegal liquor gave rise to **organized criminal** activity. Gangs willing to resort to violence, including murder, took control of the city's lucrative bootlegging industry. By 1929 competition had reduced the field to two main gangs: the South Side group, led by **Al Capone**, and the North Side, led by George "Bugs" Moran. Confrontations between the two groups were bloody.

On February 14, 1929, North Side gang members gathered at a city garage where shipments of liquor were received. Two men dressed as police officers and another two men entered the building and ordered Moran's men to line up against a wall. The North Side men cooperated quietly, assuming that their lawyers would get them released as usual. The men in disguise shot the seven defenseless victims, six of them leading members of the gang, with three machine guns, a shotgun, and a revolver. It was the bloodiest incident of gang violence Chicago had seen. Witnesses reported that the four assailants exited the building casually and departed in a vehicle resembling a detective car.

Bugs Moran was the only leading member of the gang not present during the massacre. As a result of the assault, Moran's gang was significantly weakened and quickly lost power in Chicago. It was widely assumed, though never proven, that Al Capone's South Side gang was responsible for the killings. No one was ever prosecuted for the crimes, and the murders remain officially unsolved.

Stamp Act

In March 1765 the English Parliament passed the Stamp Act, which imposed a tax on all paper imported into the American colonies. To get the paper they needed for such common items as newspapers, pamphlets, marriage licenses, deeds to lands, diplomas, and even playing cards, colonists would have to pay to have the papers stamped. The act angered many colonists, particularly the lawyers, merchants, and printers who were most directly affected. Great resistance, often violent, spread throughout the colonies.

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Financial woes

The British government had depleted its treasury in fighting France during the **French and Indian War** (1754–63). Although the war had been fought in the New World, most of the fighting happened outside of colonial territories. Parliament, however, believed the colonies should share in the expense of the war. England also needed money for maintaining a military presence in the colonies.

Adding to Britain's financial problems, the **Sugar Act**, imposed on the colonies in 1764, was not bringing in as much money as Parliament had hoped. Although colonists were already angered by the Sugar Act, Parliament passed the Stamp Act to increase revenue from the colonies to meet England's financial needs.

Colonial reactions

The Stamp Act angered colonists for several reasons. As they had for the Sugar Act, colonists argued that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies. The colonies were not represented in Parliament, and colonists argued that taxation was unfair without representation. Prior to the Sugar Act, local colonial legislatures had regulated taxes.



The Stamp Act, passed by the British Parliament, imposed a tax on all paper imported into the American colonies. Colonial resistance to the act caused it to be repealed. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Colonists also protested the method for paying the tax. Those who had to conduct business with imported papers were inconvenienced by having to go to the stamp office to obtain the right papers embossed with the right stamps. The stamps had to be paid for with British sterling rather than with colonial money. Sterling was in short supply, which made complying with the tax more difficult.

Opposition led to loud and often violent protests within the colonies. Lawyers and newspaper publishers, among those most affected by the tax, were especially vocal. Many colonists gathered to form a network of resistance groups called the Sons of Liberty. Women formed a parallel group called the Daughters of Liberty. They used persuasion, pressure, and violence to end

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the use of the stamps. They forced Loyalist merchants out of business, attacked stamp distributors and royal officials, and even tarred and feathered their opponents under Liberty trees, so named as symbols of resistance.

The Sons of Liberty organized colonial resistance among the colonies. Not all colonists, however, agreed with the aggressive action embraced by the Sons of Liberty. As a result, a convention of moderate representatives from most of the colonies gathered in October 1765. Known as the Stamp Act Congress, the convention allowed a united political statement to be sent to England on behalf of all the colonies.

England's response

News of American discontent was slow to reach England. Political realities in England further slowed a response from the English government. A new government took office in July 1765 but was in recess until December. Upon its return, English merchants whose business was affected by American boycotts asked Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. Parliament debated the issue of repeal for ten days in January 1766. Mostly as a result of the impact on English merchants, they decided to repeal the Stamp Act. To emphasize their right to tax the colonies, however, they also passed the Declaratory Act. It confirmed Parliament's power to make laws for the colonies.

Lasting impact

Most Americans were overjoyed at the decision to repeal the Stamp Act and paid little attention to the Declaratory Act. Even after its repeal, the Stamp Act had a far-reaching impact on American attitudes toward British rule. Many Americans, once loyal subjects, now regarded every British action with suspicion. Many Loyalists lost positions of power within the colonies as a result of the Stamp Act crisis. Encouraged by the

Stamp Act Congress

On October 7, 1765, twenty-seven of the most influential men from nine colonies served as representatives to the Stamp Act Congress in **New York**. **Virginia**, **North Carolina**, and **Georgia** were prevented from participating. Their royal governors had refused to allow state assemblies to gather to elect delegates to the Congress. **Delaware** and **New Jersey** faced the same opposition, but assemblymen held informal elections and sent representatives anyway.

The Congress was called to make a united stand against the Stamp Act. In all, fourteen resolutions were passed as the Declaration of Rights and Grievances. The Declaration affirmed loyalty to the king and the idea that the colonists were British citizens. It insisted, however, that the colonial assemblies that represented them, not Parliament, had the sole right to tax Americans. They would gladly support the finances of the British government, but only through taxes levied by their local assemblies. Finally, the Declaration petitioned the king and Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act.

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coordinated efforts of colonial assemblies and the Sons of Liberty, a colonial patriotism began to emerge. A passion for protecting their fundamental rights against an overbearing government began to unite the colonists.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was born to Margaret and Daniel Cady, well-known residents of Johnstown, **New York**, on November 12, 1815. She obtained a high-quality education, excelling in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and learned to debate and ride horses. She took a genuine interest in learning law from her father. Stanton would be considered well educated in any era of American society, but she was especially so for a woman in the early nineteenth century, when few women received formal schooling of any kind.

Marries and becomes active in politics

Stanton's early activism in two social movements, **abolition** (the anti-slavery movement) and temperance (a movement encouraging moderation in drinking alcohol or not drinking at all) brought her into contact with other like-minded people. She married abolitionist Henry B. Stanton (1805–1887) in 1840. Already an independent thinker, Elizabeth had the word "obey" removed from the couple's wedding vows. The Stantons had five sons and two daughters between 1842 and 1859.

The Stantons moved to Seneca Falls, New York, in 1847, where she cared for three children and a large house with no live-in help. Her activism was confined largely to writing, and she published articles in newspapers and magazines. In July 1848 Stanton met with **Lucretia Mott** (1793–1880) and three other friends. The women decided the time was right to hold the first women's rights convention, where they would discuss "the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman."

Stanton, the writer of the group, developed the Declaration of Sentiments, which outlined the purpose of the convention. She put forth the idea that men and women were equal and listed eighteen ways in which men did not treat women as their equals. Stanton also developed eleven resolutions, one of which stated that women had the duty to secure the right to vote.

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The **Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention** took place on July 19 and 20, 1848, at the local Wesleyan Methodist Church. Three hundred people, including forty men, attended. Ten of the eleven resolutions passed, but not the resolution on suffrage (the right to vote). **Women's suffrage** was still just too foreign a concept for most Americans in the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1851 Stanton met fellow activist **Susan B. Anthony** (1820–1906), and the two formed a friendship that would last throughout their lifetimes. Stanton came up with ideas and the words with which to convey them, and Anthony took those ideas and words to the world.

After the **Civil War** (1861–65), Stanton focused her efforts on suffrage. Freed slaves had been given the right to vote, but women still could not. In 1869 Stanton, Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826–1898), and other women activists founded the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). Stanton was the first president, and Anthony its first vice president.

A movement divided

Stanton and Anthony formed the NWSA for a price; they broke from their abolitionist supporters, who they claimed were more interested in getting rights for African Americans than for women. The NWSA, which allowed only female members, denounced the Fifteenth Amendment, which granted suffrage for African American men. In response, some activists from New England began a separate rights group (also in 1869), the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). The AWSA focused only on getting the vote. The NWSA, on the other hand, included in its mission other issues that affected women, such as employer discrimination and divorce law. Later, in 1890, the two organizations joined forces to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Stanton was president until 1892, followed by Anthony.

Toward the end of her life, Stanton returned to exploring her interests in the relationship between organized religion and women's subordination (inferior position) to men. She wrote countless articles on the topic. In 1895 and 1898, she published two volumes of controversial biblical commentaries, *Woman's Bible,* in which she declared her beliefs that the Bible was partial to men and that women who held fast to tra-

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ditional Christianity obstructed their own abilities to become independent. The press and clergy criticized her mightily.

Stanton died of heart failure on October 26, 1902, in New York City. On August 26, 1920, women were granted the right to vote.

"The Star-Spangled Banner"

The poem "The Star-Spangled Banner" was written by Francis Scott Key on September 14, 1814. Originally titled "The Defense of Fort McHenry," it was inspired by the British attack on the fort in Baltimore Harbor during the **War of 1812**. It was printed in many of the nation's papers and quickly enjoyed popular success. After publication its words were adapted to the music of a popular drinking song. Although it was embraced as the national anthem, Congress did not officially recognize it as such until 1931.

Attack on Fort McHenry

Francis Scott Key was a pacifist, someone who opposes war. Events during the War of 1812, however, inspired him to enroll in the District of Columbia's militia. In 1814 the English attacked the District of Columbia and burned the Capitol and the White House. During the raid, they captured an important physician and patriot strategist, William Beanes. He was imprisoned on a British warship, and Key was sent to negotiate his release.

On September 7, 1814, Key sailed to meet the British at the mouth of the Potomac River. After some negotiation, he obtained Beanes's release. The English, however, were planning the attack on Fort McHenry and did not want the Americans to return with warnings. Key and Beanes's departure was delayed, and their ship was towed behind the English for the attack on September 13.

Sixteen British vessels surrounded the American fort. Over the next twenty-four hours, the English bombarded it with over eighteen hundred shells. American forces retaliated from land and by sea. When the explosions finally stopped, it was still dark. As dawn rose, Key could see the **American flag** still flying above the fort, indicating that American forces had prevailed.

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"The Defense of Fort McHenry"

O say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight
O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there;
O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore, dimly seen thro' the mist of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream
'Tis the star-spangled banner. Oh! long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave,
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation,
Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the Heav'n-rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our Trust"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Evolution of an anthem

When the British released Key and Beanes later that morning, Key's poem was immediately published in a broadside, or pamphlet, as "The Defense of Fort McHenry. " It quickly gained popularity as it was published in papers throughout the nation.

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The words for Key's poem were adapted to a popular drinking song, "To Anacreon in Heaven." In 1815 the title became "The Star-Spangled Banner." Though the melody has been criticized as difficult to sing, attempts to simplify the music have failed.

Key's song was adopted by the **Union** Army during the **Civil War**. During **World War I** (1914–18), the American military embraced it as their anthem. After several failed attempts to convince Congress to recognize the song officially, it was finally established as the national anthem in 1931. The full version of the song is rarely sung, as few Americans know more than the first of its four stanzas.

Statue of Liberty

While attending a dinner party in France in 1865, French sculptor Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (1834–1904) and his host, French scholar Édouard-René Lefebvre de Laboulaye (1811–1883), came up with an idea to give the United States a monument to commemorate the country's first centennial (one hundred years) as a free nation.



The Statue of Liberty, built in Paris, France, was a gift from the French to the United States to commemorate the country's first one hundred years as a free nation.

Construction of the monument began in 1875, and in 1877, America began fundraising efforts to collect the money needed to build a pedestal (foundation) on which a 450,000-pound (204,300-kilogram) copper and steel statue would stand. American architect Richard Morris Hunt (1828–1885) was hired to design and build the pedestal. The cement foundation weighed 27,000 tons (24,489 metric tons).

Lady Liberty debuts

Building of the statue was completed in Paris, France, in June 1884, but the pedestal was still a work in progress. Early in 1885, with the completion of the pedestal, "Liberty Enlightening the World" was dismantled and shipped to America in 350 pieces. The statue, which

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became known as Lady Liberty, arrived on Liberty Island in **New York** and was placed on **Ellis Island**, the primary immigration port for European **immigrants**. The pedestal and statue were assembled in 1886, ten years after the original target date. On October 28 of that year, President **Grover Cleveland** (1837–1908; served 1885–89 and 1893–97) accepted the Statue of Liberty and dedicated her in an official ceremony.

Jewish poet Emma Lazarus (1849–1887) composed a sonnet (a fourteen-line lyric poem, written using a distinct rhythm and rhyme) to be awarded to the highest bidder at an art auction. The poem, called "The New Colossus," reflected Lazarus's understanding of the role America played in the hopes of immigrants (people who move permanently to another country) in the late nineteenth century. Written in 1883, "The New Colossus" was engraved on a plaque and attached to the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty in 1903.

Emma Lazarus's Poetry

Long before she penned "The New Colossus," Lazarus was writing poetry. In 1868, she sent a copy of her first book of poetry (which her father had published) to **Ralph Waldo Emerson** (1803–1882), one of the country's most famous essayists, poets, and philosophers. The two began a lifelong friendship. Lazarus visited Emerson at his home in Concord, **Massachusetts**, several times.

Lazarus's second book of poems was published in 1871 to much critical praise. Throughout the decade, she published many poems and essays in popular magazines. By 1882, more than fifty of her poems and translations of others' poems had been printed in these periodicals. Her best reviews came in 1881, upon publication of her translation of the works of German Jewish poet Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). Lazarus identified with Heine's expression of his Jewish identity. Both writers felt the effect of their Jewish backgrounds on their pursuit of artistic creativity.

Fun facts about Lady Liberty

The Statue of Liberty was a statue of impressive size in its day and remains so in the twenty-first century. She measures 111 feet, 1 inch (33.86 meters) from her heel to the top of her head. On her crown are seven spikes, representative of the seven continents or seven seas.

At a windspeed of 50 miles (80.5 kilometers) per hour, the statue sways up to 3 inches (7.62 centimeters), while her torch sways 5 inches (12.7 centimeters).

The tablet in the statue's left hand is inscribed with the date July 4, 1776, in Roman numerals. This is the day America declared its independence from Britain.

The Statue of Liberty was declared a national monument in 1924.

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Steamboats

Steamboats are boats powered by steam engines that move a mechanism for propulsion. In the early days of steamboats, the mechanism for propulsion was a paddle wheel. Steamboats became widely used in the United States in the nineteenth century, helping to develop the country's internal economy. By the end of the century, railroads had surpassed steamboats as the primary mode for commercial transportation inland.

Steamboat technology was first developed in Europe. As early as 1690, French inventor Denis Papin used a steam engine to drive a paddle wheel boat. The Englishman Jonathan Hull patented a steamboat in 1737, but his design was too large to be useful. In 1783 the Frenchman Claude de Jouffroy d'Abbans designed and built a 150-foot (46-meter) steamboat that navigated a river near Lyons, France, for over a year. In Great Britain, Scottish inventor William Symington designed a steamboat that operated on a canal for a month.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Americans began to experiment with steamboats, which would be useful on the country's great rivers, such as the Hudson and the Mississippi. John Fitch demonstrated one in 1787 and developed others, but lost investors when further progress failed. By 1804 Oliver Evans had designed a high-pressure steamboat engine using a copper boiler, technology that worked but occasionally exploded, with tragic results. Samuel Morey came close to building a commercially successful steamboat, but he declined to accept investment from Robert Livingston because he wanted to control the project himself.

Livingston was a wealthy man and the American ambassador to France, who had monopolies for steam navigation on the Hudson River (granted by the New York legislature) and on the lower Mississippi River (granted by the Louisiana Territory). Livingston financed steamboat design by American inventor Robert Fulton. Fulton made a successful steamboat in France. In 1807 he launched the *Clermont* for a thirty-hour voyage from New York City to Albany and back on the Hudson River. Four

Gibbons v. Ogden

In 1824 in the case of *Gibbons v. Ogden,* the U.S. **Supreme Court** ruled that the steamboat navigation monopoly that Robert Livingston had received from New York violated the federal government's power over interstate commerce. This ruling allowed the federal government to open steamboat navigation to all commercial companies. Over the next few decades, thousands of steamboats entered service in the United States, transporting people, shipping goods in commerce, and providing entertainment, such as gambling.

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years later Fulton sent the *New Orleans* from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to its namesake city in Louisiana Territory.

The use of steamboats grew greatly in America in the middle of the nineteenth century. By 1840 there were more than two hundred operating on the Mississippi River. This number increased to a thousand by 1860. At the middle of the century, annual shipping to New Orleans exceeded shipping to New York City, accounting for more than half of the entire nation's total exports.

After steamships could operate on rivers, inventors designed ways for them to operate on oceans. Vessels that sailed the oceans had to store more coal for the engines than river steamboats. They also needed to have screw propellers instead of paddle wheels because of the rough seas in the ocean.

Steel Industry

Steel is a metallic substance made from the chemical elements iron and carbon. Until the nineteenth century, iron was the primary metal used in manufactured products. Development of the Bessemer and Siemens-Martin processes for making steel in the 1850s led to steel replacing iron as the primary industrial metal, paving the way for growth of the steel industry in the United States.

Before the advancements of the 1850s, making steel was expensive, so the United States imported the steel it required prior to the American **Civil War** (1861–65). From 1870 to 1900, annual U.S. steel production rose from around one million to ten million tons. As the price for steel dropped, demand rose, and production companies competed for business. Most steel companies were antiunion and reluctant to negotitate with union representatives. A major steel union called the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, founded in

The Memorial Day Massacre

After forming in 1936, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) worked to be recognized by steel companies, including U.S. Steel Corp. At that time smaller steel companies were collectively called Little Steel. SWOC organized strikes to force the companies to meet with its representatives and discuss its demands. U.S. Steel Corp. recognized the union in March 1937, but Little Steel persisted in refusing to talk with the SWOC.

In May 1937 Chicago SWOC leaders called for a Memorial Day rally to protest how roughly police were treating workers on the picket lines. During the rally, strikers and police clashed. Ten strikers were killed, many shot in the back by police. Eighty other strikers were injured, along with twenty-two policemen. The event became known as the Memorial Day massacre.

Little Steel eventually met with the SWOC four years later, when the National Labor Relations Board ordered the companies to recognize the SWOC as the workers' legitimate union.

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Advancements in steel processes led to steel replacing iron as the primary industrial metal and caused immense growth in the steel industry. MS. MARTHA TABOR

1878, was forced to dissolve after the violent aftermath of the **Homestead Strike** in 1892.

In 1901 financiers J. Pierpont Morgan and Elbert H. Gary formed the U.S. Steel Corporation. With assets of 1.4 billion dollars, it was the largest industrial company in the world. In general, the United States produced twenty-four million tons of steel annually by 1910.

In 1935 Congress passed the National Labor Relations Act, which gave workers a federal right to organize unions for bargaining with employers. The following year workers formed the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC). By March 1937 U.S. Steel Corp. had agreed to negotitate and work with the SWOC and signed a contract guaranteeing a forty-hour workweek and a minimum wage of five dollars a day for SWOC members.

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At SWOC's annual convention in 1942, it changed its name to the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). The president of USWA, Phillip Murray, cooperated with President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) to prevent steelworker strikes during **World War II** (1939–45). The USWA continued into the twenty-first century as the main union for steelworkers as the American steel industry became one of the first of the major domestic industries to experience severe economic problems.

John Steinbeck

John Steinbeck is considered one of the most significant writers of the twentieth century.

Steinbeck was born into a comfortable life on February 27, 1902. His parents were highly respected within their **California** community, and he was the only son of four children. A loner by nature, Steinbeck began writing short stories at the age of fifteen.

The young author graduated high school and attended Stanford University. He took only those courses that would help him achieve his goal of becoming a published writer and did not earn a degree. From 1919 to 1925 he combined college studies with a job at the Spreckels Sugar Company. From 1925 to 1929 he worked at a resort in Lake Tahoe. He quit his job in late 1929 and married Carol Henning early the following year. His wife was outgoing and fun-loving, the perfect balance to his own shy nature. As the typist and proofreader of his book manuscripts, she contributed a great deal to his eventual success.

Although Steinbeck managed to publish a few short stories in the early 1930s, he remained largely unknown until the publication of his first novel, *Tortilla Flat,* in 1935.

In the previous year, Steinbeck had interviewed a farm-labor organizer who was hiding from the law after having taken part in a 1933 cotton strike in California. The interview had a major impact on the author, and the migrant workers in rural America during the **Great Depression** (1929–41) became the subject for several of his greatest novels, including *Of Mice and Men* (1937) and *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). Steinbeck received the Pulitzer Prize for his 1939 novel, which is considered the masterpiece of his career.

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Steinbeck served as a foreign correspondent in **World War II** (1939–45). Much of his nonfiction from that era was collected and published in book form during the 1940s and 1950s. He continued publishing fiction after the war. His best known work from this time was *The Pearl* (1947), a novella about a poor Mexican fisherman who discovers a valuable pearl that brings nothing but bad luck.

Steinbeck had his own share of bad luck when his wife announced in 1948 that she had never loved him and had been unfaithful to him for years. Steinbeck, overcome with shock and heartache, suffered a major nervous breakdown. He eventually married again in 1950, but although his marriage to Elaine Scott was generally happy, Steinbeck had grown uncertain of his writing ability and was riddled with self-doubt.

As a result, the 1950s was a rather unproductive decade for the writer. He did publish several novels, including the epic *East of Eden* in 1952, but his failure to produce another critically acclaimed novel cemented his frustrations. His 1961 novel *The Winter of Our Discontent,* arguably his most ambitious, studied the moral disintegration of a man of high ideals. The following year, he published an account of his travels across America with his pet poodle. *Travels with Charley* was a popular book, yet Steinbeck felt himself to be a failure as a writer. No one was more stunned than he when he received the Nobel Prize in 1962. Critics were harsh and attacked Steinbeck's talent. As a result, he never wrote another word of fiction.

He went to **Vietnam** as a war correspondent in 1966. His reporting reflected his pro-war stance and caused him to fall into disfavor with intellectuals who earlier had admired his social commitments. While overseas, he sustained a back injury that ultimately led to a decline in health. He died in New York City in 1968 at the age of sixty-six. His novel *The Grapes of Wrath* is considered a literary classic of the twentieth century.

Stem Cell Research

In 2001 President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) authorized limited federal funding of research on existing human embryonic stem cell lines. His act allowed funding only when the process of obtaining stem cells had been initiated prior to the bill, and the embryo from which the stem cell line was derived no longer had the possibility of

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Human embryonic stem cells have the potential to develop into a variety of different cell types in the body. Stem cell research has boundless benefits to medicine and human health. PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

development as a human being. This marked a partial reversal of his position in the 2000 presidential campaign, when, with the strong backing of pro-life (anti-abortion) groups, he opposed any use of stem cells obtained from human embryos. The 2001 act infuriated some religious and pro-life groups. On the other hand, Bush's bill so limited embryonic stem cell research that it raised equally strong opposition from advocates of stem cell research.

What is a stem cell?

Human stem cells are cells that are capable of developing into the different varieties of tissue present in the body of a fully formed human. There are three kinds of stem cells: embryonic, adult, and cord blood stem cells. An embryo is an unborn organism at the stage immediately after conception and before it develops into a fetus around the eighth week of pregnancy—embryonic stem cells are formed in the very early stages of the embryo. Adult stem cells can be taken from adult tissues. Cord blood stem cells can be found in the human umbilical cord, the cord that carries blood, oxygen and nutrients to the fetus from the placenta during pregnancy.

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While adult and cord blood stem cells can only develop into a limited number of varieties of human tissue, embryonic stem cells are capable of developing into any one of the 210 or more varieties of tissue present in the body of a fully formed human. This is because a blood cell, for example, once formed, cannot become a brain cell, or vice versa; but at the embryonic stage, all cells are of a single type.

Stem cells have generally been obtained from surplus, or extra, embryos that were not used during in-vitro fertilization, a procedure that helps infertile women have babies. When a woman undergoes in-vitro fertilization, she is given medication that causes her to produce multiple eggs. The eggs are removed from the uterus and fertilized by sperm in a lab, creating embryos. In three to five days, the embryos reach what is called the blastocyst stage and are ready to be implanted in the woman's womb. Those that are not used are either frozen in liquid nitrogen or thrown away. Most of these surplus embryos will eventually be destroyed, but they are the basis of a huge national debate. If scientists could obtain the stem cells from them, they could almost certainly use them to save human lives and suffering. On the other hand, opponents point out that obtaining cells from any embryos destroys their potential for life.

The debate

Stem cell research has the potential to provide almost limitless benefits to medicine and human health. Among other things, the cells could make it possible to cultivate spare organs and other body parts; to produce human tissue for use in the treatment of diseases, such as cancer, that involve the degeneration of human cells; or for testing potentially dangerous drugs on human cells without actually testing them on human beings. There is reason to hope that in the not too distant future, stem cell research can provide cures for such diseases as Alzheimer's and Parkinson's diseases, juvenile diabetes, and even for spinal cord injuries. Enormous suffering would be eliminated with these cures. Beyond that, the knowledge scientists can derive from stem cells is expected to result in stunning health advances across the board.

But stem cell research also raises important moral and political considerations. Most opponents of embryonic stem cell research do not oppose adult stem cell research, but they connect embryonic stem cell research with abortion. They believe that the destruction of the embryo

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violates moral law and dehumanizes the unborn. There are also fears that if embryonic stem cell research is not prohibited, people will be encouraged to create surplus embryos for profit.

The short history

The issue of stem cell research came to the fore during the administration of President **Bill Clinton** (1948–; served 1993–2001). At that time, the proposal under consideration permitted federal funding of embryonic stem cell research as long as the researcher had not been involved in actually obtaining the cells. By the time Bush limited research with his act of 2001, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) had established a registry listing the 78 human embryonic stem cell lines that were eligible for use in federally funded research, but only 22 cell lines were then available. Scientists were concerned about the quality and longevity of these 22 stem cell lines and hoped to be funded in their attempts to obtain new lines.

Attempts to continue the research

Embryonic stem cell research has had bipartisan (both political parties) backing from the start. This was especially evident in 2004 when former first lady Nancy Reagan (1921–) made a public plea to support stem cell research. Her husband, President **Ronald Reagan** (1911–2004; served 1981–89) was in the late stages of Alzheimer's disease, a degeneration of the brain functions that causes memory loss and eventually death, and Nancy Reagan wanted to waste no more time in finding a cure so that others would be spared his suffering. Since stem cell research is going on in other countries, many Americans fear a time will come when they will be excluded from cures that are available elsewhere. Polls have repeatedly shown that a majority of Americans approve of stem cell research.

Congress was not deaf to the pleas. On May 24, 2005, the House passed an act that would allow federal support of research that utilized embryonic stem cells regardless of the date they were taken from a human embryo. The act would have negated Bush's 2001 bill limiting research to the existing stem cell lines, but President Bush vetoed the bill in July 2006.

Some state governments have also taken action either for or against embryonic stem cell research. By 2007, seven states had provided money

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for stem cell research in their states: **California**, **Connecticut**, **Illinois**, **Maryland**, **New Jersey**, **New York**, and **Wisconsin**. **Massachusetts** was in the process. **Iowa** and **Missouri**, though they have not funded research, have made it clear that embryonic stem cell research is legal. On the other hand, **Arkansas**, **Indiana**, **Louisiana**, **North Dakota**, and **South Dakota** have prohibited embryonic stem cell research.

An alternative: Therapeutic cloning

Several alternatives to obtaining stem cells from embryos were studied in the early 2000s, particularly therapeutic cloning (also termed "embryo cloning"). Cloning is the scientific process of obtaining a group of genetically identical cells from a single cell to create a genetic copy. In August 2003 a Chinese research team reported that it had made human embryonic stem cells by combining human skin cells with rabbit eggs. The researchers removed the rabbit eggs' DNA and injected human skin cells inside them. The eggs then grew to form embryos containing human genetic material. After several days the embryos were dissected to extract their stem cells. There is mounting evidence to suggest that stem cells from cloned embryos have even greater potential as medical treatments than stem cells harvested from unused embryos at fertility clinics.

Unfortunately, therapeutic cloning is sometimes categorized with human cloning, the creation of a genetically identical copy of an existing human. Because of this connection, therapeutic cloning of stem cells has also met with strong opposition. While nearly all lawmakers concur that Congress should ban reproductive cloning, many agree with scientists that stem cells derived from cloned human embryos have great medical value. They assert that the aim of allowing research is to relieve suffering. Like the issue of abortion, the debate is likely to continue for a long time.

Thaddeus Stevens

Thaddeus Stevens was a leading Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives during the American **Civil War** (1861–65). During **Reconstruction**, the period after the war when the Southern states were being readmitted to the **Union**, he was a fiery advocate of strong measures to ensure civil rights for blacks in the South and to limit the power of former leaders of the **Confederate States of America**.

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Childhood and education

Stevens was born on April 4, 1792. He grew up on a farm in **Vermont**. His father left the family when Stevens was a young boy, leaving his mother and brothers to take care of the farm and earn a living. Stevens was born with a clubfoot and could not help on the farm, but even as a child, he was able to help his mother with her work as a nurse. Through this work, he gained knowledge of suffering and poverty that would shape his life. His mother later sold the farm and moved to town so her sons could attend school. Eventually Stevens graduated from Dartmouth College.

After graduation, Stevens moved to **Pennsylvania** where he studied for the bar, the exam taken to become an attorney. By 1833, he was a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, in which he served six terms. He also had a very successful law practice.

Freshman congressman

In 1849, Stevens won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. He worked tirelessly for causes in which he believed. He had long spoken for complete citizenship for slaves. He opposed the enactment of the **Fugitive Slave Laws**, which required authorities in free states to return runaway slaves to their owners in slave states. Stevens also campaigned passionately for public education. Because he pressed for issues that would help remove class differences, he became known as the "Great Leveler."

After two terms in Congress, the outspoken Stevens had few friends in or out of government, and he was defeated in his quest for a third term. But at the age of sixty-seven, he was again elected a U.S. representative. He reentered Congress in 1859 with a better knowledge of government procedures than anyone else in government at that time. He used his skills to obtain chairmanships on important committees, such as the House Ways and Means Committee. He had acquired a great deal of power in Congress by the time the Civil War began in 1861.

Laws of war

Two years into the war, Stevens began to consider the conditions under which the Southern states would be readmitted to the Union. In his view, by withdrawing from the Union, the South had given up its rights

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under the **Constitution**. Under what he called the "laws of war," these ex-states would be considered conquered territories and would have to meet conditions of good citizenship in order to be readmitted. President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) agreed, but he felt that reuniting the Union was the job of the president, while Stevens thought it was the job of Congress.

Just prior to Lincoln's assassination in 1865, Stevens pressed for stricter readmission standards for Southern states. Stevens's policy called for a majority of a state's citizens to vote for readmission and to swear an oath of allegiance to the Union. The new state would have to agree to accept the **Thirteenth Amendment**, which abolished **slavery**, and a large number of former Southern leaders would be excluded from holding public office, such as officials of the Confederacy, Confederate officers above the rank of lieutenant colonel or navy lieutenant, and businessmen, who had supported the war effort of the South.

The president or Congress?

Andrew Johnson (1808–1875; served 1865–69) became president upon Lincoln's death. Like Lincoln, he believed that the president, not Congress, should oversee the readmission of Southern states into the Union. Ignoring Stevens's calls for a strict policy, Johnson began to readmit each state according to his own mild plan. Under Johnson's plan, leaders in the new state governments included high-ranking officials of the former Confederacy, Confederate generals, and wealthy landowners.

Under Stevens's guidance, Congress refused to accept the representatives from states readmitted to the Union by Johnson and established an "ironclad oath" as a condition of readmission to the Union. The oath held that anyone elected or appointed to federal office from the former rebel states had to be someone who had never plotted to secede.

Stevens's plan for Reconstruction

Stevens was determined that Congress, not the president, would direct Reconstruction. He instructed the House of Representatives to create a Committee on Reconstruction, which he chaired.

The entire South was placed under Union military control just after the war because of the post-war turmoil. Confederate soldiers were returning home to find their farms, towns, and local governments

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destroyed. As a short-term solution, Stevens proposed to create territories in the South and establish territorial governments.

Living conditions for millions of former slaves were very bad in the years after the war; many died from lack of food and other necessities. Stevens proposed that the government break up the South's large plantations and distribute the land in such a way that each freed male slave could have 40 acres (16 hectares); the rest of the land could be used to restore the national finances destroyed by the war. Under the Stevens plan, all national and state laws would apply equally to all citizens regardless of race or color.

Johnson's vetoes

In 1865, the Committee on Reconstruction recommended a bill declaring that no senator or representative could be admitted to Congress from any of the Southern states until Congress decided that the state was entitled to representation. Congress passed the bill. Johnson vetoed it. The president let it be known that he planned to veto every bill until Congress admitted that it had no right to interfere with his plan for Reconstruction.

In 1866, Congress passed the **Fourteenth Amendment**, which declared that blacks were citizens of the United States. When President Johnson vetoed it, Stevens and his following in Congress prepared for a heated contest with the president. By that time, conditions were getting even worse in the South. More than a thousand blacks had been killed since the war with no one held accountable. Johnson had lost favor with the American public, while Congress gained support.

Impeaching the president

In his showdown with the president, Stevens ushered the Tenure of Office Act through Congress in 1867, which required the president to get congressional approval before he could fire or remove from office certain government workers; Congress, after granting approval, would choose the replacement.

In violation of Congress's Tenure of Office Act, Johnson continued to fire people in government positions, most of whom were Republicans supported by his opponents in Congress. When Johnson fired Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton (1814–1869), who had been appointed by

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Lincoln, it violated the Tenure of Office Act and infuriated Stevens. In February 1868, Stevens moved that the president be impeached (officially charged with misconduct). The House of Representatives voted in favor of impeachment, and impeachment proceedings took place in the Senate in May 1868. The Senate could not quite muster the two-thirds majority vote that was required to remove the president from office. Johnson remained in office, but he was never again an effective leader.

Death

Stevens died in 1868. Military rule of the South continued for nine more years. Had Stevens lived, he would no doubt have continued to strongly influence Reconstruction.

Stock Market

See **New York Stock Exchange**

Strikes

A strike is an organized stoppage of work. With the rise of factories during the **Industrial Revolution**, businesses acquired great power over the lives and working conditions of large numbers of workers in many industries. Workers sought ways to persuade businesses to improve working conditions and increase wages. Organizing into unions was one method. Strikes were another.

To hold a strike, workers often form picket lines outside their place of employment. Being outside brings public attention to the issue. Particularly in the early days of strikes, picket lines often led to violence between workers and employers. Violence also happened when nonstrikers, called scabs, crossed picket lines to work despite the strike.

The San Francisco, **California**, longshoreman's strike of 1934 is an example of the violence that often erupted during strikes. It began in May, when members of the local chapter of the International Longshoreman's Association decided to strike to protest working conditions for maritime workers. By July, more than sixty other unions in the city had decided to strike to support the longshoremen. On July 5, a battle erupted between police and workers, in which two workers were killed and scores of others were injured. The strike finally ended on July 27, and the longshore-

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men received wage increases and a limit of thirty hours of work each week.

Great Depression

Workers faced particularly harsh conditions during the **Great Depression** (1929–41). High unemployment caused spending to drop nationwide. The drop in spending hurt businesses, which in turn laid off workers and lowered the wages of the workers who remained.

To improve their working conditions during the Great Depression, workers developed a new tool in 1936. It was called a sit-down strike. Instead of picketing outside, they held a strike by taking physical control over a part of a factory. Stopping work at one important location in a factory system could disrupt production along the entire line. It also prevented businesses from defeating strikes with scab workers. From 1936 to 1939, American workers used sit-down strikes almost six hundred times.

United Auto Workers Confronts General Motors

One of the most significant sit-down strikes happened in Flint, **Michigan**, in January and February 1937. Strikers from the United Auto Workers (UAW) union took control of the Fisher Body Plant No. 1, where General Motors kept the dies for making its cars. The strike hurt production so much that General Motors finally agreed to recognize the UAW as the organizing body for its workers. Chrysler Corporation recognized the UAW the following month.

Government involvement

Businesses and workers often have called upon governments to end strikes. In an effort to prevent strikes, local governments have passed laws banning picketing. State governments have sent police and National Guard forces to break up strikes, and they have enforced criminal conspiracy laws to convict people who organize and operate strikes. Sit-down strikes, according to such governments, unlawfully interfere with the property rights of the business.

The federal government took a number of steps to handle sit-down strikes in the 1930s. Federal legislation eventually made such strikes illegal as a form of trespass on private property. Congress passed laws, such as the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 (also known as the **Taft-Hartley Act**), to regulate how unions may operate and how they are allowed to strike. Opinions vary widely over whether federal legislation helps workers organize for better conditions or helps businesses oppress workers by limiting the workers' rights to organize in their own favor.

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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC; pronounced "snick") was founded in 1960. It arose from an incident on February 1, 1960, in which four black college students attempted to sit and be served at a lunch counter in Woolworth's, a store in Greensboro, **North Carolina**. In most southern states, seating in such public places was strictly segregated according to race, and blacks were prohibited from sitting at the counter. This small act of protest had launched the student **sit-in movement** that spread rapidly through the South. Reacting to the upsurge of student activism, **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC) official Ella Baker (1903–1986) invited student protest leaders to a weekend conference. The student leaders expressed their frustration with the slow pace of the major civil rights organizations. Ready to confront the racism and **segregation** around them, they agreed to form SNCC. The founders agreed that SNCC would use nonviolent but active and confrontational tactics to provoke social change.



Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chairman John Lewis, and the organization in general, was discouraged in the 1960s by the failure of the federal government to protect the rights of African Americans. AP IMAGES

Daring activism

In February 1961, four students affiliated with SNCC traveled to Rock Hill, **South Carolina**, to join a group of protesters arrested at a segregated lunch counter. There, the SNCC members formed a "jail-no-bail" or "jail-in" strategy. So many protestors were imprisoned—and refused to be released on bail—that the local jails faced crisis-level overcrowding.

In May 1961, SNCC rallied when a group organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) went on so-called **freedom rides** to defy segregation policies on buses and in bus stations; the freedom riders encountered violence in **Alabama** and were forced to give up their campaign. SNCC knew it would be a terrible

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signal to white segregationists to learn that their violence had stopped a civil rights effort. Therefore, they organized dozens of black students to take the place of the original freedom riders. The students risked their lives to ride buses from Alabama to Jackson, **Mississippi**, where they were arrested and jailed.

From the fall of 1961 through the spring of 1966, SNCC shifted its focus from nonviolent desegregation protests to long-term voting rights campaigns in the Deep South. Operating in the most oppressive areas, dedicated SNCC workers became celebrated for their courage in the face of white intimidation.

Freedom Summer

In 1961, SNCC created the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a coalition of civil rights groups that launched a huge campaign for voting rights in Mississippi. Acknowledging the need for more outside support, COFO sponsored a summer project in 1964 that was designed to bring hundreds of white students to Mississippi to participate in a statewide voter registration project. **Freedom Summer** triggered massive resistance in white segregationists. By the end of the summer, four black Mississippians were killed. Scores of volunteers and participants were beaten; more than a thousand arrests were made; and nearly seventy churches, homes, and businesses were burned or bombed. The murder of three civil rights workers, two of them white, during the early days of the project brought national attention to the suppression of black voting rights in the Deep South.

Growing frustration

By 1963, the failure of the federal government to protect the rights of African Americans discouraged many SNCC staff members. SNCC chairman John Lewis (1940–) expressed this growing disillusionment in a controversial speech given at the massive 1963 **March on Washington** in the nation's capital. Lewis's speech originally contained the question "Which side is the federal government on?" but the question was removed by his group so as not to offend President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63). Still, the anger lingered.

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Black Power: A new direction

Following the bloody 1965 voting rights marches in Selma, Alabama, during which black children, women, and men were beaten, SNCC gave up its early emphasis on nonviolence and Southern community organizing. It adopted instead a philosophy of **Black Power**, which was being promoted by SNCC leaders **Stokely Carmichael** (also known as Kwame Turé; 1941–1998) and H. Rap Brown (1943–).

The new SNCC voted to exclude whites from important positions. The organization increasingly pushed for withdrawing from the American mainstream and forming a separate black society. As SNCC made these changes, though, conflicts erupted among its leaders. By 1967, SNCC's Black Power message and internal conflicts had caused many of its former supporters to abandon it. Although SNCC's calls for black pride brought much-needed unity to poor urban blacks, the organization had little impact on African American politics after 1967. It remained in existence until the early 1970s.

Students for a Democratic Society

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed in 1960 by members of the student branch of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), an Old Left (1930s-era socialist) organization. Inspired by civil rights activities taking place in the South, many members hoped to develop SDS as a Northern counterpart to the African American civil rights organization, the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC).

From its headquarters, first in New York City, and later in Chicago, **Illinois**, SDS sponsored chapters on college campuses around the country. As the numbers of chapters grew, the loose structure of the organization made communication and coordination between the national office and individual chapters difficult. SDS campus groups often acted on a local level without direction from headquarters.

The Port Huron Statement

Political activist and SDS cofounder Tom Hayden (1939–) drafted *The Port Huron Statement* for the SDS national convention in 1962 in Port Huron, **Michigan**. The statement described SDS philosophy and also served as a general guide for the New Left (1960s and 1970s movement

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focusing on college campus mass protests and other radical actions). It began, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." The statement criticized modern American values and called for students to demand a truly "participatory democracy," and to fight against social injustice and greed. The statement addressed a range of issues, primarily centered on civil rights for African Americans, economic equality, and efforts to stop the buildup of nuclear weapons.

Early activism

In 1963, SDS launched the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP). ERAP's goal was to unite and organize the urban (city) poor to protest the social and economic policies that led to inferior living conditions for the minorities and other economically disadvantaged groups in society. ERAP scored limited victories in Cleveland, **Ohio**, and Newark, **New Jersey**, but it was dropped as a national project in 1965.

Vietnam War protest

In the early days of the SDS, U.S. involvement in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) had been limited. The **antiwar movement** that became central to the student organization emerged around 1965, when SDS sponsored the first large-scale demonstrations against the war on college campuses. SDS strongly opposed the **military draft** (government policies requiring certain Americans to serve in the military upon demand). SDS members encouraged young men who faced being drafted not to serve. On April 17, 1965, SDS organized the first of several mass demonstrations against the Vietnam War in **Washington, D.C.** Fifteen thousand demonstrators joined them. In November, SDS cosponsored another demonstration that drew thirty thousand antiwar protesters.

As the war intensified, so did the SDS opposition to it. SDS organized attacks on Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) military training programs at colleges, the occupation of campus buildings, and student **strikes**. At Columbia University in 1968 and Harvard University in 1969, SDS chapters led disruptive protests against university ties with the military.

SDS grew rapidly; membership figures rose from approximately four thousand members in 1965 to more than fifty thousand by 1969. As its

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ranks increased, SDS philosophy changed as well. Many new SDS members favored aggressive action over intellectual debate and traditional protests. SDS members grew impatient with the slowness of governmental response to their impassioned protests. New factions entering SDS, such as a group called the Weathermen, were more inclined to use violence to make their point. In 1968, the Weathermen/SDS organized violent protests and rioting at the **Democratic Party**'s national convention in Chicago. That year, what was left of SDS split into two groups, and then effectively dissolved as an organization.

Suburbanization

As the **Industrial Revolution** (1877–1900) turned America away from agriculture toward an economy based on industry and labor, cities grew. As cities developed, it became clear that mass transportation was needed to help people get from place to place. By the mid-1880s, the streetcar had become the primary source of urban transportation. Trolleys (electrified streetcars) replaced them later that decade, and in 1904 the first underground subway opened in New York City. By the 1940s, the city's subway lines provided more than eight million rides a day.

Since people now had convenient travel, they were able to live in neighborhoods on the outskirts of city limits called suburbs. The suburbs tended to attract people of the same race, ethnicity, or income. By the end of **World War II** (1939–45), houses in the suburbs were in great demand as sixteen million soldiers returned home and America enjoyed a promising postwar economy.

Levittown

One particular suburb was the model upon which all others were built. Levittown, **New York**, started out as a low-cost experiment in mass-produced housing and became the most famous suburb in the United States.

William Levitt (1907–1994) was a homebuilder with a vision. He recognized the immediate need for inexpensive housing when World World II ended, and he convinced his father and younger brother to divide some family property, a former potato field, into small lots and build mass-produced homes for war veterans and their families. The suburb became known as Levittown.

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Levittown, a suburb in New York, started out as a low-cost experiment in mass-produced housing and became the model upon which most suburbs around the country were built. AP IMAGES

Levitt & Sons publicly announced its plan to build two thousand rental homes on May 7, 1947. Within two days, one thousand of those homes had already been rented. Levitt knew he had to get these houses built quickly, so to save time, he decided to build on concrete slabs rather than include basements, which was a common feature of homes at the time. He used the production-line technique to get Levittown homes built— all lumber came precut from a family-owned lumberyard in **California**, and each worker focused on just one job. To keep costs down, Levitt hired only nonunion contractors so that he did not have to pay them as much. By July 1948, the company was constructing thirty houses a day.

When the rest of the two thousand homes were rented before they were even built, Levitt decided to construct another four thousand. The community had its own schools, post office, phone service, and street-

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lights. By 1949, Levitt & Sons stopped building rental units and began building homes it could sell for $7,990. Buyers needed just $90 for a deposit and paid $58 a month to buy not only the house, but also the appliances within. Each house measured 32 feet (10 meters) by 25 feet (8 meters). There were five models, and the only difference between them was the exterior color, the roofline, and the placement of windows.

Levittown was such an amazing success that Levitt appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine on July 3, 1950. Levitt was the idea man, organizer, and salesman of the company. His brother, Alfred, was the designer of the homes, while their father, Abe, designed and landscaped the properties. By 1950, the Levitts had built nearly seventeen thousand homes. War veterans and their wives began raising children in their community. The suburb was lined with sidewalks, and fences were not allowed. This blurred property lines and gave Levittown dwellers great expanses of lawn and common areas in which to play and socialize. Everyone's backyard on any given block intersected with their neighbors' to form one gigantic, well-kept field.

Levittown today

The last Levittown house was purchased in 1951, and Levitt & Sons enjoyed the distinction of having conceived and developed the largest housing development ever constructed by one building company. In the twenty-first century, most Levitt houses still stand and remain occupied, although they have been expanded and remodeled to meet modern needs.

Levitt & Sons sold the company in 1968, after having built more than 140,000 houses around the world. They received $92 million in stock in ITT, the company that bought them. Most of it went to William Levitt. The Levitts had to agree not to build in the United States for ten years after the sale, so William Levitt built communities in Iran, Venezuela, and Nigeria. He funded the building of these suburbs with his ITT stock. Within four years, the stock lost 90 percent of its value, and Levitt found himself millions of dollars in debt.

Before his death in 1994, Levitt acknowledged Levittown as his crowning achievement. It was not fancy; it was not the best in terms of quality. But his famous suburb provided the answer to a national housing shortage at a time when people needed a place to call home.

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Other suburbs

Just as Levittown was built for a specific population (war veterans), other suburbs were built for other specific groups. Most neighborhoods were built around a particular industry. As suburbs grew to include shops, restaurants, and entertainment venues of their own, residents soon had no reason to travel outside their suburban limits for daily needs.

Through the years, as people desired to separate their home lives from their work lives, the suburban population grew. This trend continued into the twenty-first century, although an interesting phenomenon occurred. As communication technology, such as wireless communication, broadband, and e-mail developed, more and more Americans made the choice to work from home either full time or part-time. So while the trend to live in suburbs continued, the line between work and home life blurred. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, 46 percent of all Americans lived in the suburbs.

Sugar Act

The Sugar Act, also known as the Revenue Act, was passed in 1764 by English Parliament. It placed a tax on imports of sugar, coffee, and other goods entering the ports of the American colonies. The tax was an effort by the English government to recover some of the costs of the **French and Indian War** (1754–63).

England had fought the war against France in America between 1754 and 1763. Though much of the fighting was beyond the colonies in French territory, the English believed the colonists should share the burden of the expenses. The Sugar Act provided a way to raise money from the colonies.

England designed the Sugar Act to ensure that the tax would be collected. Three aspects of the measure were important in this regard. First, it provided a complicated system of loading and unloading cargo for merchant ships. This was intended to make smuggling more difficult. Second, the Act placed a tax on certain foreign goods, including sugar, coffee, indigo dye, and wines. This made these imports more expensive in the colonies.

Finally, the Act cut the importation duties on molasses in half. This was an effort to correct an earlier, now failing, piece of legislation, the Molasses Act of 1733. It had been passed to discourage colonists from

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buying the cheaper French or Dutch molasses by placing a high tax on imported molasses. Colonists had reacted by establishing a lucrative smuggling trade instead of paying the high cost of legally imported molasses. By reducing the tax on molasses, the Sugar Act reduced the cost of legal molasses and also the competition from smuggling.

The Sugar Act was quite unpopular in the colonies. It was the first time Parliament had forced such taxes on the colonists. Before this measure, imposing taxes had been done by local assemblies, in which free, white, male colonists had representatives. Colonists did not appreciate being taxed by the British government, in whose legislature they had no representation.

The Sugar Act also generated fear among the colonists that it would establish two dangerous precedents in England's control over them. If the English government felt empowered to impose a tax, Parliament might gradually increase tax rates without colonial consent as well. Furthermore, Parliament might eventually decide to eliminate the power of any colony to control its own taxes. Many colonists protested against the Sugar Act loudly, calling it an affront to colonial self-government. Parliament, however, insisted on its right to tax the colonies and refused to repeal the measure. The Sugar Act, then, was one in a series of tax measures that led to the **American Revolution** (1775– 83).

Supreme Court

The U.S. Supreme Court is the nation's highest judicial body. It leads the judiciary, the branch of government responsible for resolving legal disputes and interpreting laws on a case-by-case basis.

Beginnings

President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) appointed the entire membership of the first Supreme Court in 1789. His goal was to find balance, so he appointed three northern and three southern justices. The first meeting of the Supreme Court took place on February 1, 1790. This "first" version of the U.S. Supreme Court ended on March 5, 1791, when one of the justices, John Rutledge of South Carolina, resigned to serve as chief justice on the South Carolina court.

One of the most important bills the first Congress passed was known as the Judiciary Act of 1789. Washington signed this act into law

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in September 1789, thereby creating two types of courts: district courts and circuit courts. Each district court had one judge. These courts had the power to hold trials involving maritime law (laws governing private companies that operate ocean vessels) and minor federal crimes. District courts also held trials in minor civil (noncriminal) cases.

At the time, there were three circuits: eastern, middle, and southern. Each circuit was served by two Supreme Court justices and one district court judge. Circuit courts held trials in civil cases between citizens of different states, major civil cases filed by the United States, and cases involving major crimes. These courts also heard appeals from some trials in the district courts.

The Supreme Court has the power to hold trials in cases involving ambassadors, public ministers, consuls, and states. It also hears appeals in cases arising under the U.S. **Constitution** and federal laws and treaties, cases in which the United States is a party, and cases between citizens. In the 1890s the Supreme Court was granted the power to hear appeals in criminal cases as well.

The Judiciary Act gave the Supreme Court the power to hear appeals from the highest court of each state in cases involving interpretation of the federal Constitution. This was a controversial provision of the Judiciary Act because states objected to the idea that the Supreme Court could reverse their decisions. It remains one of the Supreme Court's powers in the twenty-first century.

Supreme Court through the years

The modern Supreme Court of the United States consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices who are nominated by the president of the United States and confirmed by the Senate. The Court meets in **Washington, D.C.**, in the Supreme Court building.

The longest serving chief justice was John Marshall (1755–1835), who presided over the Court for more than three decades (February 1801–July1835). The Marshall Court played a significant role in the establishment of America's legal system. In particular, it determined that the courts are entitled to the power to strike down laws they deem unconstitutional.

The Taney Court (1836–64), presided over by Roger Taney (1777–1864), is most famous for its ruling in the ***Dred Scott*** case. The Court

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ruled that people of African descent, whether **slaves** or not, could never be citizens of the United States. It also declared that Congress had no authority to outlaw slavery in federal territories. Many historians agree that this controversial ruling helped lead to the **Civil War** (1861–65).

Earl Warren (1891–1974) served as Chief Justice from 1953 to 1969. His court made several rulings that became milestones in American judicial history. For example, it was the Warren Court that declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional (***Brown v. Board of Education,*** 1954). This same court protected a citizen's general right to privacy in *Griswold v. Connecticut* in 1965 and upheld the right of the accused to retain a court-appointed attorney in the event they could not afford one (*Gideon v. Wainwright,* 1963). The Warren Court also prohibited mandatory Bible readings in public schools in the 1963 case *Abington Township School District v. Schempp.*

When Warren Burger (1907–1995), a conservative judge, became chief justice, many believed he would use his power to overturn some of the controversial decisions handed down by the Warren Court. He surprised the public and his colleagues by choosing not to do so. The Burger Court (1969–86) was responsible for one of the most controversial and significant decisions ever handed down. In 1973 the court ruled that abortion was a constitutional right. In the decades since the ruling, opponents of abortion rights have sought to overturn the decision, making ***Roe v. Wade*** a landmark case that continues to remain a political and social battleground. The Burger Court also upheld federal limits on political campaign contributions in *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), and ruled that, though the death penalty was not unconstitutional (*Gregg v. Georgia,* 1976), the implementation of it in some states was (*Furman v. Georgia,* 1972).

The Rehnquist Court (1986–2005), under the leadership of Chief Justice William Rehnquist (1924–2005), may well be remembered for its 5 to 4 decision in *Bush v. Gore.* The presidential election of 2000 was fraught with voting problems in Florida. (See **Voting Techniques Controversy of 2000.**) Some demanded a recount of ballots, but the Rehnquist Court held that no alternative method of recounting could be established within the required time limits. As a result, Republican **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) won the state's electoral votes and beat Democrat **Al Gore** (1948–). The court also limited the right of labor unions to picket (*Lechmere Inc. v. National Labor Relations Board,*

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1972) and restricted the *Roe v. Wade* framework for determining abortion regulations in 1992.

John G. Roberts (1955–), considered a conservative, was appointed Chief Justice in September 2005. In its first three years the Roberts Court made rulings on free speech, the death penalty, school desegregation, and gun ownership among other matters.

Chief justices

Chief justices have indefinite tenure, meaning they can serve in that capacity until death. They do have the option to retire or resign, and a justice may be removed by impeachment (formal removal due to wrongdoing) or congressional vote. Samuel Chase (1741–1811) was the only chief justice ever to be impeached (1805), but he was acquitted by the Senate.

Associate justices also have the option to serve for life under the same circumstances as chief justices. Both positions are paid an annual salary. As of 2007 the chief justice was paid $212,100, and associate justices received $203,000.

Although all Supreme Court judges make valuable contributions to the legal process, some names stand out more than others for one reason or another. Associate Justice **Sandra Day O'Connor** (1930–) was the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court. She served from 1981 until her retirement in 2006. She earned a reputation as a thoughtful, dedicated judge who considered each case individually and avoided generalizations.

Another remarkable judge was **Thurgood Marshall** (1908–1993), who was the first African American to serve on the Supreme Court. He was an associate justice from 1967 until 1991. During his tenure he supported the protection of individual rights and abortion rights. He was unequivocally opposed to the death penalty and dissented from (voted against) every decision upholding the death sentence.

One of the most influential Supreme Court associate justices was Louis Brandeis (1856–1941). He was the first Jewish justice to serve, and his term lasted twenty-three years. Brandeis was a champion of individual rights. In *Olmstead v. United States* (1928), the Supreme Court ruled that neither the Fourth Amendment nor the Fifth Amendment rights of the defendants had been violated when evidence obtained by illegal wiretapping of conversations had been used to convict them of breaking the

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Volstead Act (prohibition of the manufacture, sale, and distribution of alcoholic beverages). Brandeis's dissenting opinion became famous for its demand that the United States government adhere to the same laws it enforces for private citizens. He contended that the Court's finding made itself the lawbreaker. His position became law in 1967, when the *Olmstead* decision was overturned.

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T

William Howard Taft

William Howard Taft was President **Theodore Roosevelt**'s (1858–1919; served 1901–09) secretary of war prior to being elected the twenty-seventh president of the United States.

Son of a judge

Taft was born in 1857 to an **Ohio** judge and his wife. Eager to please his parents, Taft was an anxious child whose weight fluctuated according to the degree of his anxiety. He graduated from Yale University and returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, to open his own law firm. Throughout his law-practicing years, Taft held numerous judiciary appointments.

By the age of thirty-four, Taft was appointed a federal circuit judge, and hoped to one day serve on the U.S. Supreme Court. His wife, Helen, had other plans for his career, however.

To the White House

In 1900, President **William McKinley** (1843–1901; served 1897–1901) sent Taft to the Philippines as chief civil administrator of America's newly acquired colony in the Pacific Ocean. In that capacity, Taft improved the economy, oversaw the development of both roads and schools, and made sure the people had a voice in government.

President Roosevelt named Taft to be his Secretary of War in 1904, a job he would keep until his election to the presidency. As the Republican candidate, Taft ran against **Democratic Party** nominee William Jennings Bryan (1860–1925) in the 1908 presidential election

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William Howard Taft was named secretary of war in 1904 and later was elected the twenty-seventh president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

and won with 51.6 percent of the popular vote. By this time, Taft was 5 feet 11 inches tall and weighed 320 pounds. He had to have a bath tub specially made for him in the White House.

After eight years of Teddy Roosevelt, America had grown accustomed to its president being loud and outspoken. Taft was reserved, uncomfortable with crowds and attention. This was just one difference between the two leaders. Whereas Roosevelt focused on pushing through legislation, Taft concentrated on administration. He saw his job as one that should enforce the laws already in place, regardless of his personal agreement or disagreement with those laws.

Accomplishments and controversy

Taft did not ignore the need for reform, however. One of the first reform acts of his administration was the reduction of tariffs (taxes on products imported from other countries). High taxes brought in extra money but also impeded global commerce because foreign manufacturers did not always want to pay those high tariffs.

Taft also passed the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the authority to suspend railroad rate hikes and set rates. It also expanded their power beyond railroads to include telephones, telegraphs, and radio.

Taft was the president responsible for getting the **Sixteenth Amendment** passed into law in 1913; with this, Americans were now required to pay income tax. He was not as enthusiastic in the passage of the **Seventeenth Amendment**, which allowed senators to be directly elected by citizens of a state. Prior to that, senators were always appointed by the state legislature.

Until Taft's administration, each agency of the federal government submitted its own budget. Taft decided the president should be the one to submit a government budget to Congress for approval. Although the 1921 Budget and Accounting Act was passed too late to affect the authority of Taft (he was out of office eight years by that time), the law gave

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all future presidents expanded power in the control of the executive branch of government.

Breaks ties with Roosevelt

In those early days of big business, corporations sometimes formed trusts (the name given to the practice when dominant companies from the same industry banded together to reduce competition and set prices). Trusts were eventually outlawed because they were unfair to the smaller businesses. Theodore Roosevelt had been known as the trust-busting president, but more antitrust lawsuits (nearly one hundred) were pursued during Taft's presidency.

Two of the more famous cases were begun under Roosevelt: Standard Oil Company and American Tobacco Company. Both ended in victory under Taft. He was less successful in his efforts against U.S. Steel. The suit found Taft pitted against Roosevelt, who had approved of the company's formation in 1901. Roosevelt accused Taft of not being able to distinguish between "good" and "bad" trusts, and the friendship fell apart. In 1920, the Supreme Court ruled that U.S. Steel was not in violation of antitrust laws. The verdict came seven years after Taft left office.

More mistakes

Many Republicans felt betrayed by Taft when he signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act in 1909. Republicans as a group were in favor of more severe reductions than the Act allowed. Taft, however, felt the reform was the best tariff bill ever passed by Congress. Those Republicans he angered later formed a political party called the Progressives; they would be joined by Theodore Roosevelt.

Taft fired Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946), leader of the National Forest Service and close friend of Theodore Roosevelt, in 1910. The firing was a direct result of a public controversy between Pinchot and one of Taft's appointees. The majority of America sympathized with Pinchot.

International relations

Foreign relations deteriorated under Taft. Trade with China decreased, and Central America resented the president's efforts to "rescue" them by

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encouraging American investors to pour money into their economy. This program was known as "dollar diplomacy."

The failure to maintain foreign relations prompted a Pan-American (relating to North, South, and Central America) Conference in 1910. The purpose of the conference was to find a way to keep the United States from intervening in the affairs of South and Central America. Not long after the conference, Taft ordered two thousand troops to the border of Mexico. Their mission was to intervene in a revolution taking place there so that U.S. investments would be protected. Congress refused to approve this move and Taft backed down.

Loses the 1912 election

America had mixed feelings about Taft. His size affected his image and offended some. Those who were not offended were amused; he was hard to take seriously. What started off as light teasing in the early years of his administration became hostile comments as his administration faltered. Furthermore, the president often fell asleep at public functions and embarrassed his family and friends. Modern doctors believe he probably suffered from a sleep disorder, made worse by his obesity.

Taft lacked the leadership skills necessary to run the country. He was incapable of making sound decisions on the spot, but considered every issue from all sides, a habit that led to indecisiveness. He also tended to let others influence his leadership. A good example of this is his initial tariff reform package: Congress made 847 amendments to it, and he approved them. As a result, the reform meant almost nothing.

Taft ran for reelection in 1912 only because he felt the need to defend himself against Theodore Roosevelt's many public attacks on his character and judgment. This caused Roosevelt to leave the Republican Party and join the Progressives, a move that guaranteed Taft would not win. He lost the election to Democrat **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21), New Jersey's governor.

Taft was relieved to leave the White House and took a job teaching law at Yale. He then accepted an appointment as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, a position he kept until his death in 1930. It was the job William Taft was most honored to have in his lifetime.

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Taft-Hartley Act

The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 was a revision of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (also known as the Wagner Act). The Wagner Act is considered the most important labor law in American history and is often referred to as the laborer's bill of rights. (See **Labor Movement**.)

Among other things, the Wagner Act gave workers the right to join labor unions (formally organized associations of workers that advance members' view on wages, work hours, and labor conditions), negotiate together through representatives of their own choosing, and to strike (refuse to work until specific conditions are met). It also established the **National Labor Relations Board**, which was an independent federal agency designed to administer the act.

Opposed by unions

Business owners did not like the Wagner Act, nor did the majority of Republicans, who traditionally supported big business. On June 23, 1947, a Republican-dominated Congress overrode President **Harry S. Truman**'s (1884–1972; served 1945–53) veto (disapproval of a bill or resolution) to pass the Labor-Management Relations Act, also known as the Taft-Hartley Act (named after its two sponsors). Labor leaders called the new law the slave labor bill.

The act was largely considered antilabor, as it gave power to the government and limited a number of labor union practices such as boycotts and certain strikes. Under the new law, the president of the United States could request a court order to end a strike if it was found that the strike would endanger national health or safety. Union shops (workplaces run by labor unions and which hired only union members) were no longer allowed to discriminate against nonunion members. A major point of conflict with the Taft-Hartley Act was the provision that required all union officers to take an oath that they were not Communists (people who adhere to an economic theory in which everything is government owned and distribution is controlled).

By the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century, presidents had used the Taft-Hartley Act more than thirty times to call a halt to labor strikes. All but two of them were successful.

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Tammany Hall

A veteran of the **American Revolution** (1775–83) named William Mooney founded the Tammany Society in **New York** in 1789. The name came from a Delaware chief, Tamanend, who supposedly developed a friendship with **William Penn** (1644–1718), an American statesman.

By 1800, the Tammany Society was a powerful political machine (unofficial political system based on behind-the-scenes control and favors given and collected, usually between politicians and big business). In 1830, the society's headquarters were established in a New York City building that became known as Tammany Hall. From that point on, the society itself was referred to by the same name.

In the mid-1800s, hundreds of thousands of **Irish immigrants** arrived in New York City searching for religious freedom, food, and steady work. They were a loyal group, willing to use any means necessary to get what they needed, and had what many believed to be a natural propensity for politics. Tammany Hall membership came to include many Irish, who were willing to give their votes in exchange for food and money.

Tammany Hall elected its first New York City mayor in 1855, and for the next seventy years, the city government would be dominated by Tammany politicians. One of its most infamous, William Marcy "Boss" Tweed (1823–1878) never became mayor, but was considered the most influential person in the city. Tweed essentially controlled any mayor in office, and appointed so many of his friends to political positions in New York City that in 1870, he was able to pass a charter allowing him and his friends—known as the Tweed Ring—to control the city treasury.

Tweed's crimes were many. He and his cronies faked leases on city-owned buildings, padded bills with charges for repairs that never happened, and bought overpriced goods and services from suppliers controlled by the ring. All in all, they managed to steal between $30 million and $200 million from the city between 1865 and 1871.

Tweed's most notorious deed was the construction of the New York County Courthouse, begun in 1861. In one example of the corruption involved, he paid a carpenter $360,751 (equal to $4.9 million in modern value) for one month's worth of work. But the courthouse had very little woodwork throughout its rooms. Three tables and forty chairs cost $179,729 (equal to $2.5 million). A plasterer received $133,187 (equal to $1.82 million) for two days' work. These laborers were friends of

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Tweed. Tweed himself profited from a financial interest in the quarry that provided the marble for the courthouse.

Tweed also controlled the **Democratic Party** of New York City. By 1870, he was appointed commissioner of public works. This position



Tammany Hall in New York City was the headquarters for the powerful Tammany society. Through corruption and intimidation, Tammany Hall controlled politics in New York for seventy years. AP IMAGES

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gave him even greater opportunity to steal the city's money. Tweed also organized the development of City Hall Park. His original estimate for the project was $350,000. By the time he had completed the job, spending had escalated to $13 million.

On July 21, 1871, the *New York Times* published some of the contents of New York County's financial records. When the public realized that Tweed was paying his friends $41,190 for a broom and $7,500 for a thermometer, an investigation ensued. In 1873, Tweed was arrested, found guilty of corruption, and sentenced to twelve years behind bars. He served only two years but was rearrested almost upon release. New York sued him for $6 million. Tweed died in a New York prison on April 12, 1878.

Tammany Hall remained corrupt and powerful into the twentieth century, and it was not until the 1930s that it lost its influence under a reform-minded mayor, Fiorello La Guardia (1882–1947). Mayor John V. Lindsay (1921–2000) put an end to Tammany Hall in the 1960s.

Zachary Taylor

Zachary Taylor triumphed as a military leader in the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48), making him a popular hero. A Southern **slave** owner and a believer in a strong national government, he was one of the few politicians who appealed to both South and North during the bitterly divided years before the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Taylor was born on November 24, 1784, and grew up on a large slaveholding plantation in **Kentucky**. He spent much of his youth tending the plantation and received only a modest education. Always interested in the military, he joined the U.S. **Army** in 1808. By 1810 he was promoted to the rank of captain. That same year he married and his father gave him 364 acres of land as a wedding gift. Over the years, Taylor acquired more plantations around the South and hundreds of slaves.

Military leader

Taylor first won prominence during the **War of 1812** (1812–15; a conflict over trade between England and the United States) when his command withstood an attack by a large force of Indians led by Shawnee leader **Tecumseh** (1768–1813). In 1816 Taylor began a fifteen-year tour

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of duty as commander of garrisons (fortified military posts) in **Wisconsin** Territory, **Louisiana**, and **Minnesota**. He later won battle distinction in Indian conflicts. Muscular and stocky, rarely in full uniform, he was called "Old Rough and Ready" by his troops.

War with Mexico

In 1845 the independent Republic of **Texas** was negotiating annexation, or becoming part of, the United States. Mexico, which still considered Texas to be Mexican territory, threatened war. Taylor and his large command were sent to the disputed border area, and soon Mexican forces attacked. Taylor did not wait for Congress to declare war. On May 8, 1846, he defeated a Mexican army three times the size of his own forces. A grateful Congress awarded him two gold medals. He went on to more battle triumphs.



Zachary Taylor was a prominent figure in both the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War. He later became the twelfth president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A national hero, Taylor's name was soon being mentioned as the **Whig Party** nominee for president. President **James K. Polk** (1795–1849; served 1845–49), a Democrat, reassigned half Taylor's troops to General Winfield Scott (1786–1866), with orders to invade Mexico at Veracruz, leaving Taylor in the background. Ignoring orders, Taylor advanced southward until he came into contact with the Mexican army of fifteen to twenty thousand men. The two-day Battle of Buena Vista followed. Taylor's artillery (large guns and cannons) proved so effective that the Mexicans were forced to retreat. Congress voted him another gold medal.

Whig nomination

In 1848 the Whigs nominated Taylor as their presidential candidate, even though he had little political experience and his positions differed from the party's. A split in the Democratic Party resulted in his winning the election. People in the North voted for him because he was a war hero; in the South he was admired as a slave owner. Few knew where he stood on the issues.

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The President: 1849–50

From the start, Taylor's presidency was ineffective. The men he chose for his cabinet (high-ranking members of his administration) had little political skill or influence in Washington. His short time in office was overshadowed by the conflicts that arose from the acquisition of New Mexico Territory (including parts of present-day **New Mexico**, **Arizona**, **Colorado**, and **Nevada**) and **California** in the Mexican War. The South was worried that the new lands would be admitted to the **Union** as free (non-slave holding) states and thereby disrupt the fragile balance between slaveholding states and free states in the Senate. The Union was in grave danger of splitting and the American public looked to the president to unify the divided Congress.

Taylor failed to work with Congressional leaders. Instead, the debate played itself out entirely among leaders such as senators **Henry Clay** (1777–1852), who fought for compromise, and **John C. Calhoun** (1782–1850), who fought for upholding the rights of slave owners and states' rights. The result was the **Compromise of 1850**, a set of laws in which California was to be admitted to the Union as a free state and no federal laws would limit slavery in the territory of New Mexico. Part of the compromise was the controversial **Fugitive Slave Law**, which demanded all Americans to help slave owners recover their runaway slaves, even in the Northern states where slavery was prohibited. The Compromise pleased few but provided a temporary, uneasy peace.

Though a Southerner and slaveholder, Taylor did not sympathize with the South's threats of **secession** (withdrawing from the Union). As a military man, he was bound by oath to uphold the Constitution; a rupture of the Union was to him unthinkable. But many historians believe that he lacked the skills to prevent it.

Zachary Taylor died of suspected food poisoning on July 9, 1850, before the Compromise of 1850 was finalized.

Tea Act

The Tea Act was passed in 1773 by the British government. Parliament passed the Act to help the East India Company, a British tea company that had fallen into debt. The Tea Act did not impose any new taxes on the American colonies. Instead, it reinforced a three-penny tax remain-

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ing from the **Townshend Acts** of 1767. Other changes gave advantages to the East India Company that angered colonists. The series of events that followed the Tea Act led directly to the colonial movement for independence and the **American Revolution** (1775–83).

Taxation without representation

In 1767, the English Parliament had passed a series of measures that imposed taxes on the American colonies. They were known together as the Townshend Acts and proved to be very unpopular among colonists. Among other things, a three-penny tax had been placed on imported teas.

Though most of the Townshend Acts were repealed in 1770, Parliament maintained the tax on tea as a statement of its right to tax the colonists. With the repeal of the rest of the taxes, colonists quietly allowed this tax to remain. A smuggling trade of Dutch and French teas, however, existed as a silent protest and provided access to cheaper teas.

Special interests

By January 1773, the East India Company had fallen heavily into debt. More than ten million pounds of tea sat in London warehouses rather than being sold. Hoping to reduce costs and boost sales in America, the East India Company petitioned Parliament to remove the duty on tea that remained in American colonies.

The prime minister of England resisted and instead encouraged Parliament to assist the company by passing the Tea Act. The legislation effectively cut wholesalers out of the chain of distribution for tea, allowing the East India Company to ship tea directly to its own agents in America. By cutting out the costs of middlemen, the company was able to undersell other tea companies and to capture a monopoly of sales.

The Tea Act angered colonists at all levels of society. Wholesalers, merchants, and smugglers were all affected by the provisions enabling the monopoly through direct sales and cheaper teas. Americans throughout the colonies were angered at the reinforcement of the tax imposed without colonial consent. The Tea Act stirred colonial discontent with British rule and reignited fears of losing self-government throughout the colonies. Colonists were inspired to resist Parliament's laws and to unite in protection of their liberties.

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Tea parties

In November 1773, the first shipments of East India Company tea since passage of the Act began to arrive in ports throughout the colonies. They were met with hostile and sometimes violent receptions. The most well-known act of resistance occurred in Boston, where a group of protestors quietly boarded East India Company's three ships and dumped the load of tea overboard.

This event, known as the **Boston Tea Party**, led to punitive measures from Parliament, which were collectively termed the Intolerable Acts by colonists. These new restrictions stirred such anger and outrage among the colonists that the movement for independence gained momentum. The conflicts between the English government and its American colonies eventually led to the American Revolutionary War in 1775.

Teapot Dome Scandal

The Teapot Dome scandal was the most notorious of several political scandals that erupted during the 1920s. The bribery case and its investigation affected even the White House.

When **Warren G. Harding** (1865–1923; served 1921–23) entered the White House in 1921, he appointed as secretary of the interior (federal department responsible for looking after government-owned land) U.S. senator Albert B. Fall (1861–1944) of **New Mexico**. Fall was an anticonservationist in an era when **conservation** (protection and restoration of the natural environment) was emerging as an issue of interest for many Americans.

Oil-rich Wyoming land

Conservationists sought to preserve certain areas from development, much to the consternation of big business. Among these areas was a place in **Wyoming** called Teapot Dome. This area was off-limits to private oil companies that would have liked to drill for and sell the oil located beneath the Teapot Dome land. Since the oil would eventually be used to fuel warships, the reserves were under control of the Department of the **Navy**.

Fall convinced Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby (1870–1929) to transfer those western oil-reserve rights to the Interior Department.

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Then Fall granted oil drilling rights to several of his personal friends in the oil industry. Conservationists as well as some members of Congress suspected wrongdoing, and an investigation was launched. Public hearings began on October 23, 1923.

A suspicious loan

Fall claimed to have "borrowed" around $100,000 from Edward L. Doheny of Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company. Fall awarded Doheny drilling rights for two naval reserve areas in California. Henry Sinclair of Mammoth Oil Company was granted the drilling rights at Teapot Dome. That "borrowed" money was considered bribery by the court, and Fall became the first U.S. cabinet official ever sentenced to prison for an illegal act committed while in office.

Denby was forced to resign, and two others suspected of being involved in the scandal committed suicide. By this time, Harding had died of a heart attack. His vice president, **Calvin Coolidge** (1872–1933; served 1923–29), took over as president and remained unscathed by the scandal, which in no way involved him.

Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa

The Shawnee brothers Tecumseh, a highly respected Indian leader, and Tenskwatawa (originally named Lalawethika), a religious visionary, led the most widespread and coordinated Native American resistance against the advancing white settlers and armies in the history of the United States.

Tecumseh and Lalawethika both were born in a Shawnee village in what is now western **Ohio**. Tecumseh was born in 1768 and Lalawethika was born in 1775. Their father was a respected Shawnee war chief. At the time of Tecumseh and Lalawethika's early childhood, whites were arriving in Shawnee land in increasing numbers, clearing and fencing the land and driving away the game on which the Indians depended. In 1774, in a war between the Shawnee and the settlers, Tecumseh and Lalawethika's father was killed.

War with white settlers

In 1777, white settlers seized and murdered Shawnee principal chief Cornstalk (c.1720–1777) while he was on a peace mission. Outraged,

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the Shawnee attacked white settlements, killing many residents. In 1779, white militias attacked Chillicothe, the principal village of the Shawnee. The Shawnee fought off the attack easily, but with war on their homeland looming, the tribe splintered. Nearly one thousand Shawnee, including Methoataske, the mother of eleven-year-old Tecumseh and four-year-old Lalawethika, migrated to southeastern **Missouri**. Their older brother Chicksika and sister Tecumpease cared for their younger brothers.

Chicksika taught Tecumseh to be a hunter and warrior. The young man learned quickly, showing uncommon leadership qualities at an early age. Lalawethika was still too young to train with them.

Death of Chicksika

During the years that followed the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the new U.S. government set about acquiring Indian land. "Government chiefs," as the Indians called those who worked closely with government officials, sold off huge tracts of land that they did not own. During those years, Tecumseh likely developed his philosophy that the land belonged to all the Indians in common, and therefore no one tribe or group had the right to sell it.

Tensions between the Shawnee and the white settlers continued to build. In 1787 and 1788, Chicksika's war party, including Tecumseh, regularly raided white settlements in an attempt to stop the white encroachment on their lands. In 1788, Chicksika was killed in an unsuccessful attack in **Tennessee**. Grief-stricken, Tecumseh continued raiding white settlements and did not return home until 1790. While he was away, the U.S. government took control of his homeland, creating the Northwest Territory (the modern-day states of Ohio, **Indiana**, **Illinois**, **Michigan**, and **Wisconsin**). The Shawnee continued to fight, and after his return, Tecumseh also took part in the raids.

In 1794, the government decided to send the U.S. **Army** to battle with the Indians. In August, Tecumseh and brothers Sauwauseekau and Lalawethika fought the Army in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The Shawnee were defeated, and Sauwauseekau was killed. A bitter Tecumseh refused to participate in the Treaty of Greenville that followed the battle. The treaty forced the Indians to give up their claims to lands in southern, central, and eastern Ohio.

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Tecumseh as negotiator

The following years were relatively peaceful for Tecumseh. Both the Indians and white leaders viewed Tecumseh as intelligent, thoughtful, honest, and humane. In attempts to make peace between the U.S. government and the Indian tribes, Tecumseh was often asked to negotiate, and he performed this task well.

Though he wished for peace and had friends among the white people, Tecumseh's first priority was saving Indian lands from white settlement. He believed the only way this could be accomplished was to bring together a league of all tribes. Tecumseh resolved to lead the alliance.

The Prophet

Meanwhile, Lalawethika formed a friendship with Penagashea, a medicine man and prophet (someone who sees divine truth). In the winter of 1804–5, infectious diseases brought by white settlers killed many Shawnee, including Penagashea. Lalawethika sought to take over Penagashea's role as medicine man, but few believed he had the power. One day, Lalawethika suddenly fell unconscious. His wife and neighbors found him not breathing and began preparing for his funeral. But Lalawethika woke from his stupor and described the vision he had experienced.

In Lalawethika's vision, the Master of Life had taken him to the spirit world and showed him the past and the future. Overcome, the young man renounced his reckless lifestyle, which had included heavy drinking. He took on the name Tenskwatawa, meaning "The Open Door," which referred to his new destiny as a holy man who would lead his people through the door to paradise.

Tenskwatawa's visions continued, and he began preaching. He condemned alcohol, violence, stealing, and sexual promiscuity. He proclaimed that Indians should stay away from the white people, who he said were the children of the devil. He urged people to treat elders with



Tenskwatawa, also known as Lalawethika, became a Shawnee prophet and his teachings quickly spread through the Shawnee and other Indian communities.
MPI/GETTY IMAGES

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respect, perform traditional rituals, and return to traditional Shawnee ways. Tenskwatawa's teachings spread rapidly among the Shawnee and other tribes. He became known far and wide as "the Prophet."

Brothers join forces

Tesumseh soon joined his brother in the community Tenskwatawa established in Greenville, Ohio. Tecumseh had two major goals: He wanted all tribes to join together and claim common ownership of all remaining Indian lands, and he wanted to create a political and military confederacy to unite the tribes under his own leadership. A strong speaker, his arguments won many followers, and Tenskwatawa's community became the headquarters of a strong religious and political force.

Government officials became alarmed at the growing number of warriors arriving at Greenville. From his headquarters, **William Henry Harrison** (1773–1841), governor of the Indiana Territory, watched the Greenville community closely.

Prophetstown

By 1808, the resources at Greenville were depleted, and the brothers moved their supporters to a new location on the Tippecanoe River. The new village was called Prophetstown.

Meanwhile, Tecumseh worked with mixed success to establish his confederacy, traveling widely among the tribes of the Northwest and the South in search of recruits. Tecumseh's leadership threatened the older leaders, who found it difficult to imagine a confederacy that united them with tribes that were their ancient enemies.

In September 1809, Harrison entered into new land negotiations with government chiefs. In the resulting Treaty of Fort Wayne, the government obtained about 2.5 million acres of Indian lands. Word of this loss spread quickly among the northwestern tribes. A flood of warriors, disgusted with the leaders who had betrayed them, joined Tecumseh's confederacy.

In 1810, Tecumseh and several hundred warriors met with Harrison. Tecumseh spoke at length about the injustices that had been committed against the Indians, emphasizing his opposition to the Treaty of Fort Wayne; he also admitted that he headed a confederacy dedicated to preventing further invasion of Indian lands.

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In 1810, Tecumseh, standing right, met with General William Henry Harrison, standing left, and spoke about the injustices that had been committed against the Indians. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, LTD.

Battle of Tippecanoe

In autumn 1811, Tecumseh journeyed south to recruit more tribes to his confederacy. Harrison took advantage of the opportunity and marched his army toward Tippecanoe, halting within a mile of the village. Tenskwatawa ordered an attack on the army encampment during the night. After two hours of battle, the Indians began to retreat, even though they had inflicted heavy losses on Harrison's troops. The Battle of Tippecanoe was over. Harrison's troops burned Tippecanoe and brutally murdered and mutilated the warriors they captured.

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Three decades later, Harrison became president of the United States, campaigning as a military hero on the strength of his victory against the Indians at Tippecanoe. Historians later revealed that his claims were exaggerated: Harrison's troops suffered greater losses than the Indians did, and the Indians may well have prevailed had their leader, Tecumseh, been present. Tenskwatawa had taken no active role in the fighting, and the defeat ended his career as a prophet.

War of 1812

When the **War of 1812** broke out between the British and Americans, Tecumseh offered his support to the British. He campaigned among the Indians of the Great Lakes region, winning many converts to the British cause. He participated in a number of battles in Canada and the Detroit area as the British gained the advantage. At the Battle of Brownstown, with only 24 warriors, Tecumseh turned back an army of more than 150 American troops. Tecumseh commanded all Indian forces in the British conquest of Detroit on August 15, 1812.

But losses soon followed. The British navy suffered a sound defeat, and the British commander under whom Tecumseh served announced his intention to retreat. But Tecumseh's inspiring speech before the assembled British and Indian troops prompted the commander to make a stand against the approaching American forces, led by Harrison.

The British troops made their stand at the Thames River, but they quickly collapsed under pressure from the Americans. Tecumseh's warriors fought until they were overwhelmed by superior numbers. Tecumseh died from a bullet to the chest; Tenskwatawa fled early in the battle. The Battle of the Thames ended in an American victory.

When Tecumseh died in battle in 1813, the last credible hope the Native Americans had of containing land-hungry Americans east of the Mississippi seemed to die with him. Tenskwatawa died in Kansas City, **Kansas**, in November 1836.

Telegraph

A telegraph is any system that transmits information by encoded signal across a distance. Telegraphs using electricity were invented separately in Europe and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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Their development contributed to the **Industrial Revolution** in the second half of the century.

Invention of the telegraph

In 1791, French engineer Claude Chappe (1763–1805) and his brother Ignace (1760–1829) invented an optical telegraph called a semaphore. It consisted of a series of towers with arms for making signals, and telescopes for seeing the arms between cities. Claude Chappe named it the telegraph after the Greek words *tele,* meaning distant, and *graphien,* meaning to write.

The invention of the battery by Italian physicist Alessandro Volta (1745–1827) in 1800 led to the development of an electric telegraph by English inventors William Fothergill Cooke (1806–1879) and Charles Wheatstone (1802–1875) in 1837. Their system used electricity to control five needles that pointed to letters and numbers arranged on a panel. The British railway adopted the new system, which was used in England until around 1870.

Around 1832, Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872) saw the semaphore system in France. Although he was an artist, Morse devoted himself to



The first telegraphic instrument as created by Samuel F. B. Morse, Alfred Vail, Joseph Henry, and others. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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developing a telegraph system in America using electricity. With assistance from Alfred Vail (1807–1859), Joseph Henry (1797–1878), and others, Morse created a telegraph that he demonstrated publicly in Morristown, New Jersey, in 1837.

Morse's system could transmit a message over 1,700 feet of wire. To protect his invention, he filed for a patent from the U.S. Patent Office. To enable communication with the telegraph, Morse developed a code for translating short and long electric pulses into letters and numbers.

Development of the telegraph industry

Morse did not have enough money to build a system for testing the telegraph over great distances. He asked Congress to provide the money, which it finally did in 1843. With the money, $30,000, Morse constructed a pole line from Baltimore, **Maryland**, to **Washington, D.C.** On May 24, 1844, Morse sent his famous message to Vail along the line, asking, "What hath God wrought?"

Telegraph operators learned to read telegraph messages by listening to the clicking sound made by the system, according to Morse's code. By the 1850s, there were telegraph stations in major eastern and midwestern cities operated by many different companies. Operators sent messages from one station to another. The receiving station decoded the message into written form and gave the message to runners, who hand-delivered them to their recipients. The cost to send a message was about twenty-five cents per hundred miles for ten words or less.

Constructing telegraph lines was costly, requiring a commitment of between $100 and $200 per mile. The first line across North America to San Francisco, **California**, was completed in October 1861. By 1866 more than one hundred thousand miles of lines connected cities in North America, and the telegraph industry employed thousands of workers. That same year, a line was successfully laid in the Atlantic Ocean to link America with England by telegraph.

Impact on the nation

The Western Union Telegraph Company was organized in 1856. During the American **Civil War** (1861–65), both the Union and Confederate forces used the telegraph to communicate. After the war, Western Union emerged as the dominant company in the telegraph industry.

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Industrialist **Jay Gould** gave Western Union its greatest competition with the American Union Telegraph Company, formed in 1879.

The telegraph was instrumental in the Industrial Revolution and its progress across the North American continent. Manufacturers, financiers, and other businessmen could communicate directly and distantly with customers and agents. **Steamboat** operators used it to communicate navigation conditions on rivers. **Railroads** constructed their own telegraph lines to allow train schedules to work more efficiently. The invention of the stock ticker with telegraph technology allowed the investment industry to grow on Wall Street in **New York** and elsewhere.

The telegraph changed the newspaper industry, too. Prior to the telegraph, newspapers excelled at publishing editorial opinions. The telegraph allowed papers to publish the facts of news events soon after they happened. To minimize the cost of sending telegrams, journalists invented a form of abbreviated communication called telegraphic reporting.

In 1848, seven daily newspapers in New York formed the Associated Press (AP) to share the cost of using telegraph technology for gathering news. By 1880, fifty percent of the country's morning newspapers and twenty-five percent of its evening newspapers had access to the service. Because the papers covered all parts of the political spectrum of opinion, writers for AP news reports were instructed to report facts without slant. Some historians say this contributed to the development of a tradition of objectivity, or without bias, in journalism.

Western Union's Last Telegram

On Friday, February 2, 2007, Western Union sent its last telegram. The popularity of telegrams peaked in the 1920s and 1930s. Telegrams declined as long-distance telephone calls became affordable in the middle of the twentieth century. In 2006, Western Union sent around 20,000 telegrams, charging about $10 for each. According to an article by the Associated Press, itself a product of the telegraph industry, Western Union telegrams sent in its final week of telegram operation included birthday wishes, condolences on a death, notice of an emergency, and other telegrams by people trying to be the last to send one. Although the telegram died, Western Union lived on as a major company in the field of money transfers and financial services.

Telephone

A telephone is a device for carrying sounds over long distances. The word is a combination of the Greek words *tele,* meaning distant, and *phone,* meaning sound. Telephones work by sending sound either as electric current through wires or as radio waves through space. The invention of the telephone in the latter half of the nineteenth century forever changed the way Americans live and conduct business.

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Invention

Electrical telecommunication began early in the nineteenth century with the invention of the **telegraph** in 1837 by Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872). Telegraph systems sent electric pulses through wires. The telegraph allowed people to communicate long distances using a code that assigned letters and numbers to different combinations of short and long electric pulses.

Telephones work by transforming the human voice into electric currents sent through metallic wires. The first working telephone was invented by a German, Johann Philipp Reis (1834–1874), in 1863. Reis devised the telephone for the scientific purpose of demonstrating the nature of sound. He never developed a commercial use for the instrument.

In America, two people applied for patents for telephone inventions on the same day, February 14, 1876. **Alexander Graham Bell** (1847–1922) filed his application with the U.S. Patent Office just two hours before Elisha Gray (1835–1901) filed his. Because Bell was first, he acquired important legal rights for the invention, so history remembers him as the man who invented the telephone.

Bell was a Scottish immigrant who was a teacher for the deaf. His interest in speech and hearing theory moved him to experiment with inventing a telephone. Bell discovered that variations in air pressure could change the intensity of the electric current in an electrical circuit. In his first systems, air pressure made a thin disk called a diaphragm vibrate, causing a metallic organ reed to vibrate near an electromagnet, which made electricity in a circuit change strength with the vibrations. Bell began testing his system in June 1875 before applying for patents to protect his invention in February 1876.

Local service

By August 1877, Bell had received four patents for his telephone technology. With them he formed the Bell Telephone Company. The company offered telephone service to subscribers by connecting them directly with telephone lines. With such a system, a community of one hundred subscribers needed ninety-nine hundred separate wire connections to link each subscriber to each of the others.

The development of central switching offices reduced the number of lines needed in a local telephone system. Instead of connecting every

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subscriber to every other subscriber, each subscriber was connected only to a central office. Human operators in the central office connected individual lines when one person called another. The invention of automatic switching technology in 1891 eventually eliminated the need for human operators. By 1880, there was one telephone for every thousand residents of the United States.

Long-distance telephone calls

Long-distance telephone service could not develop until the technology improved to strengthen the telephone signal for traveling on telephone lines over long distances. In an effort to enter this market, the Western Union Company hired inventor **Thomas Edison** (1847–1931) to improve Bell's technology. Western Union, however, eventually sold its telephone technology to Bell Telephone. In 1885, Bell Telephone formed a subsidiary company for developing long-distance telephone service. It was called the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, or AT&T.

The first telephone lines used iron wires. Replacing them with copper wires allowed service to reach the distance from Boston, **Massachusetts**, to Chicago, **Illinois**. By 1900, Bell engineers had invented loading coils, which wrapped around the main conductor wires to improve signal strength. In 1906, scientist Lee de Forest (1873–1961) invented the audion tube. This device allowed the telephone signal to be strengthened, or amplified, at key points along the telephone lines. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was one telephone for every one hundred people in the United States.

In June 1914, AT&T finished a long-distance line between **New York** and San Francisco, **California**. The company tested the line that

Breaking Up AT&T

In the early days of long-distance telephone service, AT&T refused to allow other telephone companies to have access to its network of telephone lines. Some companies began to build their own lines. This created a threat of competition. At the same time, there was political pressure for AT&T to grant access to its lines to prevent AT&T from having a monopoly on long-distance service.

AT&T soon learned that by leasing its lines to other companies, it could boost its profits while also discouraging the construction of competitive networks of lines. Leasing its lines to other companies eased the political pressure to break up AT&T. Over time, AT&T bought smaller companies that had trouble competing against AT&T and its superior financial resources. In this way AT&T dominated telephone service through most of the twentieth century.

In the 1970s, AT&T faced antitrust lawsuits from the federal government and a long-distance service competitor, MCI. By 1982, AT&T and the federal government reached an agreement to reorganize twenty-two of AT&T's regional telephone service companies into seven companies that became independent of AT&T. In exchange for getting rid of these companies, AT&T was allowed to remain in the businesses for long-distance service and telecommunications equipment, and to enter the business of manufacturing computer equipment.

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year and officially demonstrated it in January 1915 at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. In September 1915, Theodore N. Vail successfully tested a radio telephone communication from New York to San Francisco.

Just one month later the first transatlantic radio telephone communication was made between Arlington, **Virginia**, and Paris, France. Signal quality was poor, so another ten years passed before usable transatlantic telephone service occurred. The first transatlantic cable allowed electrical telephone service between American and Europe in 1956.

Tenement Housing

As cities grew throughout the **Industrial Revolution**, so did the influence of government on their growth. Urban planners tried to combat overcrowding through garden cities (planned communities designed to keep green spaces) and zoning (division of cities into sections for homes, businesses, and factories). The first zoning law was passed in New York City in 1916 and gave the public control over the use of land and construction. Within ten years, more than one thousand cities across America would pass zoning laws in hopes of controlling not only how land was used, but also the height and use of buildings.

Urban growth problems

Although the passage of zoning laws signaled a major transition toward governmental intervention in the marketplace, the laws were largely negative in their results. The zoning laws did not encourage adequate housing, nor did they provide a basis for coordinating housing and city planning. The result, instead of well-planned cities, was major overcrowding and a type of residential (living) building called tenement housing.

Tenement housing was the first style of apartment buildings. By 1903, New York City's eighty-two thousand tenements housed nearly three million people, nearly all of whom occupied the lowest economic rung of society.

Tenement housing offered few advantages other than cheap rent. The buildings were erected close together so that there were no lawns. The Lower East Side of **New York** at the turn of the century was a typ-

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ical tenement ghetto (a poor, crime-ridden section of the city). There, the basic tenement buildings were five stories high and contained twenty three-room apartments, four to a floor. Each apartment or flat contained a front room, small bedroom, and kitchen, for a total of 325 square feet. The only room to receive light or ventilation (air) was the front room. As other tenement buildings were constructed around it, however, both light and ventilation were cut off.

Tenements built before 1867 did not have toilets, showers, or even running water. Common (used by all tenants) toilets were situated in between buildings, toward the rear of the lots, and may or may not have been connected to public sewage lines. Garbage was disposed of in a large box kept in front of the buildings, but it was not picked up on a regular basis. Many tenements were without heat. The buildings that had heat posed a serious health threat. The fumes and smoke from the coal-burning heaters had nowhere to go without proper ventilation.



Tenement houses offered cheap rent but overcrowded, squalid conditions. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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Reforms enacted

The first housing law, passed in 1867, required tenements to have one toilet for every twenty residents. Those toilets had to be connected to sewer lines whenever possible. The next law was passed in 1879 and required that all new tenements had to be built so that every room received air. Under the old tenement floor plan, most existing inner rooms had no access to outside walls. Building engineers solved this problem by developing a "dumbbell" blueprint in which the air shaft running through the building was indented, thereby providing air to all rooms.

This same law required toilets in all tenements to be hooked up to sewage lines and equipped with a way to flush after use. It was not uncommon for raw sewage to be strewn throughout a tenement yard.

Despite the housing laws, tenement life remained dangerous and miserable. The most far-reaching bill was passed in 1901. The Tenement House Act not only required improvements on ventilation, toilets, and

Jacob Riis, Reporter-Turned-Reformer

Jacob Riis (1849–1914) emigrated from Denmark to America in 1870, at the age of twenty-one. He became a reporter for the *New York Evening Sun* and quickly became known as a pioneer of photojournalism. Riis took his own photographs to accompany the stories he wrote about situations he saw in the new country he immediately came to love.

Riis began photographing and documenting conditions in New York City's slums. He collected his work in a groundbreaking book titled *How the Other Half Lives.* Published in 1890, it brought Riis to the attention of an influential man who would one day be the twenty-sixth president of the United States. New York Police Board of Commissioners president **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–09) and Riis became fast friends, and together they spearheaded the housing reform movement in the city. Riis is credited with publicizing the plight of America's urban poor. His two other photojournalism books are *Children of the Poor* (1892) and *Children of the Tenements* (1903).

Riis's photojournalism efforts were part of a new type of journalism called muckraking. Muckrakers exposed scandalous and unethical practices among established institutions in America. Some of the more famous muckrakers were Ida Tarbell (1857–1954), for her series on the Standard Oil Company; Upton Sinclair (1878–1968), for exposing the dangers and poor work conditions of the meatpacking industry in Chicago; and Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936), for his investigation of the scandals among city and state politicians. Muckrakers worked side by side with reformers during the **Gilded Age** and **Progressive Era**.

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light but set standards that all but banned the construction of buildings on 25-foot-wide lots. Newly built tenements would have to be wider, with more space. The highly effective 1901 law required existing tenement buildings to upgrade to meet the new, stricter standards. With the passage of the law came the formation of the Tenement House Commission, a committee that inspected housing and ensured the laws were being followed.

Landlords object

Tenement landlords were furious over the passage of the 1901 act. They believed there was no justification for its passage, and that its new standards were too harsh. Their tenants, after all, were mostly poor **Irish immigrants** who were used to crowded living conditions. Landlords insisted their tenants did not mind living in poor conditions; to be forced to make improvements would cut down on the amount of profit made from each building. By 1902, as improvements were being made, landlords realized the imposed changes were not as drastic as they had feared.

To meet the new requirements, landlords had to update old buildings with skylights in the hallways, to provide natural light for as long as it was available over the course of the day. To assist residents once nighttime set in, landlords were required to make sure that a lamp burned from sunset to sunrise along first- and second-floor stairways. Inside the apartments, landlords had to cut out part of the wall that kept the inner rooms darkened twenty-four hours a day to allow for light from an outer room to enter.

The most controversial aspect of the 1901 act, because of its expense, was the requirement that all common toilets be removed. Every building now had to have one water closet for every two families. These closets had to be constructed inside the buildings whenever possible, whether in newly built tenements or those already in existence. Without exception, all toilets had to be connected to sewer lines, even if those lines had to be built. Most landlords ignored the law until they absolutely had to comply. There were reports as late as 1918 of tenements with outdoor toilets still in use.

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Tennessee

Tennessee entered the **Union** on June 1, 1796, as the sixteenth state. A southeast central state, it is bordered by **Arkansas**, **Missouri**, **Kentucky**, **Virginia**, **North Carolina**, **Georgia**, **Alabama**, and **Mississippi**.

The first **Spanish conquistadors** arrived in the early sixteenth century. By the eighteenth century, the Cherokee had established themselves among the Native Americans in the area as the dominant tribe. They remained in that powerful position until the 1830s, when the federal government forced them out.

The first European permanent settlements in Tennessee were established in the 1770s. One of them was Nashville (then called Nashborough), which later became the state capital. By 1809 Nashville and other early settlements had developed into thriving frontier towns. Tennessee at that time was a leading producer of iron.

Tennessee was divided over **slavery**. The west and middle regions of the state were **cotton**-growing country and relied heavily on slave labor. East Tennessee, however, supported emancipation. During the **Civil War** (1861–65), Tennessee became a prominent battleground. One of the major battles of the war, the Battle of Shiloh, took place in southwestern Tennessee on April 6 and 7, 1862. The Union claimed victory, but both sides suffered heavy casualties.

Within a few years after the war, Tennessee's economy had recovered, and flour, wool, and paper mills were established in urban areas by the early 1880s. Memphis was a leading cotton market by the late 1890s. At the turn of the century, a major crusade against the consumption of alcoholic beverages, which culminated in **Prohibition**, swept through the state. In 1920 Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the **Nineteenth Amendment** to the U.S. **Constitution**, giving women the right to vote.

The **Great Depression** (1929–41) hurt Tennessee farm prices and manufacturers. Industry grew throughout **World War II** (1939–45) as state firms were awarded defense contracts amounting to $1.25 billion. The chemical industry became a leading sector as well.

Tennessee was the site of many violent clashes during the **civil rights movement** of the 1960s. Civil rights leader **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968) was assassinated in Memphis in 1968.

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In 2006 Tennessee was home to more than six million people. Nearly 80 percent of the population was white, with 16.4 percent African American and another 3 percent Hispanic. Memphis was the largest city, with more than 672 residents. Tennessee, with its large number of fundamentalist Christian churches, is considered part of the Bible Belt. Most residents who claim religious affiliation are Baptist.

The state's economy is based mainly on industry, with manufacturing centers located in Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Kingsport-Bristol. Tennessee is home to a General Motors automobile facility and a Nissan vehicle plant. Declines in manufacturing have been balanced by growth in the service sector. Tourism is another healthy sector, with visitors attracted to Graceland, the former Memphis home of **Elvis Presley** (1935–1977); Opryland USA and the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville; and Dollywood, a theme park owned by country music star Dolly Parton (1946–).

Tennessee Valley Authority

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was established by President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) in 1933 as part of his **New Deal** reforms. He created it to provide electricity, development, and economic relief to the Appalachian Mountains region centered on **Tennessee**, which was struggling in the **Great Depression**. The TVA was set up to operate like an independent corporation. It is controlled and overseen, however, by a three-member board appointed by the U.S. president. Over time, it became a powerful business that created thriving communities and prosperity in the region.

Nebraska politician saw area's potential

The idea for establishing the Tennessee Valley Authority stemmed from a proposal by U.S. senator George Norris (1861–1944) of **Nebraska**. Knowing that the government had abandoned a hydroelectric power complex and munitions plant on the Tennessee River, Norris lobbied to revive the project to benefit the struggling local population. In the 1930s, the Tennessee River area was one of the poorest in the nation. Regular flooding, lack of electricity, and little opportunity to establish a livelihood prompted many people to leave the region.

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The Great Depression, however, was making work difficult to find anywhere. If it worked, the TVA would provide many jobs in the region. President Roosevelt not only embraced Senator Norris's idea but saw an opportunity for a large government project. In 1933, Congress approved the creation of the TVA when it voted to pass the Tennessee Valley Authority Act.

Series of dams built

The TVA pursued several projects to restore the region. In an effort to control flooding, it began construction of multipurpose dams and reservoirs. Eventually, a system of forty-two dams was built in seven states. The dams generated hydroelectric power that was then sold directly to the residents of the region. Recreational areas for boating, camping, and fishing were developed around the reservoirs. Other projects of the TVA included agricultural education through demonstration farms, soil and land conservation, fertilizer research, and forestry development.

The efforts of the TVA helped the region to revive its economy. Cheap electricity attracted industry and produced more jobs. Improved navigation on the Tennessee River enabled shipping ports to be established. Instead of leaving the region to find work elsewhere, people were enticed to stay because of the booming economy. By the 1940s, an increased demand for electrical power led the TVA to build large steam-generating facilities. In 1959 the TVA program became self-financing, and by the 1960s, it was the nation's largest producer of electrical energy. The system today includes a total of twenty-nine hydroelectric dams on the Tennessee River and its tributaries. It is still the leading producer of electricity in the nation.

Tenskwatawa

See **Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa**

Tenth Amendment

The **Tenth Amendment** was the last of ten amendments included in the **Bill of Rights**, which America adopted in 1791. The **Constitution**, which was adopted in 1787, guaranteed few individual freedoms. Although the **Federalist Party** did not believe such guarantees were necessary, **Anti-Federalists** argued that without them, the government

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would violate such freedom. Once both sides agreed to adopt a Bill of Rights, the Anti-Federalists agreed to ratify the Constitution.

The Tenth Amendment says, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This clarifies that the United States operates under the doctrine of federalism, which means the federal and state governments have different powers for sharing the responsibility for administering government for the people. Anti-Federalists wanted the Tenth Amendment to ensure that the federal government would not take too much power away from state governments. People vary in opinion on whether, in practice, the doctrine gives too much or too little power to the federal government.

Another issue covered by the Tenth Amendment is the reservation of power to the people. Some believe that all governmental power ultimately stems from the people, and that the Tenth Amendment recognizes this natural right. Others believe that governmental power only exists in written laws, not in unwritten natural rights. The issue of what power the people retained under the Tenth Amendment has received little attention from the courts, which most often are concerned with the balance of power between the federal and state governments.

Terrorism

See **Al-Qaeda; Domestic Terrorism; September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks**

Tet Offensive

The Tet Offensive marked a major turning point in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). It began on the Vietnamese New Year holiday of Tet on January 30, 1968, and lasted three weeks, and involved a combined force of North Vietnamese and Viet Cong (Communist civilian soldiers who fought alongside North Vietnamese troops) who attacked major South Vietnamese cities and outlying towns.

Shattered civilian life

Throughout Vietnam, cities that had been immune from the war were attacked and, in many cases, destroyed during the Tet Offensive. The attack was a shock to the South Vietnamese because Tet was the most im-

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portant holiday in Vietnam. Its atmosphere of goodwill and cheer could be compared to the American Christmas holiday. No one was expecting escalated fighting.

The North Vietnamese did not win the Tet Offensive militarily. They did capture and hold many cities for three weeks, but in the end, they held none permanently. In addition, the uprising and defection of South Vietnamese revolutionaries they were hoping for never happened. Psychologically, however, the Tet campaign was a major victory for the North Vietnamese. Despite heavy American bombing and unceasing search-and-destroy missions, neither American military forces nor their South Vietnamese allies were able to protect any place in South Vietnam. The Tet Offensive proved the determination of the North Vietnamese forces.



Three American soldiers remove the body of a dead soldier killed during a bombing that was part of the Tet Offensive in 1968.
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINSTRATION

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Forced new U.S. policy

Back in America, Tet reinforced an already-growing antiwar sentiment. The general public had been assured by President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69) that victory in Vietnam was just around the corner; the Tet Offensive proved just the opposite. To continue fighting the war would mean the loss of thousands of more American lives, greater economic sacrifice on the homefront, and the destruction of South Vietnamese homes and innocent lives. The price would be incredibly high, and the Tet Offensive promised as much.

In Washington, the Tet Offensive sparked great debate among military leaders and the Defense Department. The military wanted to take advantage of the Tet Offensive and expand America's presence in Vietnam. Many officials within the Defense Department doubted the wisdom of an escalation of war. They questioned even the continuation of fighting the war using the strategies currently in place. Their analysis showed that no progress had been made since mid-1965, and it seemed clear that either a new approach or end to U.S. involvement was necessary. President Johnson took the advice of the Defense Department and accepted the policy of Vietnamization, which meant pulling back and providing a shield behind which South Vietnam could rebuild its fighting forces with American weapons. From there, the country could fight its own war.

Texas

Texas entered the **Union** on December 29, 1845, as the twenty-eighth state. A southwestern state, it is bordered by Mexico, **New Mexico**, **Oklahoma**, **Arkansas**, **Louisiana**, and the Gulf of Mexico. With a total area of 226,807 square miles (691,030 square kilometers), Texas is the second-largest of the fifty states, after **Alaska**.

The Spanish were the first Europeans to settle in Texas in the 1600s. They established forts and churches, or missions, along the San Antonio River, where they taught Native Americans who lived in the area about Christianity. In return, the Native Americans taught the Spanish how to farm the land and grow crops. Over the years, the Spanish abandoned some of these missions but left behind cows that freely roamed the land. These herds of cattle thrived on the Texas grasslands. Gradually, Spanish gentlemen established large cattle ranches, or haciendas, in the sparsely

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populated area. The *hacendados* employed large staffs of servants, owned vast property, and controlled large regions.

In 1803 the United States bought the vast Louisiana territory from France in the **Louisiana Purchase.** Before then, the United States had taken little interest in the Spanish lands known as Texas. But after the purchase, Texas became a next-door neighbor. In 1820 Missouri miner and businessman Moses Austin (1761–1821) applied to the Spanish government to allow him to establish a colony in Texas. Austin's plan was to farm the rich soil along the Brazos River near present-day Houston, but he died before his plan was completed.

Anglo colonists

The first U.S. colonists, led by Austin's son, **Stephen Austin** (1793–1836; later known as the "father of Texas"), arrived in Texas in 1821. That same year Mexico won its independence from Spain, which meant that Mexico now ruled Texas. Between 1824 and 1830, thousands of Anglo (white, non-Hispanic, and English-speaking) families, particularly from Tennessee and other southern states, entered east Texas. They



The city of Austin, the capital of the Republic of Texas, circa 1840. The colonists living in Texas did not receive independence from Mexican rule until 1836. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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bought hundreds of thousands of acres of Texas land, which was much cheaper than in the United States. By 1830 Texas had eighteen thousand Anglo settlers—more than its population of Spanish and Mexican settlers. It also had two thousand African slaves.

Conflict with Mexico

At first Stephen Austin and the Mexican officials in Texas worked well together. Soon, however, Anglo Americans found it difficult to live under Mexican rule. They disliked Mexican laws and felt the distant government did little to protect them. Many Anglo Texans used slaves for labor and feared that the Mexican government would soon abolish slavery.

The rapid growth of the Anglo American population of Texas made Mexican officials uneasy, especially when the U.S. government began making attempts to acquire the area permanently. In 1830 Mexico passed the Colonization Law, which forbade further immigration to Texas from the United States. Illegal settlers kept entering Texas, however, and they had no interest in supporting the Mexican government. In response, the Mexican government built up its military presence around the Texas borders.

Friction between the Mexican government and the Anglo settlers in Texas grew after a new president, General Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876), put the Mexican army in charge of the states and territories. The Texans, wanting the right to govern themselves at least in local matters, sent Austin to Mexico City in July 1833 to express their demands. The Mexican government would not agree to any self-rule. Austin was arrested during his return trip because of a letter he had written that appeared to advise the Texans to establish a separate state. He was not able to return to Texas until September 1, 1835.

Defeat at the Alamo

Meanwhile, the Anglo Texans created a provisional government (a temporary government set up until a permanent one is created) and raised their own army. Representatives, including Austin, were appointed to seek aid in the United States. Santa Anna responded by personally leading an army of three to four thousand men into Texas in February 1836. An army of 187 Anglo Texans gathered in the mission of El **Alamo** to resist the Mexicans. Two American frontier heroes, **Davy Crockett**

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(1786–1836) and Jim Bowie (1796–1836), were among them. After a thirteen-day siege, Santa Anna ordered an attack. All the Anglo defenders were killed, many after they had surrendered.

The defeat at the Alamo became a rallying cry for the Anglo Texans, and they intensified their efforts to repel Mexico's advance. In March 1836 the Anglo Texans issued a Declaration of Independence and adopted a constitution for their new independent republic. The new commander in chief, **Sam Houston** (1793–1863), assembled an army and was able to surprise Santa Anna's divided army near Galveston Bay on April 21, 1836. The Texans defeated about twelve hundred Mexicans with their force of eight hundred men. Santa Anna was among the captives. Before being released, Santa Anna pledged himself to secure the independence of Texas. The Mexican Congress later refused to acknowledge his pledge, but the Mexican army left Texas and made no serious attempt to regain control.

First a republic, then a state

Thus the Republic of Texas was born in 1836, with Austin as its capital. Sam Houston was elected president. The new country welcomed settlers from the United States. Between 1836 and 1845 almost ninety thousand Anglos arrived. Many brought their slaves. Houston and most Texans were interested in joining the United States, but several northern states did not want to add another slave state to the Union. When statehood was achieved in 1845, Austin became the state capital.

Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, when most of the South was economically devastated, the Texas economy thrived. The rapid development of the cattle industry in Texas created stability until the invention of barbed wire to fence cattle ranges ended the open range. By 1900 Texas was shifting from an agricultural economy to one based on industry.

The first oil discovery occurred near Beaumont in 1901, marking the beginning of the Texas petroleum and petrochemical industries. Texas became a military training center in **World War I** (1914–18), and industrial development continued beyond **World War II** (1939–45).

The oil industry boom collapsed in the early 1980s because of overproduction and the subsequent drop in price. To replace lost revenue, the state encouraged economic diversification by inviting high-technology companies and electronics leaders to Texas. After 1986, oil prices in-

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creased. This fact, coupled with the increased activity in other sectors, allowed the state to rebuild its economy.

Texas had a total population of just over 23.5 million in 2006, second only to **California**. Of that population, 71.9 percent were white, 35.5 percent were Hispanic, and 11 percent were African American. Houston was the largest city, with slightly over two million residents.

In the twenty-first century, Texas's industry included aircraft plants and dozens of Fortune 500 companies, including Exxon Mobil Corporation. Agriculture played a large part in the economic activity of the state, as it led the nation in output of **cotton**, hay, watermelon, and several other crops. More than three-fourths of the state's total area was devoted to farms and ranches.

Texas has been an influential state nationally since the 1930s. Until the late twentieth century, its politics was dominated by the **Democratic Party**. Four Texans have become U.S. presidents: **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969; served 1953–61), **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69), **George H. W. Bush** (1924–; served 1989–93), and his son **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–). Both Eisenhower and Johnson were born in Texas.

Theater Industry

See **Broadway**

Third Amendment

When the **Constitution** was written in 1787, it contained few guarantees of individual freedom and liberty. Many Federalists argued that such guarantees were unnecessary because the Constitution did not give the federal government the power to violate individual freedoms. Many **Anti-Federalists** argued that without protecting individual freedom in the Constitution, the government would not be able to resist using its power in violation of such freedom. To convince the Anti-Federalists to adopt the Constitution, the Federalists promised to adopt a **Bill of Rights** to protect individual freedoms from the government.

The Third Amendment was the third of ten amendments included in the Bill of Rights, which America adopted in 1791. The Third Amendment says, "No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any

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house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law."

The United States adopted the Third Amendment in response to Great Britain's practice of housing soldiers in private American homes before the outbreak of the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Great Britain used the practice as a way to discourage communities from organizing against Great Britain's unpopular taxation and control policies in America. The practice also offended privacy in the homes of the people who were forced to house British soldiers.

The Third Amendment is probably the least controversial part of the Bill of Rights. More than two centuries have passed since its adoption. In that time, the U.S. Supreme Court has not decided a single case that depended on interpretation of the Third Amendment alone, and lower federal courts have not decided many compared to the volumes of cases that cover the other amendments. Supreme Court justices and other judges, however, have used the Third Amendment to support the idea that the Bill of Rights protects a general right of privacy in the home.

Third Parties

In America the two primary political parties are the **Democratic Party** and the **Republican Party**. Most presidents in American history have been a member of one of these parties.

Other political parties

There are many other established political parties, however. These are known as third parties. As far back as the mid–nineteenth century, people dissatisfied with the Democratic or Republican parties have been organizing and forming alternative political parties. One of the most prominent early third parties was the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, formed in 1867. Commonly known as the Grange (the word "Grange" means outlying farm), the party was founded by farmers who felt their needs were not being addressed by Democrats or Republicans. The party worked to promote small groups of farmers who helped each other economically and educationally.

The Greenback Party, named after the paper money printed during the American **Civil War** (1861–65) known as "greenbacks," aligned itself with various state labor parties, and in 1887 it joined the farm al-

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liances and labor organizations to form the National Union Labor Party, or Union Labor Party (ULP). The ULP sought reform in land, railroad, and financial sectors.

Closely related to the ULP was the People's Party, commonly known as the Populist Party. Established in 1892, the Populists were not influenced by big business. They wanted to give America's working class a political voice. Racism kept African American Populists separated from white Populists, however, and the party was unable to develop unity.

The American Party, or **Know-Nothing Party,** formed in the 1850s. Its members opposed immigration. Former U.S. president **Millard Fillmore** (1800–1874; served 1850–53) ran as the party's presidential nominee in 1856. He finished far behind the Democratic and Republican candidates. The Know-Nothing Party disbanded by 1860.

Teddy Roosevelt and the Progressive Party

The presidential election of 1912 was unlike any other. When he was president, **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–09) nominated his friend **William Howard Taft** (1857–1930; served 1909–13) to be the Republican candidate in the 1908 election. Taft won. While in office, he made several decisions which left Roosevelt feeling betrayed and personally attacked. Roosevelt did not want Taft to serve a second term in office, so he competed against him for the **Republican Party** nomination. Taft was given the nomination in the primary election, so Roosevelt broke away from the Republican Party and established the Progressive Party, also known as the Bull Moose Party. The three-man election of 1912 marked the first time a current president ran for reelection against a former president and a future president. Because half the Republican Party had joined the Bull Moose Party, votes that would have been cast for the Republican candidate were split between Taft and Roosevelt, allowing Democrat Woodrow Wilson to win the election.

Through the years

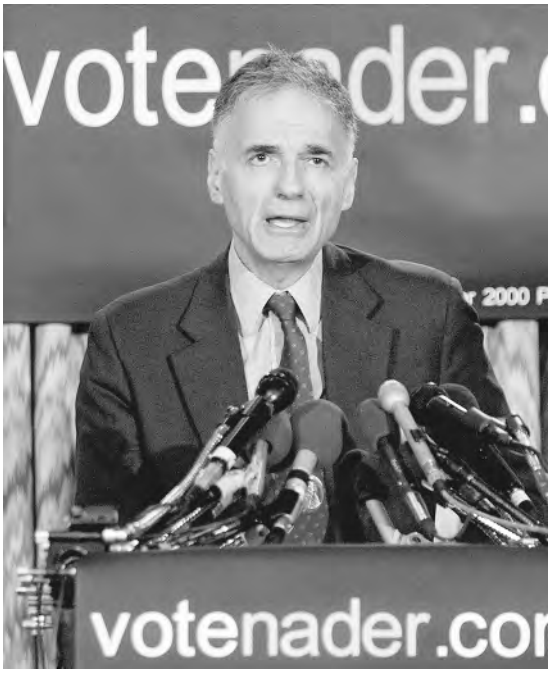
Over the years, countless third parties have been founded. Some of the more active or well-known parties include:

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American Independent Party (AIP): Founded in 1968, the AIP based its platform on anti-Communism, antigovernment, and racial segregation. Founder George C. Wallace (1919–1998) was the party's first presidential nominee. He won nearly 14 percent of the vote as well as five southern states. The AIP in the twenty-first century is affiliated with the national Constitution Party.

Constitution Party (CP): One of the most prominent third parties in the nation, the CP opposes abortion, gun control, taxes, gay rights, and immigration. It is an intensely religious political party. Many Reform Party leaders from **California** and **Maryland** joined the CP in 2000, which gave the party a legitimacy it did not possess beforehand.

Green Party: The Green Party is one of the two largest third parties. It supports—among other things—women's reproductive rights, national health insurance coverage, environmental protection, and labor unions. The most famous Green Party presidential nominee is **Ralph Nader** (1934–), who first ran in 1996. Although he spent a mere five thousand dollars on his campaign, Nader received over seven hundred thousand votes. He raised millions of dollars in the 2000 campaign and won nearly three million votes.



The most famous Green Party member is Ralph Nader, who ran as the party's presidential nominee in the 1996 and 2000 elections. AP IMAGES

Libertarian Party (LP): Founded in 1971, this is one of the two largest third parties in the nation. Libertarians support complete individual liberty and economic freedom, which includes the legalization of drugs, gay marriage, and deregulation of business. In any election year, the LP fields more local and federal candidates than any other third party in the country.

Reform Party (RF): Billionaire businessman Ross Perot (1930–) founded the RF in 1995 and ran as its presidential nominee in 1996. The party has suffered from internal conflicts over issues. Under Perot's control, the RP did not take official stances on social issues and was conservative on fiscal policies. In 2000 a faction of the party, led by **Minnesota** governor Jesse Ventura (1951–), split and established a splinter group known as the Independence Party. By 2007 the Reform Party was nearly nonexistent as a national entity.

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Let us not forget ...

Some lesser-known third parties include the U.S. Marijuana Party, the Pansexual Peace Party, the Pot Party, the American Vegetarian Party, and the Natural Law Party.

Thirteen Colonies

The Thirteen Colonies were British colonies in North America founded between 1607 (Virginia) and 1732 (Georgia). Although Great Britain held several other colonies in North America and the West Indies, the colonies referred to as the "thirteen" are those that rebelled against British rule in 1775 and proclaimed their independence on July 4, 1776. They subsequently constituted the first thirteen states of the United States of America.

Virginia

Virginia was the first permanent English settlement in America. The colonists who established **Jamestown** on May 13, 1607, named Virginia in honor of Elizabeth I (1533–1603), the "Virgin Queen" of England. The successful settlement was sponsored by the London Company, a joint-stock venture chartered by King James I (1566–1625) in 1606. Captain **John Smith** (c. 1580–1631) led the colony.

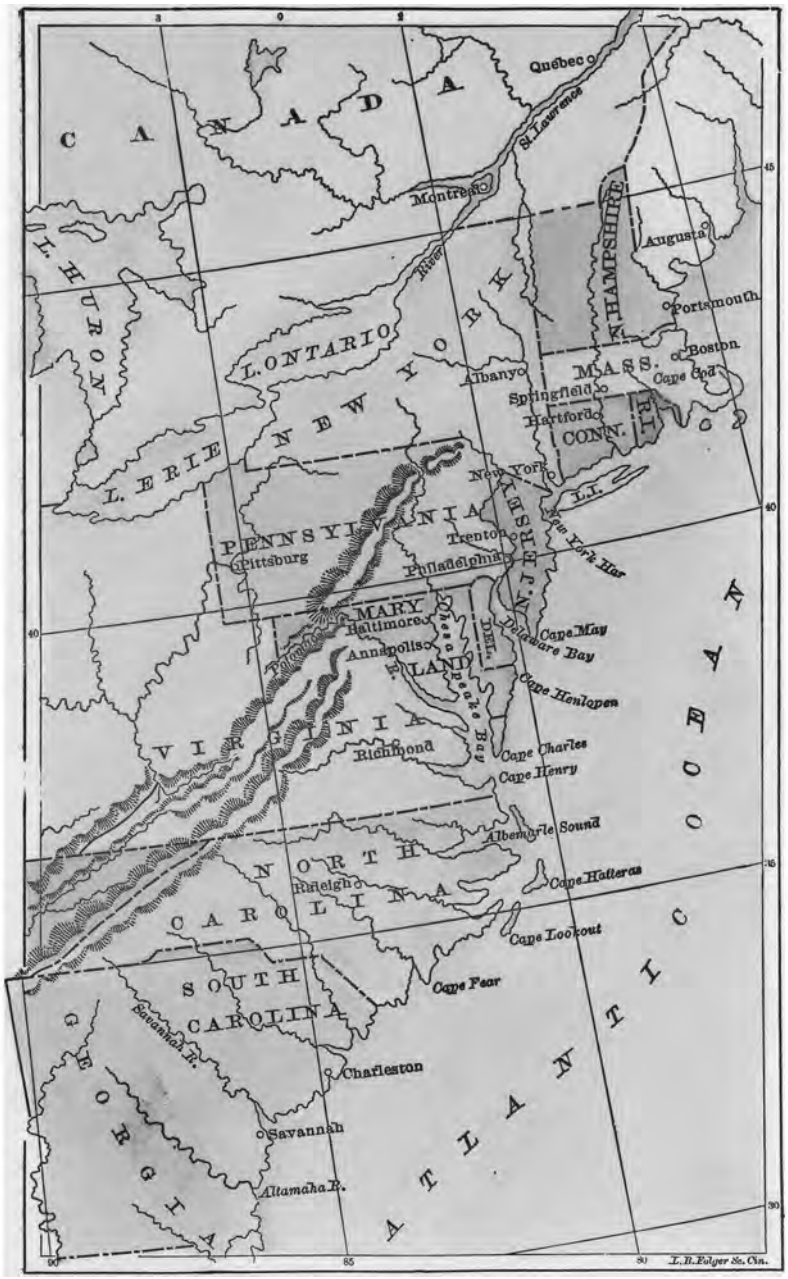
In 1624 James I revoked Virginia's charter, after which it became a royal colony, which it remained until 1776. Virginia was the first colony to begin the move for independence from England in 1776, and it was a major player in the **American Revolution** (1775–83). It became the tenth state in the Union on June 25, 1788.

Massachusetts

Religious persecution drove a group of English **Puritans**, who wished to separate from the Church of England, to the New World. These **Pilgrims** were blown off course in their ship, the ***Mayflower***, and landed on Cape Cod in 1620. They settled in an abandoned village, which they named **Plymouth**.

In 1629 a nonseparatist Puritan group settled to the north in the Massachusetts Bay colony. The group was headed by the patriarch John

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A map showing the original thirteen colonies of the United States. © BETTMANN/CORBIS

Winthrop (1588–1649). Along with other leaders, Winthrop intended to make the colony an exemplary Christian society. **Massachusetts** went on to become the sixth state of the Union on February 6, 1788.

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New Hampshire

The first English settlement in **New Hampshire** was established along the Piscataqua River in 1623. At this time New Hampshire was considered a province of Massachusetts.

New Hampshire gained a separate identity as a royal colony in 1679 when the British government declared that it was not part of the Massachusetts Bay colony. Still, Massachusetts overshadowed New Hampshire throughout the colonial period. The boundary between them was not settled until 1740.

New Hampshire was the only colony to experience almost no military activity during the American Revolution, and it was the first to declare its independence. New Hampshire was the ninth state to enter the **Union** on June 21, 1788.

Maryland

Unlike many other colonies, **Maryland** was established with an almost feudal system in which the land was considered the property of the English lord who governed it. The territory was given as a proprietorship by England's King Charles I (1600–1649) to George Calvert (c. 1580–1632). Lord Calvert later left the land to his son, Cecilius (1605–1675), who is better known as Lord Baltimore. He named the region Maryland after the queen consort of Charles I, Henrietta Maria (1609–1669) of France. The colony of Maryland was fully under Baltimore's control.

Maryland was a somewhat reluctant participant in the American Revolution and was the seventh state to ratify the federal **Constitution** on April 28, 1788.

Connecticut

Early Dutch settlers in **Connecticut** were dislodged by the large migration of English Puritans who came to the colony between 1630 and 1642. The Puritans established settlements at Windsor (1633), Wethersfield (1634), and Hartford (1636). In 1639 these three communities joined together to form the Connecticut colony, choosing to be governed by the Fundamental Orders, a relatively democratic framework for which the Reverend Thomas Hooker (c. 1586–1647) was largely responsible.

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After a number of years of bitter border disputes, Connecticut received legal recognition as a colony by England in 1662. A relatively autonomous colony and strong supporter of the American Revolution, Connecticut became the fifth state of the Union on January 9, 1788.

Rhode Island

In 1636 the English clergyman Roger Williams (c. 1603–1683) established a colony at Providence seeking religious freedom for a group of nonconformists from the Massachusetts Bay colony. Others followed, settling Portsmouth (1638), Newport (1639), and Warwick (1642). In 1644 Williams journeyed to England, where he secured a legislative grant uniting the four original towns into a single colony, the Providence Plantations. Williams secured a charter for **Rhode Island** and the Providence Plantations from King Charles II (1630–1685) in 1663, which guaranteed religious freedom and substantial local autonomy.

Stephen Hopkins (1707–1785) signed the **Declaration of Independence** as a delegate from Rhode Island, which became the thirteenth state on May 29, 1790.

Delaware

The colony of **Delaware** belonged to three different countries during the seventeenth century. Permanent settlements were made by the Swedes in 1638 (at Wilmington, under the leadership of a Dutchman, Peter Minuit [1580–1638]) and by the Dutch in 1651 (at New Castle). The Dutch conquered the Swedes in 1655, and the English conquered the Dutch in 1664. The English king's brother James (1633–1701), the duke of York (who later became James II, king of England), ceded the colony to the English proprietor **William Penn** (1644–1718), who kept Delaware closely tied to his family and to his beloved Pennsylvania until 1776.

John Dickinson (1732–1808), a delegate from Delaware, signed both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution. On December 7, 1787, Delaware became the first state to ratify the federal Constitution.

North Carolina

The Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazano (c. 1485–1528) discovered the North Carolina coast in 1524. The English courtier Sir Walter

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Raleigh (1554–1618) sponsored the famous "lost colony" at **Roanoke**, and in 1629 King Charles I began the settlement in earnest of the colony he called, after himself, "Carolana." It was set up as a proprietorship. The colony of **South Carolina** split off from **North Carolina** in 1719.

In 1729 the proprietors relinquished their rights for money and land, and North Carolina became a royal colony. North Carolina's leaders hesitated before joining the Union, waiting until November 21, 1789, to ratify the U.S. Constitution. The delay helped stimulate the movement for the adoption of a **Bill of Rights**. North Carolina became the twelfth state.

South Carolina

The English established the first permanent settlement in South Carolina in 1670 under the supervision of the eight lord proprietors who were granted "Carolana" by King Charles II. The colonists settled at Albemarle Point on the Ashley River, and in 1680 they moved across the river to the present site of Charleston.

The original grant had made South Carolina a very large colony, but eventually the separate provinces of North Carolina and Georgia were established, making South Carolina small. The colonists overthrew the proprietors in 1719, and South Carolina voluntarily became a royal colony in 1729. South Carolina took an active part in the American Revolution and became the eighth state on May 23, 1788.

New Jersey

England assumed control of **New Jersey** after King Charles II granted a region from the Connecticut River to the Delaware River to his brother James, the duke of York. James deeded part of the land to his friends, Baron John Berkeley (1602–1678) and Sir George Carteret (c. 1610–1680), making New Jersey a proprietorship on June 23, 1664. It was later divided into two separate parts, East Jersey and West Jersey, only to be reunited in 1702 by Queen Anne (1665–1714). A royal governor was appointed in 1738. New Jersey played a pivotal role in the Revolutionary War and became the third state on December 18, 1787.

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New York

As a colony, **New York** had a checkered history. Originally founded as the Dutch colony of **New Amsterdam** in 1624, British forces conquered it in 1664. King Charles II of England gave the land to his brother James, the duke of York, who renamed the colony New York.

The presence of both Dutch and English colonists in the area created conflicts that haunted New York well into the eighteenth century. By the time of the American Revolution, however, these conflicts lessened, and new conflicts between patriots (Americans who broke from British rule) and Tories (Americans who were loyal to England; also known as Loyalists) replaced them. Because the British army controlled New York City during most of the war, the city became a haven for Loyalists. New York became the eleventh state on July 26, 1788.

Pennsylvania

The colony of **Pennsylvania** was granted by King Charles II in 1681 as a proprietorship to William Penn, as payment for debts owed by the king to Penn's father.

Penn, a **Quaker** who espoused pacifism, tolerance, and equality, was given broad powers to make laws and to run the colony as he saw fit. Penn, however, gave up his lawmaking powers and set up a form of representative government. Many immigrants came to this tolerant colony.

Pennsylvania's most famous patriot resident was the statesman, scientist, and philosopher Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790). The Declaration of Independence, which Franklin signed, was declared from Philadelphia. Pennsylvania was the second state to join the Union, on December 12, 1787.

Georgia

The colony of **Georgia** was founded in 1732 by James Oglethorpe (1696–1785), a soldier, politician, and philanthropist who had been granted a charter to settle the territory by Great Britain. Named after King George II, Georgia was the last of the thirteen British colonies established in the United States.

Georgians were among the first colonists to sign the Declaration of Independence. Following the American Revolution Georgia was the

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fourth state overall and the first southern state to ratify the federal Constitution on January 2, 1788.

Thirteenth Amendment

The Thirteenth Amendment of the U.S. **Constitution** made **slavery** illegal in the country. Ratified, or approved, in 1865, it was the first of three constitutional amendments adopted during the **Reconstruction** Era after the American **Civil War** (1861–65).

Momentum for emancipation

Emancipation of slaves in 1865 was the result of many different factors. **Abolitionists** had been working for emancipation since the birth of the nation. Northern states decided to support emancipation as their economies grew into systems that thrived on free labor rather than on slavery. After slavery helped split the nation in the Civil War, the federal government finally decided that emancipation was the best option to end slavery permanently in the United States.

In 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia and federal territories. It also repealed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and authorized the freedom of slaves from rebel **Confederate** areas who either escaped to Northern states or had been seized by **Union** troops during the war.

That same year, President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) announced the **Emancipation Proclamation**. Effective January 1, 1863, the proclamation declared the freedom of all slaves in Confederate states which remained at war with the Union. The proclamation did not apply to slaves in states that had stayed with the Union, but most of these states took their own steps to emancipate slaves. **Kentucky** is the only state that stayed with the Union but declined to emancipate its slaves.

Crafting the Thirteenth Amendment

With the intention of ending slavery nationwide after the Civil War, the Senate proposed the Thirteenth Amendment in 1864. The House of Representatives refused to approve it until 1865, when the **Republican Party** gained more seats at the expense of the **Democratic Party**.

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The Text of the Thirteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution

The Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution says, "Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

With support from President **Andrew Johnson** (1808–1875; served 1865–69) after Lincoln's death, the amendment was ratified by three-fourths of the states by the end of 1865. Congress made approval of the Thirteenth Amendment one of the conditions that Confederate states had to satisfy to be readmitted to the Union. **Mississippi** was allowed to be readmitted without ratification only after the Thirteenth Amendment became effective nationwide. Mississippi did not ratify the Thirteenth Amendment until 1995.

The effects of freedom

The Thirteenth Amendment makes slavery and involuntary servitude illegal in America. It also gives Congress power to enforce the amendment through legislation. Starting with the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**, Congress tried to define the citizenship and rights of newly freed slaves.

Court cases and political resistance thwarted such efforts, eventually leading to the proposal and adoption of the **Fourteenth** and **Fifteenth Amendments**. In theory, these amendments gave certain civil rights to freed slaves and all other Americans. In practice, court cases and political resistance prevented African Americans from fully enjoying those rights until the civil rights movement in the middle of the twentieth century.

As with most constitutional provisions, the meaning and effect of the Thirteenth Amendment is the subject of controversy. In 1883, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Thirteenth Amendment does not apply to discrimination in private relationships. The Court changed its mind in the 1968 case of *Jones v. Mayer*. In that decision, the Court ruled that by eliminating certain "badges of slavery," the Thirteenth Amendment prohibits private acts of racial discrimination in contractual and property transactions.

The meaning of the amendment's ban on involuntary servitude also is the subject of disagreement. Some believe it merely prevents people from continuing slavery under a different name. Others in the labor rights movement believe the Thirteenth Amendment gives workers

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certain rights in their relationships with their employers. In this regard, the Thirteenth Amendment is sometimes called the Labor Amendment.

Thirty-eighth Parallel

Korea was one of the nations that was divided at the end of **World War II** (1939–45) to allow for occupation by various countries of the victorious **Allied** coalition, which consisted of Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, China, Canada and Australia.. Korea had been under Japanese control for many years, but after Japan's defeat in World War II it was given over to Russian and American forces. The Korean peninsula was divided into two separate provisional (temporary) governments, with the thirty-eighth parallel as the boundary line. Russia controlled the north, America the south.

Peninsula divided

There was no particular reason given by U.S. military personnel for choosing the thirty-eighth parallel as the demarcation (dividing line) of Korea. It seemed a decision based in part because the line was easy to find on maps and divided the country in almost equal halves—though the northern half was about eleven thousand square miles larger than the southern half.

The problem with using the thirty-eighth parallel as the demarcation was that it failed to take some significant issues into consideration. These included economic factors and demographics (statistics of a population, such as age, gender, income, etc.). As the line stood, the northern part of Korea received most of the industrial facilities and mineral wealth, while the southern sector was saddled with a majority of the country's population but did possess most of the agricultural land. This caused a great imbalance in the distribution of wealth as well as goods and services.

Onset of war

The thirty-eighth parallel was established as a temporary political boundary; it was never meant to be a permanent demarcation and so its military defensibility was not taken into consideration. As a result, the Russian-backed **Communist** (a political system in which the government controls all resources and means of producing wealth) forces of the

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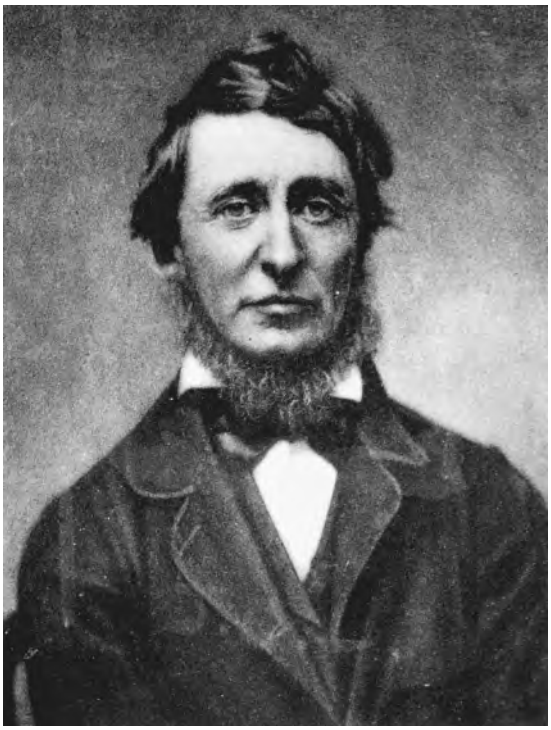
north invaded the U.S.-occupied southern half of Korea by crossing the thirty-eighth parallel on June 25, 1950, an act of aggression that began the **Korean War** (1950–53).

Henry David Thoreau

Henry David Thoreau was a writer who lived in the middle of the nineteenth century. He was part of the **Transcendentalist** movement, which encouraged people to live by their intuition. In his time, Thoreau's work was overshadowed by the work of other transcendentalists, such as **Ralph Waldo Emerson** (1803–1882). In retrospect, Thoreau is regarded as one of the United States's best writers on nature and social reform.

Early life

Thoreau was born David Henry Thoreau in Concord, **Massachusetts**, on July 12, 1817. He was the third of four children. His father, John, was a businessman who eventually found success making pencils. His mother, Cynthia, was an **abolitionist** (antislavery activist) who ran a boardinghouse to supplement the family's income.



Transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau wrote influential works on nature and social reform. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Thoreau was a quiet child who preferred walks in the woods to childhood games. As an adult he would recall visiting Concord's Walden Pond with his grandmother when he was very young. Thoreau and his older brother, John, were educated at Concord Academy, a private school for boys. Henry and John were close friends.

Thoreau's family could afford to send just one child to college. Because he was the better student, Henry got to attend Harvard College when he was sixteen years old, and he did well enough in his first year to earn a half-scholarship. Although he did not think too highly of his education, Thoreau learned to express himself in writing while at Harvard. After college he began keeping a journal of his thoughts and activities. By the time of his death, his journals

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amounted to fourteen printed volumes of writing. They are highly regarded by historians and literary scholars.

Finding work and love

After graduating from Harvard in 1837 Thoreau moved back to Concord. There he accepted a job teaching in a school where the administrators required him to discipline students using corporal punishment, or beatings. Thoreau announced that instead of beating children, he would talk morals as punishment. When the administrators insisted that Thoreau beat the students, he resigned after only two weeks.

While looking for a job, Thoreau worked with his father making pencils. It was around this time that he officially changed his name from David Henry to Henry David, apparently preferring the sound. Failing to find a job, Thoreau decided to open his own school with his brother, John, in 1838. They did well, supplementing regular studies with exploration outside.

In summer 1839 a woman named Ellen Sewall came to Concord to visit her aunt, who boarded with the Thoreau family. Henry and his brother John both fell in love with Ellen. John proposed marriage to Ellen in summer 1840, but she rejected him. Henry proposed that November, only to be rejected too. The rejection hurt Henry. He wrote in his journal, found in *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau,* "I did not think so bright a day would issue in so dark a night."

John died tragically in January 1842. He cut his finger while sharpening his razor, and the cut became infected, leading to lockjaw (tetanus) and then death. Henry mourned the loss of his close brother.

The Transcendentalists

Thoreau read an essay called "Nature" by Emerson in his last year in college. Emerson was a well-regarded writer and thinker with a group of friends that included the writers Margaret Fuller (1810–1850), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864), and Amos Bronson Alcott (1799–1888). Together they were known as "Transcendentalists." They promoted social reform, freedom of ideas, and a spiritual way of searching for truth that involved relying on intuition, or instinct, instead of religious teachings.

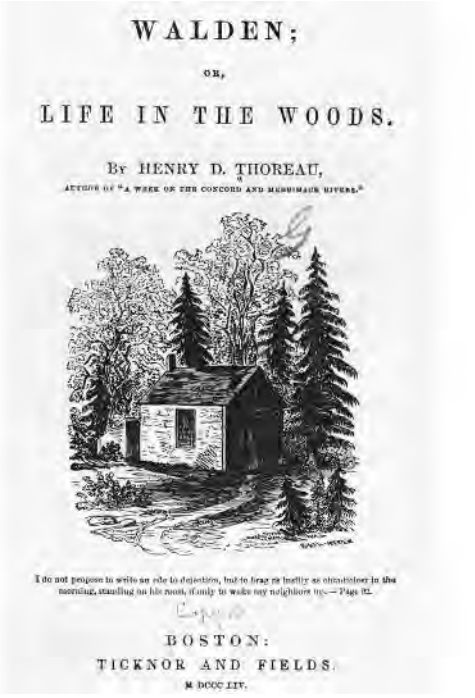
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Thoreau met Emerson shortly after returning to Concord from Harvard, and they formed a friendship that lasted the remainder of Thoreau's life. Thoreau idolized Emerson, and Emerson nurtured Thoreau's thinking and writing. Beginning in 1841, Thoreau spent much time at Emerson's home, often taking care of the family while Emerson went on lecture tours. Emerson's long absences from his family became a source of tension between Emerson and Thoreau.

In 1843 Thoreau moved to **New York** to live with Emerson's brother, William, and tutor his son. Thoreau hoped to make connections in New York that would help him publish his writing. He learned that publishing is a difficult business in which to succeed, and he returned to Concord in 1844.

Walden Pond

In 1845 Thoreau was supporting himself by working as a surveyor, making pencils with his father, and doing odd jobs around town. A friend from New York, the poet Ellery Channing (1818–1901), suggested that Thoreau build a hut in the woods near Walden Pond, 1.5 miles from Concord. There Thoreau could live while writing a book about a river trip he had made with his brother John. Thoreau borrowed an axe, built the hut on land owned by Emerson, and moved in on July 4, 1845.


WALDEN;

OR,

LIFE IN THE WOODS.

By HENRY D. THOREAU,

AUTHOR OF "A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS."

I do not propose to write an ode to dejection, but to brag as lustily as chanticleer in the morning, standing on his roost, if only to wake my neighbors up.—Page 92.

BOSTON:
TICKNOR AND FIELDS.
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Thoreau's most famous book, **Walden, or Life in the Woods,** *recommended living a simple, self-sufficient life free of social and financial obligations.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Thoreau spent two years living at Walden Pond. He was not a complete hermit: Friends visited often, he went to his family's home once a week for Sunday dinner, and he did odd jobs in Concord to earn some income. but otherwise, Thoreau spent the two years thinking deeply, growing crops, and writing books in the quiet of nature.

The books he wrote there, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack* (1849) and *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (1854), are among his most famous. In *Walden, or Life in the Woods*, Thoreau recommended living a simple, self-sufficient life free of social and financial obligations. He encouraged people to counter the effects of indus-

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trialization by getting close to nature. Thoreau explained in *Walden* that he moved to Walden Pond "to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived."

Civil disobedience

During his time at Walden Pond, Thoreau spent one night in jail, in summer 1846, for refusing to pay a poll tax, a voting tax levied on all men over twenty. Thoreau had refused to pay the tax for years in protest against slavery and, in 1846, against the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48). The experience of being imprisoned provided material for another of his famous writings, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" (1849). In the essay, Thoreau wrote that people have a duty to obey their consciences when they disagree with what government wants them to do. The essay influenced future great thinkers, including Mohandas Gandhi and Dr. **Martin Luther King Jr.**

Thoreau left Walden Pond in 1847 and spent most of the rest of his life writing books, essays, and poems. After the abolitionist John Brown (1800–1859) staged a violent revolt against slavery in 1859, Thoreau wrote an essay called "The Last Days of John Brown" that explored the manner in which northern opinion about slavery changed after Brown's death. Thoreau was an abolitionist who may have worked on the underground railroad to help slaves escape to freedom.

In 1862 he contracted tuberculosis, and he died on May 6. Before his death, when an aunt asked if he had made his peace with God, Thoreau said, "I did not know we had quarreled."

Three Mile Island

Three Mile Island, situated near Harrisburg, **Pennsylvania**, is home to a **nuclear** power plant. On Wednesday, March 28, 1979, a cooling malfunction caused part of the core to melt in one of two reactors in the plant. The reactor was destroyed, and within a couple days, radioactive gas was released.

Prompted international headlines

What followed was five days of crisis management for the United States government and Three Mile Island officials. Even before breakfast on

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March 28, a state of emergency was declared. By that evening, however, the condition of the reactor seemed to be improving. It was not until evening of March 29 that experts realized how serious the damage was to the reactor. It was at that point officials were forced to acknowledge the possibility of a radioactive leak.

By Friday, mass hysteria had set in. Experts in **Washington, D.C.**, had, until that time, underestimated the damage caused by the meltdown. Unofficial reports of high levels of radioactivity were released, and the governor of Pennsylvania recommended that all pregnant women and children evacuate the area. The public grew concerned about radiation exposure, but the fear was based on rumor. The levels of radioactivity proved to be only minimal.

Fears of nuclear disaster

For various technical and mechanical reasons, no one was quite sure if the damaged reactor would explode. This being the main concern, inspectors suggested to the media that evacuations of people within a ten- or twenty-mile radius from Three Mile Island might be necessary. By Saturday, March 31, area residents were in a panicked state.

With the assurance that a possible explosion would be days away, President **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) and his wife toured the nuclear plant on Sunday, April 1. Later that day, experts declared that an explosion would not occur. At the same time, they declared the crisis to be over. But the local population continued to live in fear and doubt.

Long-term consequences

When all investigations had been completed and reports filed, the cause of the meltdown was judged to have been caused by two factors: human error and questionable construction of the reactor. The accident at Three Mile Island had a lasting impact. Nuclear power fell out of favor with the American public, and for decades after, it was considered dangerous. Cleanup of the plant spanned three decades and cost about $975 million. In addition, the local economy was hurt as tourists made a point of staying away from the surrounding Pennsylvania communities. Milk processed locally was considered unsafe to drink, so higher prices were paid for milk brought in from outlying regions. Locals had to pay more money for their energy bills because Three Mile Island had supplied

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about forty percent of the area's power. Without that forty percent, customers had to pay for higher-priced power brought in from the outside.

More than two thousand personal injury claims were filed by people who believed their health was negatively impacted by the accident. All lawsuits were summarily dismissed in 1996 for lack of evidence.

Titanic Disaster

The pride of the British-owned White Star Line, the *Titanic* was the largest ship ever built when it made its first, ill-fated voyage in 1912. Like most companies, the White Star Line was always searching for ways to outperform the competition. Their main rival at the time was Cunard, the company that manufactured the doomed ***Lusitania*** (sunk by the Germans in 1917) and the *Mauritania.* Both Cunard ships were impressive in terms of speed. Their engines were state of the art, the finest produced at that time. White Star Line's president, J. Bruce Ismay (1862–1937), was confident, however, that he could produce a vessel that would be bigger, heavier, and more luxurious than any ship to date.

Deemed indestructible

White Star Line's plan to surpass its competition produced the *Titanic.* At 883 feet (269.1 meters, or ⅙ mile) long, 92 feet (28 meters) wide, and 104 feet (31.7 meters) tall, it dwarfed all other sailing vessels. It boasted 46,328 tons (42,019.5 metric tons) of steel, and Ismay boasted that it was "practically unsinkable." After the sinking of the ship, everyone would forget the "practically" part of his claim and label Ismay a greedy scoundrel and a liar.

The *Titanic* cost $7.5 million to build (the equivalent of around $400 million today). Passengers who could afford a first-class passage enjoyed use of the on-deck heated swimming pool (the first of its kind), four electric elevators, and a fully equipped gymnasium. They could eat in the elegant dining hall (seating capacity of 554), or pay extra to enjoy their food served on fine china and glassware in a more private setting. At any time of day, these passengers could borrow books from the magnificent library, then stroll to one of the decks to read while basking in the sun. Those in need of a haircut visited one of two barbershops. For this segment of the *Titanic*'s passengers, the experience was one of unforgettable luxury.

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Less glamorous steerage class

Beneath the grandeur of first and even second class was the steerage section of the ship. Steerage was in stark contrast to the opulence (luxury) of the top floors. There were no dining rooms nor dance floors for these passengers: They slept in small, windowless rooms the size of closets, in beds made up with rough, inferior-quality sheets and blankets. Compared with the $4,350 one-way ticket for a first-class parlor passage, the $40 steerage passage got its buyers little else than transportation across the ocean.

Many passengers in third class were women and children. A large number of them did not speak English, which made communication with the White Star Line crew working in third class difficult. Unlike their first- and second-class shipmates, the passengers in third class were not given the required lifeboat drill. It would prove to be a costly omission.

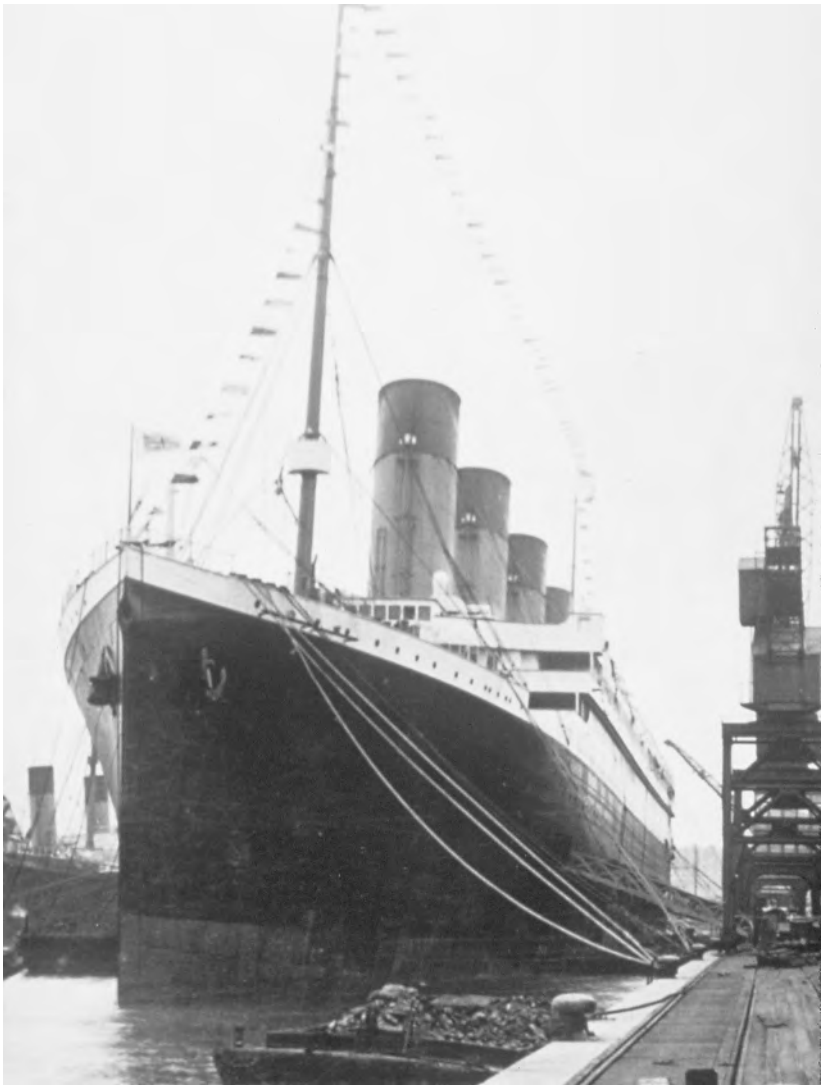
The *Titanic* set out on its maiden (first) voyage on April 10, 1912. It departed from Southampton, England, for a six-day voyage to New York. Through the years, the number of people on board the *Titanic* has been disputed. It is generally accepted that on the day the ship hit the iceberg, 329 passengers were in first class, 285 were in second class, and 710 were in third class. There were 899 crew members on board as well.

Warning came too late

On the evening of April 14, 1912, the captain and crew received more than one warning of ice in the area. Despite those warnings, the *Titanic* forged ahead. The crew member on lookout saw the iceberg before the collision. He rang the warning bell three times. He phoned the bridge with the warning, but by then it was too late. Thirty-seven seconds later, at 11:40 PM, the *Titanic* hit the iceberg. It was about four hundred miles off the coast of Newfoundland, Canada. Distress signals were immediately sent to other ships in the area to let them know the *Titanic* needed help. The *Carpathia* was nearest, but even so, was 58 miles (93 kilometers) away.

At 12:25 AM, order was given to get women and children into the lifeboats. Twenty minutes later, the first boat was lowered into the water. Even though it could seat sixty-five people, only nineteen of the seats

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The Titanic *was the largest ship ever built and its sinking in 1912 was one of the most devastating and famous ship disasters of all time.* TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES

were filled. This underusage happened with all but two of the lifeboats (in each of those two, capacity was overflowing with seventy passengers) and would be a source of criticism in the investigation that followed.

Pandemonium

Those unfortunate passengers riding in steerage were all but forgotten. In the mass confusion above deck, the record remains unclear whether

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orders were ever given to evacuate passengers from the lower decks. Some of the gates to the upper deck were locked. Some passengers who did manage to reach an open gate for escape were turned back by crew members. Other crew allowed only women and children from third class to ascend the stairs to rescue.

By the time third-class passengers were able to get to the upper decks, most of the lifeboats were either rowing toward the *Carpathia* or had already made it to the rescue ship. It would later be revealed that, had the lifeboats been filled to capacity, another 473 passengers could have made their way to safety. All the women and children lost in the disaster could have been saved.

At 2:20 AM on April 15, 1912, the *Titanic* disappeared beneath the sea. The ship that had taken three years to build took fewer than three hours to sink. Of the more than two thousand people on board, approximately fifteen hundred died.

Official inquiry revealed desperation

An investigation was conducted by British officials from May 2 to July 3, 1912. Crew members and survivors testified during the inquiry. Accounts of what happened that fateful night varied greatly, which is common in the aftermath of an event marked by mass confusion. Some eyewitnesses reported that crew members were more interested in saving themselves rather than the passengers. It was also reported that certain crew members actually shot some passengers during the chaos, either to keep order or to get themselves a spot on the lifeboats.

Whatever may have happened that night, the first International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea was called in London, England, in 1913. Rules and regulations were established. Every ship would be required to have enough lifeboat space for each passenger on board. A law now required lifeboat drills for all passengers during each voyage. Ships would also need to maintain a twenty-four-hour radio watch. Another direct result of the tragedy was the formation of the International Ice Patrol. This organization would warn ships of icebergs in the North Atlantic shipping lanes.

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Tobacco

Tobacco is an agricultural product made from the leaves of plants in the *Nicotiana* family. Native Americans grew and used tobacco for centuries before Europeans arrived in the New World. Native Americans used it for trade with each other, recreation, and spiritual practices.

Tobacco became a staple crop in the colonial New World, especially in **Virginia** and **Maryland**. A staple is something produced in mass quantities for sale. By the middle of the seventeenth century, tobacco was second only to grain as the most valuable commodity exported by the American colonies. Rice, fish, and indigo made up the other top five exports.

Became main export

Tobacco played an important role in the early success of the Virginia settlement of **Jamestown**. In 1614, when the settlement was struggling, John Rolfe (c. 1585–1622) found a strain of tobacco that grew well there. Just three years later the Virginia colony exported twenty thousand pounds of tobacco to England. High prices for tobacco at the time earned huge profits for the owners of the colony.

Tobacco also was the most important crop in Maryland beginning around 1634. Corn was a vital agricultural commodity as well. Exports to Europe allowed the colonists to obtain clothing, tools, and other manufactured goods in return.

Demanded large workforce

Working tobacco fields required hard labor. To supply it, colonists first brought indentured servants from Europe. Often from England, Scotland, and Ireland, indentured servants signed a contract to provide labor for a period of years, frequently seven. In return they received transportation to the New World and food, clothing, and housing during their period of indenture. Eventually planters replaced indentured servants with slave labor, which was less expensive and more permanent.

After the initial tobacco boom early in the seventeenth century, conditions made the industry a hard one. Prices fell and farming the same crop in the same soils every year depleted soil nutrients. Still, tobacco re-

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mained profitable in Virginia and other colonies, and was one of the most important exports throughout the colonial period.

Townshend Acts

During June and July 1767, the British parliament passed a series of four laws known as the Townshend Acts. The name came from Charles Townshend (1725–1767), who was the chancellor of the exchequer and who sponsored the laws. The Townshend Acts angered the American colonists, leading to extensive protests throughout the British colonies.



British chancellor of the exchequer Charles Townshend, after whom the Townshend Acts are named. The acts angered American colonists and led to several demonstrations of protest. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

The acts

The first of the four laws was the Suspending Act. It suspended the activities of the **New York** State Assembly, the colony's lawmaking body, until the colony complied with the **Quartering Acts** of 1765. That law required colonies to supply British troops stationed in their areas with shelter and other necessary supplies.

An increased amount of troops being stationed in New York presented an unexpected financial burden for the colony. Instead of providing funding for all of the troops, the Assembly had chosen to appropriate funds only for the usual number of troops, refusing to provide additional monies. The Suspending Act, which forced New York to comply with the Quartering Acts, caused great concern among the colonists. They worried that Parliament's assumption of authority over a colonial legislature might lead to attacks on other American rights and to enforcement of other laws that the colonists considered unjust.

The second of the four Acts was the Townshend Duties Act. It is perhaps the best known of the Townshend Acts because it served to establish England's right to tax the American colonies. Earlier British attempts to impose taxes directly on goods (such as sugar and stamps) were met with violent protests. In an effort to

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avoid such controversies, Townshend proposed a series of indirect taxes on luxury goods that were typically imported to the colonies from England. Duties were imposed on glass of all kinds, paper, lead, painters' colors, and tea.

The duties stirred anger both in the colonies and in England. English merchants and manufacturers complained that it would encourage competing industries in America or discourage the use of the taxed items. American colonists were again angered by England's taxation of the colonies without colonial representation in Parliament.

With the third of the Townshend Acts Parliament established a Board of Customs Commissioners. The board was stationed in Boston to have complete control over customs, or import taxes, in the American colonies. It had broad authority to search and seize colonists' property to collect unpaid taxes and to punish smugglers. Five new customs officials were dispatched to Boston, and new Courts of Admiralty were created for trials of accused smugglers without juries.

The cost of running the board and the new courts was to be paid out of tax revenue and out of seizures from smugglers. Anything collected beyond those costs was to be used to pay the salaries of judges, governors, and other crown employees in the colonies. Until then, such salaries had been paid annually by local assemblies, or legislatures. This form of local self-government had allowed the colonies to maintain some control over the royal officers.

Parliament's new system removed local control and thus was seen by the colonists as a form of political enslavement. Colonial resentment took the form of agitation, nonimportation agreements, evasion of the duties, promotion of competing American businesses, and even open hostility to the enforcing officers.

The fourth of the Townshend Acts permitted tea to be imported to the colonies free of all taxes placed on goods passing through England for the colonies.

Impact of the Townshend Acts

The Townshend Acts provoked serious protests in the colonies. Opposition to the taxes led the customs commissioners to request the support of British troops in 1768. Most of the troops were withdrawn in 1769, but two regiments remained. Strained relations between the

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colonists and the soldiers led to the **Boston Massacre** on March 5, 1770. By coincidence, most of the Townshend Acts were repealed that same day, with the exception of the tax on tea. It was left as a symbol of Parliament's authority to tax the colonies.

Trading

Native Americans traded animal skins and pelts with each other for centuries before European explorers arrived in the New World. Inland Native Americans regularly traveled to coastal regions to trade furs and stone tools for fish and shells. The period from 1600 to 1750 is known as the mercantile era, when Native Americans traded with Europeans from various countries, including the Netherlands, England, France, and Spain.

Trade was a way for Native Americans and Europeans to acquire things lacking in their own worlds but abundant in other lands. The New World had abundant animal populations. In addition to deerskin furs and pelts, Native Americans supplied Europeans with products from bear, buffalo, deer, elk, beaver, fox, mink, muskrat, and raccoon. Native Americans also had crops the settlers needed to survive, and gold and silver, from which European traders earned great profits.

Both sides eager to trade

In return, Europeans supplied Native Americans with crafts and manufactured goods that were unavailable or in short supply in the New World. European items traded included awls, axes, beads, blankets, buttons, cloth, clothing, combs, guns, gunpowder and shot, hoes, mirrors, ribbon, rum, scissors, and thread. Manufactured weapons allowed Native Americans to kill more hunted animals, while the domestic goods in trade they received brought radical changes to their households.

At first, the terms of trade were entirely the product of negotiation between the explorers and the natives. Colonial governments eventually tried to regulate the terms of trade. The Superior Council of **Louisiana**, for example, banned the unauthorized sale of liquor to natives in 1717, and in 1721 it set rates of exchange for trade on the lower Mississippi River. For their part, Native Americans became shrewd about choosing between different colonial powers to maximize the benefits of trade for themselves.

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Trading had consequences for native communities. The availability of European goods, such as cloth and utensils, led Native Americans to neglect to provide such goods for themselves from the resources at hand in America. Then, they migrated westward as animal populations dwindled, which opened up coastal and inland regions for European settlement. In time, the trading relationships evolved into forced displacement of Native Americans by the United States, which eventually wanted land and resources for agriculture and industry instead of trade with Native Americans.

The Slave Trade

The **slave** trade in America also developed between 1600 and 1750. Europeans and colonists captured humans in Africa or bought them with goods, chained them onto **slave ships**, and transported them to the West Indies and to Carolina to sell them into slavery.

Of the eleven million African slaves who crossed the Atlantic Ocean between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, about six hundred and fifty thousand went to the American colonies. Shiploads of slaves were sold either to a plantation or group of planters, to individual buyers at auctions, or to merchants in a spectacle called a scramble. Under the terms of the scramble, merchants set a price for each slave on a ship and then allowed buyers to rush aboard to select the ones they wanted to buy. Colonial law, which eventually became American law, deemed that slaves were considered to be property with neither civil rights nor basic rights as human beings.

Trail of Tears

Most Native Americans living along the eastern seaboard of North America were dead by the 1780s. Those who had managed to survive war, disease, and starvation were focused on resisting further encroachment by white settlers. Some sided with Britain to fight America in the **American Revolution** (1775–83) and the **War of 1812** (1812–15). Britain was the losing side both times, however, and after the War of 1812, General **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37) destroyed the settlements of the Creeks and other hostile Native American groups.

Unlike the Creeks, the Cherokee had already accepted the presence of white settlers as inevitable and had adopted a peaceful policy of coexistence. According to a treaty signed with the United States government in 1791, the Cherokee continued to live on their traditional lands in the hills of northwest **Georgia** and western **North Carolina**. The early 1800s brought about tremendous cultural change as the Cherokee adopted an agrarian (agricultural) economy in place of their traditional hunting and gathering. Some became plantation owners with **slaves** while others became involved in business. By the 1820s, the Cherokee had established written laws and a constitution by which they lived.

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Conflict

As the Cherokee nation thrived, white settlers grew resentful. The state of Georgia wanted them to sell their land, which they were hesitant to do. When gold was discovered in Cherokee country in 1829, the state increased its pressure to sell, but the Cherokee refused. The Indian Removal Act of 1839 provided funds for the removal of eastern Native Americans beyond the Mississippi River, and the state of George declared the Cherokee constitution invalid. The state government ordered the seizure of all Cherokee land.

The Cherokee had willingly worked with the government all along, but they were not about to let them take what legally belonged to them. They hired a lawyer who argued their case to the **Supreme Court**. In 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall (1755–1835) agreed with the Cherokee nation and ruled in their favor. U.S. president Andrew Jackson, however, continued to support Georgia's efforts to remove the Cherokee. He persuaded Congress to grant funding for the relocation of the Cherokee. In 1835, a small group of Cherokee, worn out by years of antagonism, gave the government all lands occupied by them east of the Mississippi River. They were given two years to vacate the lands and move to a special **Indian Territory** created by Congress in 1834. This land would later become **Oklahoma**.

Aside from that small group, the Cherokee resisted their forced removal. As 1837 approached, President **Martin Van Buren** (1782–1862; served 1837–41) ordered federal authorities to force the Cherokee to leave. They would live in temporary detention camps.

They remained in these camps throughout the sweltering southern summer months, and soon their numbers were decimated by disease. More than two thousand died from measles, whooping cough, and other illnesses. In October, more than fifteen thousand men, women, and children began a six-month, thousand-mile journey to the unfamiliar territory that would be their new home.

Most Cherokee went on foot from Georgia, across central **Tennessee**, western **Kentucky**, southern **Illinois**, southern **Missouri**, and northern **Arkansas**, to Fort Gibson in eastern Oklahoma. A smaller number were taken by boat. Those on foot lacked adequate food, shelter, and clothing. Around two thousand Cherokee died from disease, exposure, and exhaustion. The proud Cherokee buried their dead along the

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route that eventually became known as the "Trail of Tears." This dark event is one of the most tragic in U.S.-Native American relations.

A dying breed

The Cherokee reestablished their agrarian society, and by 1839 had a new government and constitution in place. By 1842, most of what were known as the Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole—had been forcibly relocated to government-assigned land in Oklahoma. In 1858, the last of the Seminoles were removed from **Florida**.

Transcendentalism

During the 1830s, a philosophical movement emerged in New England called Transcendentalism. Transcendentalist thinking influenced ideas on religion, motivated social reform, and inspired great works of literature. Followers of Transcendentalism challenged many of the most common expressions of American culture of the time.

God and humans

Transcendental ideas were controversial because they challenged almost universally accepted Christian beliefs. Transcendentalists rejected the idea that religious institutions are necessary to help humans achieve a spiritual experience. They believed instead that God was a part of everything, including the soul of each person. As such, they believed that each person could have an intuitive spiritual experience that was divine.

Their ideas challenged deeply held American beliefs about divinity, faith, and organized religion. If people could experience God's presence in nature, then what was the point of going to church? If each person is divine, then how was Jesus different? And if God was a part of everything, then life as a whole—not just the unusual events that Christians consider to be proof of God—is a miracle. The ideas were startling.

Intuition, truth, and goodness

The Transcendental belief that spiritual truth is contained in nature, in fact in every part of man's world, inspired people to think in new ways. The idea that humans can achieve an intuitive understanding of the

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world around them gained wider acceptance. Artistic expression, closely connected with intuition, came to be valued as a way to reveal the truths of life. Transcendentalism produced some of the greatest works of American literature. Among the most well-known Transcendental writers are **Ralph Waldo Emerson** (1803–1882), **Henry David Thoreau** (1817–1862), and Margaret Fuller (1810–1850). Emerson's essay *Nature* (1836) and his lecture "The Transcendentalist" (1842) were key statements of Transcendental belief.

Transcendentalists sought to express the divine in themselves and to find it in their surroundings. High moral order was the goal for both the individual and the community. Believing that people were basically good, they worked to help communities improve. They spoke up on social issues such as **slavery**, women's rights, and education. A few Transcendentalists even started their own communities, the most famous being Brook Farm, in **Massachusetts**, to provide ideal conditions for spiritual growth and experience.

An American perspective

Transcendentalism was never a formal, unified movement. With its emphasis on the individual and personal experience, many Transcendentalists held a variety of viewpoints on social, religious, and philosophical issues. The emphasis on individual spirituality, however, inspired many to improve themselves and society. Seeking changes in the social order as defined by the majority in America, they voiced a uniquely American perspective.

Transcontinental Railroad

See **Railroad Industry**

Treaty of Paris

The Treaty of Paris was signed September 3, 1783, by representatives of England and the United States. It officially ended the **American Revolution** (1775–83). The treaty set the terms of relations between the two countries following the establishment of independence by the American colonies. On the same day as it signed the Treaty of Paris, England also signed two other treaties—the Treaties of Versailles

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(1783)—with America's wartime allies, France and Spain. The three treaties are known together as the Peace of Paris.

By signing the Treaty of Paris, England formally recognized that thirteen of its colonies in America had established an independent nation, the United States of America. The treaty set boundaries for the United States, generously defining the westward boundary as the Mississippi River, an important trade artery. England retained Canada, which it had won from France during the **French and Indian War** (1754–63).

Set national boundaries

According to the treaty, both the United States and England were to have free access to the Mississippi River, and Americans were given access to the fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland in Canada. The British agreed to evacuate all forces that remained on American soil. In return, the American diplomats in Paris recommended to Congress, the government of America, that American Loyalists be treated fairly and have their property restored. (Loyalists were Americans who had supported the British during the Revolution.) Finally, both countries agreed that they be allowed to collect their debts from the war.

The Treaty of Paris gave the United States official status as a new nation. With England's acknowledgement of a change in government in America, the United States entered the world community of nations with diplomatic rights.

Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles, signed June 28, 1919, was the peace agreement between Germany and the **Allies** (France, Russia, Britain, and beginning in 1917, the United States) of **World War I** (1914–18). Germany was not included in determining the terms of the treaty. It was not pleased with the final conditions of the document, which it signed under protest and the threat of invasion.

Signed near Paris

Signed at the former royal palace at Versailles, a suburb of Paris, the Treaty of Versailles was the result of the Paris Peace Conference, which lasted from January 12 to January 20, 1919. Leaders of thirty-two countries, representing about 75 percent of the world's population, attended

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the meetings. Negotiations, however, were conducted among the five most powerful countries: United States, France, Britain, Japan, and Italy.

The Treaty of Versailles assigned responsibility for World War I to Germany, and demanded that Germany accept guilt. Among other things, the treaty limited Germany's military and took much of its land (more than one million square miles). This land came not only from Germany's European territories, but its overseas colonies, all of which were given to the Allies.

Punished Germany

Because Germany was deemed responsible for the war, it was ordered to pay the cost of the war as well as compensate the Allies. This money was called reparations, and it was difficult for Germany to come up with the monthly payment. Much of its ability to reestablish its own economy lay in the overseas colonies and other lands given to the Allies.

The Treaty of Versailles had great political impact on Germany. One of the conditions of the agreement was that Germany's former kaiser (ruler) be formally tried. That proved impossible because the Dutch government refused to surrender him. While this was good news for the former kaiser, it hurt Germany by making it impossible to restore the monarchy (government led by one ruler who inherited his position). This isolated the formerly powerful country and made it an outcast in international politics. It eventually formed close economic ties with the Soviet Union, but most other countries distrusted Germany.

The Versailles agreement also called for the formation of a **League of Nations**, an international peacekeeping organization.

Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

Working conditions in the **Progressive Era** (a period in U.S. history marked by great social and industrial reform) were poor regardless of where the factory was and what it produced. Accidents were common. The worst facilities became known as sweatshops (manufacturing workplaces that exploit their workers and operate under inhumane working conditions). One tragedy in particular—the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire—came to symbolize the struggle of labor against sweatshop management in early twentieth-century America.

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Deadly fire killed teenagers

The Triangle Shirtwaist Company building in New York City was the site of what many historians consider the worst industrial disaster of its era since the **Industrial Revolution** began in 1877. On March 25, 1911, fire broke out in the top three stories of the ten-story building. By the time the flames were extinguished, 146 of the 500 employees were dead, many of them immigrant girls around the age of fifteen.

The building was typical of most others in **New York** at the time—overcrowded and without a sufficient number of emergency exits. There was one fire escape for the entire building, which itself was fireproof and showed little exterior damage after the fire.

When the fire broke out around 4:40 PM, employees of other businesses in the building had already gone home. Had the fire begun ten minutes later, the Triangle Shirtwaist Company women also would have been gone, as indicated by the remnants of coats and cold-weather accessories found on the corpses.



Firemen try to put out the fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York on March 25, 1911. The garment factory fire killed 146 people, many of whom were trapped by locked exits or jumped trying to escape the fire. AP IMAGES

Workers jumped to their deaths

When it became clear there was no way out of the flames because most of the doors were locked (as part of management's effort to keep employees from taking breaks or stealing), employees began jumping out of windows. Witnesses reported that many of them were already on fire, their hair and clothing in flames. With the exception of about a half a dozen people, those who jumped met their death by plunging through broken glass or crushing themselves on the sidewalks below. Firemen had to focus all their efforts on extinguishing the blaze, and bodies were left lying for hours in heaps on the ground where they had fallen.

According to a *New York Times* article published the day after the fire, one witness gave this account: "I only saw one man jump. All the rest were girls. They stood on the windowsills tearing their hair out in the handfuls and then they jumped. One girl held back after all the rest

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and clung to the window casing until the flames from the window below crept up to her and set her clothing on fire. Then she jumped far over the net and was killed instantly, like all the rest."

Workplace deemed unsafe

No one ever determined how the fire started. The building had gone through four recent fires before the one on March 25 and had been reported to the Building Department as unsafe. At the time, such a judgment rarely resulted in a business being closed, even temporarily. The final fire spread more rapidly than most because of the garments inside, which were made of flammable material. Furthermore, sewing machines were crammed together so closely that there were no paths to the doorways.

An investigation into the fire resulted in the two owners of the building being found innocent of any wrongdoing, despite the fact that they were aware of the fire hazards associated with their building. Families of the victims felt justice had not been served. Twenty-three families filed suits against the owners. In 1913, the owners settled by paying each family $75 for the loss of their loved one.

Harry S. Truman

Harry S. Truman took over the presidency upon the death of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) and helped bring an end to **World War II** (1939–45).

Truman was born into a farming community in **Missouri** on May 8, 1884. His middle initial, "S," does not stand for a middle name; his parents gave him just the middle initial to honor both his grandfathers—Anderson Shipp Truman and Solomon Young. Both Truman's mother and father were influential in their son's life, and he grew up happy on his grandparent's farm.

Truman's family did not have enough money to send him to college; they were not even able to make ends meet by farming. They moved to Kansas City, where jobs were easier to get, and Truman took a job at a drugstore, then with a newspaper, and then with a railroad. His last job before joining the military and serving in **World War I** (1914–18) was as a bank clerk. He earned $100 a week.

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Marriage and politics

When the war ended, Truman married his childhood sweetheart, Bess Wallace. The couple moved into the mansion where her mother lived, and Truman began job hunting once more. He and a friend opened a men's clothing store. The business gave Truman the opportunity to meet some influential politicians. In 1922 Truman became a judge on the Jackson County Court. He lost reelection in 1924 but won a position as presiding judge of the county court two years later. He was reelected in 1930 and served until he won a seat in the Senate four years later. He was reelected to the Senate in 1940.

In 1943 President Roosevelt ran for a fourth term. He wanted his vice president, Henry Wallace (1888–1965), to run with him again. Some felt that Wallace would hurt Roosevelt's chances of winning, however, and it was suggested he select Truman instead. Truman had no desire to run as vice president, but when Roosevelt approached him with the offer, he accepted. The nation was in the midst of **World War II** (1939–45), and he did not feel it would be right to cause further conflict at home.



Harry S. Truman took over the presidency after the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and helped bring an end to World War II by dropping atomic bombs on Japan in early August 1945. AP IMAGES

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Roosevelt was reelected, and Truman became vice president in 1944. He served in that capacity for eighty-two days and knew very little of what was going on with the war. When Roosevelt suddenly died on April 12, 1945, Truman was thrust into a presidency he did not know how to conduct. He was honest and spoke plainly and it made him more popular than his predecessor had ever been.

President

Truman had no idea that the United States was secretly developing an **atomic bomb.** This news came at a time when Japan was still fighting capably in the war, and Truman found himself having to deal with England and the Soviet Union, who had been working with Roosevelt. He met with the leaders of those countries at Potsdam in Germany in 1945. The men discussed the possibility of using the atomic bomb on Japan, and Truman decided to have the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. He chose this city because bombing it would send a clear message, but it would not kill as many people as bombing Tokyo or Kyoto would.

The United States dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and around 75,000 people were killed. Another 100,000 were injured or declared missing. The United States dropped another atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan, on August 9. Eighty thousand more people were killed or injured. On August 14, Japan agreed to surrender.

Reelection

Although Truman's decisions put an end to the war, his popularity declined, and fewer than 25 percent of voters believed he was doing a good job. They did not like his choice of government officials and criticized his habit of appointing friends to positions of power. When the time came for reelection, Truman decided at the last minute that he would run. He had just fourteen months to convince the American public that he really could lead the country in a satisfactory manner.

Truman's opponent was Republican Thomas Dewey (1902–1971), governor of New York. Newspapers were certain Dewey would win by a landslide, and when Truman actually defeated him, the media was surprised. One magazine had printed an issue with the headline "Dewey

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Defeats Truman," and when the prediction proved false, the magazine was so embarrassed that it went out of business.

Truman's second term was one of conflict as well. The administration had outlined a policy of containment (preventing the spread of **communism**) that made the **thirty-eighth parallel** the dividing line of Korea. North Korea would remain communist with support from Russia and China. South Korea developed a democratic government with support from the United States.

Shortly after Truman's reelection, that boundary became a battleground as the North Korean army marched across the border and invaded South Korea. (See **Korean War**.) Truman's general, **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964), was ordered to Korea, where he took command of the troops. He personally led the army in a ground and water attack against North Korea. Communist troops were forced into retreat back across the thirty-eighth parallel. But hundreds of thousands of Chinese volunteer troops rushed to support North Korean soldiers, and they forced MacArthur's men back below the border.

Heated disagreement

MacArthur, a distinguished officer, wanted to destroy the North Korean army, so he asked Truman for permission to again enter North Korea. He wanted the president to authorize a bombing campaign on military bases in China to distract their troops. Truman refused permission; he was committed to containing communism without risking another war. MacArthur, long known for his bad temper, seemed ready to charge ahead without the president's permission, so Truman fired him. This was a bold move, as MacArthur was a popular American hero. The proposed violence was not necessary; in the end, both sides agreed to establish a buffer zone along the border and hold their positions. Truman's decision turned out to be the right one.

Retirement

Before Truman's second term ended, he signed into law a bill prohibiting presidents from serving more than two terms in office. Once his second term was over, Truman went home to Independence, Missouri, where he sold part of his farm and wrote two volumes of memoirs.

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In 1962 historians conducted a poll to rate the presidents of the United States. Truman was voted among the "near great" presidents, a distinction that both surprised and pleased him. He died one day after Christmas in his Missouri home in 1972.

Truman Doctrine

In February 1947, Great Britain announced that it could no longer provide financial aid to Greece or Turkey. The governments of both of those countries were weak, and America had been monitoring the political situation in each. The main concern was that Communists would take over either or both countries. **Communism** is an economic theory in which all goods and services and their distribution are government-owned and controlled. A Communist government has total control of its citizens.

The domino theory

American Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson (1893–1971) pointed out that the concern was not limited to Greece and Turkey. Should those two countries fall to Communism, it would likely spread to Iran and possibly as far east as India. This train of thought became known as the **domino theory**: If one falls, they all fall.

On March 12, 1947, President **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53) asked for and received from Congress $400 million in military and economic aid for Greece and Turkey. In addition, he outlined what became known as the Truman Doctrine, a plan that would guide American diplomacy for the next four decades. Truman explained that the United States had a responsibility to protect free people from being subjugated by outside pressures.

This international financial assistance was broadened in scope a few months later when Secretary of State George C. Marshall (1880–1959) announced the **Marshall Plan**, which offered assistance to sixteen European nations.

Trusts

See **Monopolies and Trusts**

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Sojourner Truth

Sojourner Truth was an African American freedom fighter and an outstanding orator. An active reformer, she believed she had been chosen by God to help free the **slaves** and to raise the status of African Americans and women in the United States.

Sojourner Truth was born Isabella Bomefree (also spelled Baumfree) around 1797 on the estate of a Dutch slave owner in Ulster County, **New York**. Because both her parents were slaves, she was born into slavery. Her first language was Dutch and she spoke with an accent all her life. In her early childhood she witnessed her parents' grief over the loss of children who had been sold away. When she was nine years old, Truth herself was sold, and she was sold several more times in her early life. She worked from 1810 to 1827 in a household in New York where she married a fellow slave named Thomas. They had at least five children, but two daughters and a son were sold away.



Abolitionist and women's rights activist Sojourner Truth expressed her beliefs through her speeches and her writing, including her autobiography **The Narrative of Sojourner Truth.** HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Beginning a free life

In 1827 the state of New York passed an emancipation act, freeing its slaves. When her owner demanded that she serve another year, Truth ran away, leaving her children with Thomas, who died a few years later. A **Quaker** couple who opposed slavery, the Van Wageners, took her in. With the help of Quaker friends she successfully sued her former owner for the return of her son Peter, who had been sold illegally to an **Alabama** planter. While she stayed with the Van Wageners, Truth underwent a profound religious conversion.

Truth moved to New York City in 1828, where she adopted evangelical religious beliefs (the beliefs of Protestant Christians who spread the Christian Gospel as found in the New Testament). She developed a mystical faith, and throughout her life she would hear voices and see visions. In New York she began to forge a reputation as a gifted Methodist preacher.

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Through working with the church, Truth met Robert Matthews (1778–1841), a traveling preacher who had declared himself a prophet (someone who speaks through divine inspiration). Truth became one of his followers in 1832. Matthews established what he called a "kingdom," a religious commune in which Matthews' followers lived, worked, and practiced their religion together. Truth was the only black member. In 1835, the commune fell apart. Truth and Matthews were accused and then acquitted of the murder of one of the members.

Freedom and faith

In 1843 an inner voice told Isabella to change her name to Sojourner Truth ("sojourner" means temporary visitor, and spreading "truth" was her mission). She traveled around the Connecticut River valley to preach, sing, pray, and evangelize at camp meetings (religious meetings in frontier areas to which people from all over the region would travel), in churches, or wherever she could find shelter and an audience. A religious revival in the Northeast at that time provided her with an eager audience.

By the winter of 1843 Truth moved to the Northampton Industrial Association, another utopian community (a community founded in the attempt to create a perfect society), where she lived until 1846. The association aimed to reform the political economy, starting on a small scale with the cooperative production of silk. In the Northampton Association, Sojourner Truth lived with well-educated people whose main concerns were political. There she met important members of the abolitionist movement, including **Frederick Douglass** (1818–1895). As a result of this experience, **abolitionism** and women's rights became important to her and began to find expression in her preaching. She never compromised on the importance of these causes, disagreeing with abolitionists such as Douglass, who maintained that equality for women must take second place in importance to the elimination of slavery.

Autobiography and speeches

In 1850 Truth published her autobiography. She supported herself by selling *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth* at women's rights meetings for twenty-five cents a copy. Truth's "Ain't I a Woman?" speech at the Akron Women's Rights Convention in 1850 secured her a place in history for being one of the most significant expressions of the combined abolition-

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ist and women's rights movement. When Truth rose to speak she was severely heckled; undaunted, she pointed out that as a female slave she had experienced the profound grief of having her own children sold away and had had to work like a man all her life; she then asked, "And ain't I a woman?" She left the stage to thundering applause. Her reputation as a brilliant speaker spread.

Civil War and freed peoples' rights

In the mid-1850s Truth moved with her daughters to Battle Creek, Michigan, a center of religious and antislavery reform movements. There she joined a commune called Harmonia. During the American **Civil War** (1861–65) she met President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) and worked to help the recently freed slaves. After the war Truth worked tirelessly to assist former slaves. In 1870 she sent a petition to Congress, signed by hundreds of supporters, pleading for the allocation of government lands in the West to former slaves. Although Congress took no action on the petition, her outspoken support of western migration inspired thousands of former slaves to establish homesteads in **Kansas**. She traveled throughout Kansas and **Missouri**, giving motivational speeches to the former slaves. She also continued to speak to white audiences in the Northeast, preaching her message of a loving God and advocating temperance (abstaining from alcohol), **women's suffrage** (right to vote), and equal rights for blacks.

Final Years

Sojourner Truth continued to travel and speak on social reform issues as long as she was able. She received hundreds of visitors in Battle Creek until her death at age eighty-six in 1883. Her funeral was said to have been the largest ever held in Battle Creek.

Harriet Tubman

For more than twenty years before the American **Civil War** (1861–65), there was a secret system for helping runaway **slaves** escape to freedom in the northern states or in Canada. Called the **Underground Railroad**, it was neither underground nor a railroad. It got its name from the railroad terminology that was used to describe the secret activities of the sys-

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Harriet Tubman was an escaped slave who led over three hundred slaves to safety via the Underground Railroad from 1850 to 1860. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

tem. The slaves were called "passengers," those who aided them were "conductors," escape routes were "lines," and stopping places of safety were "stations."

Lines in the Underground Railroad went from **Kentucky** and **Maryland** to stations in New England and Canada. While most conductors were **Quakers** (whose religion forbids slavery) and **abolitionists** (northerners who fought against slavery), some conductors were free blacks or former slaves who themselves had been passengers on the Railroad. Harriet Tubman (1820–1913) was an escaped slave who singlehandedly led over three hundred slaves to safety in the years 1850 to 1860.

Tubman was born on a plantation in Dorchester County, Maryland, one of the eleven children of Benjamin and Harriet Ross. As a young girl, Tubman was often hired out to work for other families. Unlike many slaves, she had the chance to return to her family between jobs, but she did not escape the brutalities of slavery: the permanent scars on her back testified to the many whippings she received while growing up.

Slave uprising spurs desire to escape

When Tubman was about thirteen, a fellow slave attempted to escape. The overseer (slave supervisor) tried to pursue the runaway, but Tubman blocked his path. Enraged, the overseer hurled a two-pound weight at the fleeing slave, only to strike Tubman in the forehead. The injury left her skull permanently pressed against her brain, and she experienced sudden unconscious spells for the rest of her life. She made up her mind to try to escape one day. In 1849 she decided the time was right. With the help of conductors along the Underground Railroad, she made her way north to Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**.

Tubman supported herself by working as a cook and as a household servant. Within a year, she returned to Maryland to start freeing her relatives. She then began a decade-long campaign of conducting runaway

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slaves on the Underground Railroad. Known by the name of "Moses" (after the Hebrew prophet who led his people out of slavery in Egypt in 1400 BCE), Tubman would appear in slave cabins on a Saturday night disguised as a man or as an old woman. She would then lead a group of passengers to safety the following morning, knowing slave owners were less likely to pursue slaves on a Sunday.

Leads "passengers" to safety in Canada

Soon after Tubman had begun her work on the Railroad, Congress enacted the **Fugitive Slave Laws** of 1850. It required all runaway slaves, even those in the free states of the North, to be returned to their owners without the benefit of a jury trial. Anyone caught helping a slave was heavily fined. Because she feared for the safety of her passengers in the United States, Tubman began to guide them to the small town of Saint Catherines in Ontario, Canada. Since slavery was outlawed in Canada, slaves were immediately free once they crossed the border. Saint Catherines also became her temporary home.

By 1857 Tubman had rescued her entire family. She then decided to risk settling in Auburn, New York, a strongly abolitionist community. There she met and worked with other reform-minded individuals like the poet and essayist **Ralph Waldo Emerson** (1803–1882) and the women's rights movement leader **Susan B. Anthony** (1820–1906). Perhaps the most famous of her associations was with the antislavery crusader John Brown (1800–1859; see **Harpers Ferry Raid**). She helped him plan a raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, **Virginia** (now West Virginia) in November of 1859. Luckily, Tubman was too ill to take part in the unsuccessful raid in which Brown's sons were killed and he was captured and later executed.

Nurses Union soldiers

During the Civil War, Tubman served as a nurse for sick and wounded **Union** soldiers. She also acted as a spy, gathering information for the Union. On one occasion, she even organized and led a group of eight black men on a scouting assignment along the coast of **South Carolina**.

After the war, Tubman returned to Auburn to care for her parents and to continue to work for women's rights and other reform move-

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ments. Concerned about the poor condition of newly free black children, she raised money for clothing and schools. In 1908 she helped the elderly by opening the John Brown Home for Aged and Indigent Colored People (later renamed for her). Tubman lived her last two years in this home, dying in Auburn on March 10, 1913.

Tuskegee Airmen

Before 1940, African Americans were prohibited from flying airplanes for the U.S. military. In response to the efforts of **civil rights** organizations to secure equal opportunities for African Americans—and media attention to those efforts—President **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) ordered the formation of an all-African American squadron in 1940. This squadron became known as the Tuskegee Airmen (TA).

The TA were trained at Tuskegee Institute in **Alabama**. The school was chosen for its commitment to aeronautical training, and it had the facilities, engineering, and instructors to get the job done. The training program, called the Tuskegee Experiment, was part of the **Army** Air Corps, and the squadron included pilots, navigators, bombardiers, and all other levels of staff and personnel required to keep airplanes in the air.

The first Civilian Pilot Training Program participants successfully completed their training in May 1940. The program was expanded and became the center of African American aviation during **World War II** (1939–45). The TA was one of the most highly respected squadrons of the war, disproving racial stereotypes.

The TA eventually included more than fifteen thousand members. Sixty-six TA pilots were killed in action or accidents, and another thirty-two became prisoners of war. The squadron was awarded 150 Distinguished Flying Crosses, 744 Air Medals, 14 Bronze Stars, and 8 Purple Hearts.

In November 1998 the Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site at Moton Field in Tuskegee, Alabama, was established to commemorate the heroism of the Tuskegee Airmen during World War II.

Twain, Mark

See **Samuel Clemens**

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Twelfth Amendment

The Twelfth Amendment of the U.S. **Constitution** became effective on September 25, 1804. It changed the manner in which the country selects the president and vice president of the United States using electors from each of the states.

Before the Twelfth Amendment, it was possible for candidates for president and vice president from the same political party to get the same number of electoral votes, which triggered a run-off election in the House of Representatives. It also was possible for candidates from different political parties to be selected to serve as president and vice president. The Twelfth Amendment changed these circumstances by requiring electors to vote separately for the two positions.

The original system

The method for selecting the president and vice president appears in Article II of the Constitution. The men who wrote the Constitution in 1787 did not foresee a system of political parties in America. They also did not intend for voters to select the president and vice president directly. Instead they crafted a system designed to nominate a handful of men to be selected for the jobs by the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Under the original system, every four years each state appointed a number of electors equal to the total number of representatives and senators the state had in Congress. The method for appointing electors was left to the states. Once appointed, electors met on a day set by Congress to cast votes for president and vice president. Each elector cast his votes simply by writing the names of two people, without saying which was for president and which for vice president.

After the electors cast their votes, they sent them to the President of the Senate, who opened them in front of the House of Representatives and Senate for counting. The person who received the most votes became president if the total of his votes was a majority of the total electors appointed for the task. If two people had a majority and a tie, the House of Representatives chose the president from them. If nobody had a majority, the House of Representatives chose the president from the five highest on the list. The men who wrote the Constitution expected the latter result to happen most of the time.

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After selection of the president in this manner, the position of vice president went to the person who received the second highest number of electoral votes. If two or more people tied for this, the Senate chose the vice president from the ties.

The election of 1796

By the election of 1796, politicians in America had begun to organize into the **Federalist Party** and the **Democratic-Republican Party**. That year **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801) of the Federalist Party ran for president with Thomas Pinckney (1750–1828) as his running mate. **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–09) of the Democratic-Republicans ran with **Aaron Burr** (1756–1836) as his running mate. When the electoral votes were tallied, Adams had the most votes and a majority, while Jefferson had the second highest number of votes. They became president and vice president, even though they belonged to different political parties.

The election of 1800

The election of 1800 was similar to the 1796 contest, although this time Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825) was Adams's running mate. When the votes were tallied, Jefferson and his running mate, Burr, were tied for the most electoral votes. Under the Constitution, this meant the House of Representatives had to hold a run-off election, even though the electors who cast votes for both men intended that Jefferson be president.

Under the Constitution, the representatives in the House conduct the run-off election by voting as individual states. A candidate has to receive a majority of the states to win the run-off. In 1801, when there were sixteen states, a majority of nine was needed for victory. Federalists in the House who opposed Jefferson conspired to vote for Burr to give the presidency to him. Burr, instead of conceding that Jefferson should get the job, conspired to win the election.

The run-off election required a total of thirty-six ballots in the House from February 11 to 17 before one of the candidates received support from a majority of states. The winner was Jefferson. Under the Constitution, Burr automatically became vice president because he received the most electoral votes of the remaining candidates after Jefferson.

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The Twelfth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution

The Twelfth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution says, "The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. [And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.]—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States."

The portion of the Eleventh Amendment quoted above in brackets was replaced by section 3 of the Twentieth Amendment, which became effective on January 23, 1933.

The Twelfth Amendment

Democratic-Republicans wanted to avoid a repeat of the problem of the election of 1800. John Taylor and others introduced proposed amendments to the Constitution into Congress. Congress finally agreed on a change and proposed the Twelfth Amendment on December 12, 1803. On July 27, 1804, the amendment had been ratified, or approved, by thirteen out of the seventeen states, the number required for ratification. Secretary of State **James Madison** (1751–1836; served 1809–17) an-

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nounced the ratification on September 25, 1804, in time for it to apply to the election of 1804.

Under the Twelfth Amendment, the president and vice president are still selected by electors instead of by popular vote. When the electors cast their two votes, however, they specify which is for the presidency and which for the vice presidency. The votes are counted in Congress separately for each position. The person who gets a majority wins each position. If no person gets a majority, the House of Representatives chooses the president from the top three candidates for that post, and the Senate chooses the vice president from the top two candidates for that post.

The Twelfth Amendment also fixed an oversight from the original Constitution by requiring candidates for the vice presidency to have the same qualifications as candidates for the presidency. This means they must be at least thirty-five years old, natural-born citizens of the United States, and residents of the United States for at least fourteen years. Before this, the Constitution contained no requirements for vice presidential candidates.

Twentieth Amendment

The Twentieth Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** was ratified on January 23, 1933. It changed the start dates for presidential and vice presidential terms as well as congressional terms. In addition the amendment set in place procedures for presidential succession in the event the elected president dies before inauguration day.

The Twentieth Amendment is also known as the Lame Duck amendment. Before its passage federal elections were held on the first Tuesday in November, but newly elected officials did not begin their term until March the following year (March 4 for the president and vice president, March 3 for members of Congress). This meant that senators and representatives who were defeated in November would remain in office and vote. This earned them the nickname "lame ducks."

Prior to the Twentieth Amendment, Congress was required to hold a shortened session in even-numbered years from early December until the following March. Very little was ever accomplished during these sessions because members who had already been defeated felt no obligation to engage in legislative activity. These sessions provided those defeated members an opportunity to vote on measures without having to answer

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to voters. The Twentieth Amendment got rid of this abbreviated session. The amendment stipulates that the presidential and vice presidential terms begin on January 20, and congressional terms begin on January 3.

Finally the amendment provides that in the event the president-elect dies before taking office on January 20, the vice president–elect shall take his or her place.

Twenty-fifth Amendment

The Twenty-fifth Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** was ratified by the states on February 10, 1967. It gives an official procedure to follow upon the death, removal, or resignation of a U.S. president or vice president. It also addresses how the presidency is temporarily filled if the president is unable to carry out his duties and obligations.

It may seem that this amendment is merely theoretical, but history tells a different story. On eight separate occasions, a U.S. president has died in office. One president resigned from office. The history of American vice presidents is not much different: seven vice presidents have died in office, and two resigned midterm. At other times, a president became physically disabled (such as through surgery) and temporarily could not fulfill his presidential responsibilities.

With the passage of the Twenty-fifth Amendment, the United States can count on a stable transition should something happen to the president or vice president. If a president dies, resigns, or leaves office, the vice president becomes president. If the vice president leaves office, the president must select a new vice president. That person must then be approved by a majority vote in Congress.

In the event a president must temporarily relieve himself of his duties, he must give notice to the leader of the majority party in the Senate and the Speaker of the House. The vice president then has the authority to step in as acting president. The president can resume office once he gives notice to congressional leadership. If the vice president and a majority of the president's cabinet believe the president is not able to perform his duties, they must submit a letter to congressional leadership stating as much. It may come down to a vote in Congress, and then two-thirds of Congress must vote against the president to keep him from resuming office. If this happens the vice president remains the acting president.

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Twenty-first Amendment

In 1919 the **Eighteenth Amendment** of the U.S. **Constitution** outlawed the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors in the United States. Fourteen years later the United States adopted the Twenty-first Amendment to revoke the Eighteenth. The effect was to repeal nationwide **Prohibition** and to instead allow each state to decide whether to allow alcoholic beverages within its borders.

Prohibition had been the result of a social movement, largely by religious Protestants who believed alcoholic beverages were harmful to society. Once enacted, however, Prohibition resulted in other problems for society. Organized crime flourished to supply alcohol illegally to people who wanted it. Instead of collecting taxes on the sale of alcoholic beverages, government was now spending money to enforce the laws of



Demonstrators in an anti-Prohibition parade carry signs reading "We want beer." The Twenty-first Amendment repealed nationwide Prohibition. AP IMAGES

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Prohibition and to combat organized crime. Law enforcement lacked sufficient resources to prosecute all the violations, so the Prohibition laws were largely unenforced. To raise revenue that it used to get from taxes on the sale of alcoholic beverages, the government had to raise other taxes, which was unpopular with many people.

In the 1930s the United States entered the **Great Depression** (1929–41). It was a poor economic time when jobs became scarce and national spending dropped. Repealing Prohibition would help the economy by adding jobs in industry for manufacturing, transporting, and selling alcoholic beverages. In the presidential election of 1932 the **Democratic Party** made the repeal of Prohibition part of its platform. The Democratic candidate **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) won the election.

Congress proposed the Twenty-first Amendment near the beginning of 1933. Congress required it to be approved by state conventions instead of state legislatures to pass. State legislatures contained many conservative Protestants from rural areas who would vote against the Twenty-first Amendment for political reasons. State conventions would contain more regular citizens who could vote for Prohibition without hurting political careers. By December 1933 three-fourths of the states had called conventions that approved the amendment, officially repealing nationwide Prohibition.

The Twenty-first Amendment did not make alcoholic beverages legal nationwide. It just left the matter to the states. Many states continued Prohibition by enforcing their own laws. By 1966, however, all state Prohibition laws had been repealed too.

Text of the Twenty-first Amendment

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Twenty-fourth Amendment

On January 23, 1964, the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the United States **Constitution** was ratified, or approved. The amendment ended the poll tax (money that had to be paid in order to vote) as a condition

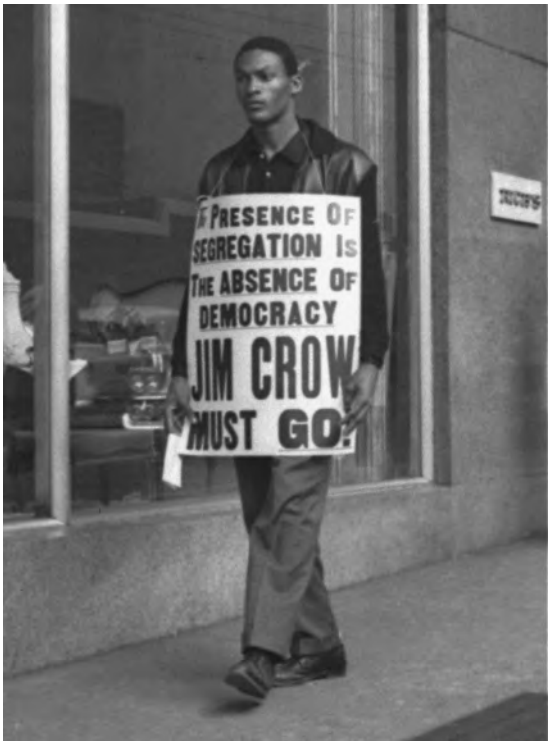
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of voting in federal elections. The real function of the tax had been to deny civil rights to racial minorities, especially Southern blacks. The Twenty-fourth Amendment was one part of the larger African American **civil rights movement** of the 1950s and 1960s.

Background of poll taxes

In 1870 the **Fifteenth Amendment** was adopted, declaring that an individual's right to vote cannot be denied by any state on the basis of race or color. After the **Reconstruction** Era (1865–77), the twelve-year period of rebuilding that followed the American **Civil War** (1861–65), southern state legislators soon looked for ways to keep the vote from African Americans. Some states adopted literacy tests: In order to vote, a person had to first pass a strict test; those who failed were denied the right to vote. Since most blacks had been denied education, significant numbers could be kept from voting through these tests, while whites who failed the tests were allowed to vote under "grandfather clauses" which granted the vote to anyone who had been eligible to vote before 1867—or whose direct ancestors had been eligible.

The Twenty-fourth Amendment ended the poll tax as a part of voting in federal elections. Many opposed the tax since it had primarily been used to deny civil rights to minorities. AP IMAGES



Many southern states passed poll taxes in an effort to keep African Americans from voting. As a result many African Americans (and other impoverished citizens) who could not afford to pay the poll tax were disenfranchised (deprived of the right to vote). By the early 1900s, most southern states had adopted literacy tests or poll taxes as methods of keeping former slaves and other African Americans from getting involved in government.

End of poll taxes

The U.S. **Supreme Court** declared grandfather clauses unconstitutional in 1915 and again in 1939. But the poll taxes had greater longevity and remained in effect right into the civil rights movement of the 1960s. In 1964 all states ratified (approved) an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting (making illegal) poll

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taxes in U.S. federal elections. Two years later they were prohibited in all government elections held in the United States, including state and local elections.

Twenty-second Amendment

The Twenty-second Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** was ratified by the states on February 27, 1951. This amendment limits the terms served by an elected president.

There were no official term limits set in the original Constitution, but the first president of the United States, **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97), refused to run for a third term. His voluntary action became the unwritten rule, and presidents up until **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) willingly served two four-year terms.

In 1940 President Roosevelt had successfully led the United States through a decade of economic depression, known as the **Great Depression** (1929–41); he was an American hero. Because of this he was elected to serve not only a third term beginning that year, but a fourth in the 1944 elections. Roosevelt died while in office in April 1945, just months into his fourth term. It was during this time that the idea behind the Twenty-second Amendment was conceived. Roosevelt was the only president in U.S. history to serve more than two terms.

Under the Twenty-second Amendment, a president may serve up to ten years. This would happen if a vice president or other successor took over the presidency for a president who can no longer serve, regardless of reason. If the replacement serves two years or less, he or she may be elected to serve two full, four-year terms, for a total of ten years.

Twenty-seventh Amendment

The Twenty-seventh Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** was ratified by the states on May 5, 1992, nearly 203 years after it was initially proposed. This amendment provides that any change in the salary or compensation of members of U.S. Congress can take effect only after the next general election. The point of the amendment was to keep Congress from giving its members unreasonably high salaries.

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When the amendment was first proposed in 1789 only six of eleven states ratified it. After that it was left basically untouched until the 1980s. At that time an aide to a Texas legislator—twenty-three-year-old Gregory Watson—rediscovered the would-be amendment and began what would be ten years of work to get it ratified.

The amendment was finally adopted in 1992, but it has not kept Congress from getting pay raises almost every year. They get around the terms of the amendment by calling these monetary increases "cost-of-living adjustments" rather than pay raises. No **Supreme Court** judge has ever allowed a lawsuit challenging these pay increases. Some speculate this is because Congress decides if Supreme Court judges will receive increases in their salaries. The only limitation Congress has in this regard is that it can never reduce a judge's salary. In addition, a judge's retirement benefits are linked to those of the members of Congress.

Twenty-sixth Amendment

The Twenty-sixth Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution**, ratified July 1, 1971, gives young adults age eighteen and older the right to vote in state elections.

When the original Constitution was ratified in 1788, only white males over the age of twenty-one had the right to vote. Eighty-two years later that right was granted to African Americans, followed by women in 1920.

The **Voting Rights Act** of 1970 set eighteen as the minimum voting age for both federal and state elections. The **Supreme Court** ruled that the Voting Rights Act applied only to federal elections, and that the power of Congress did not extend to other elections. This ruling meant that the government would have to maintain two sets of registration books and run separate election systems for federal elections and any other elections. The expense to do so would be exorbitant.

Congress reacted by adopting the Twenty-sixth Amendment, and the states ratified it without hesitation.

Twenty-third Amendment

The Twenty-third Amendment to the U.S. **Constitution** was ratified by the states on March 29, 1961, treating the District of Columbia as if it were a state for purposes of the **electoral college**. This allowed residents

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of **Washington, D.C.**, to have their votes counted in presidential elections.

The electoral college is a body of electors chosen by the voters in each state to elect the president and vice president of the United States. The number of electors in each state is equal to its number of representatives in both houses of Congress.

When the original Constitution was ratified **New York** was the nation's capital. The capital moved to Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**, in 1790. Ten years later the District of Columbia became the official home of the federal government. At first Washington, D.C., was home to only five thousand people. Because it was not deemed a state, residents had no right to vote in federal elections, and they did not even have a local government.

The population had grown to over 760,000 by 1960, and residents had the same responsibilities as other citizens of the United States. They had to pay taxes; they could be drafted to serve in the military. But still they had no vote.

The Twenty-third Amendment gives them that vote, but it does not make Washington, D.C., a state. The amendment does not provide residents of the District of Columbia with representation in Congress, either. Instead they have one nonvoting delegate in the House of Representatives.

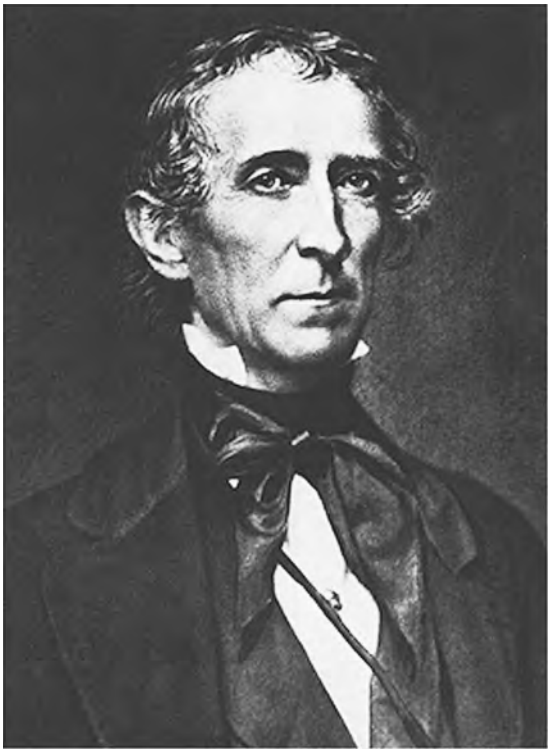
John Tyler

John Tyler was the first vice president to inherit the presidency upon the death of a chief executive, the first president to face impeachment charges, and the only one to be officially expelled from his party.

Tyler was born to an aristocratic family in Richmond, **Virginia**, in 1790. His father served as governor, speaker of the state House of Delegates, and as a judge. Tyler attended the College of William and Mary and excelled academically. He began to read law under his father at the age of seventeen, and was admitted to the Virginia bar in 1809. At the age of twenty-one, he was elected to the Virginia legislature.

Tyler was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1816. He was elected governor of Virginia in 1825 and won a seat in the U.S. Senate in 1827. As a Jeffersonian Republican like his father, Tyler was firm in his belief that the **Constitution** must be interpreted strictly and he favored

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John Tyler was the first president to face impeachment charges and the only one to be officially expelled from his party. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

limitation of the powers of the federal government. These views led Tyler to oppose the creation of the first Bank of the United States (a commercial bank operated under a federal regulation) on the grounds that the Constitution did not provide Congress with the power to regulate a national bank. Tyler opposed the slave trade, but he disagreed with legislation limiting **slavery**, thinking it would eventually die out naturally.

At odds with the party

During the administration of President **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37), Tyler's loyalty to the **Republican Party** was severely tested. He supported Jackson's bid as the candidate of the **Democratic-Republicans** in 1828 and agreed with Jackson's views on some matters, but he began to feel that the president abused his authority, particularly when Jackson crushed the Bank of the United States. Though Tyler had opposed the Bank, when the president abruptly removed the government's deposits from its coffers it placed the national economy at risk. Tyler condemned his rash actions, resigned from the Senate, and left the Democratic-Republican Party.

The new **Whig Party** had emerged in opposition to the executive tyranny of "King Andrew," as Jackson was dubbed by his critics. Tyler found himself among other Southern Democrats who were drawn to the new party, though his views were not consistent with it. He had left the Jacksonian Democrats because of Jackson's high-handed methods, but still believed in the Jeffersonian Republican principles upon which the party was founded. The Whigs, believing Tyler could help them win the votes of other former Southern Democrats, nominated him for the vice presidency on the **William Henry Harrison** (1773–1841; served 1841) ticket in 1840.

Succeeding to the presidency

Harrison and Tyler won the election easily. Then, within a month of his inauguration, Harrison was dead. The first question faced by the nation

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was fundamental: Was Tyler president in fact or only in name? This was the first time that a vice president had ascended to the presidency upon the death of a president, and the Constitution is vague concerning the succession. Tyler claimed all the rights and privileges of the presidency, establishing the practice that has been followed since that time.

Whig Party members believed Tyler would support their programs, but when Whig leadership submitted a legislative program calling for a higher tariff (duty on imports) and the creation of a new Bank of the United States, Tyler vetoed both measures. Some Whigs angrily charged that Tyler was a traitor. Acting in accord with the strict views he had held since his youth, Tyler stood his ground in the face of tremendous pressure from all sides, which included a rock-throwing mob that attacked the White House.

Unsupported president

Most of Tyler's cabinet members soon resigned in disgust. The president replaced many of them with former Southern Democrats who shared his views. The Whigs brought impeachment charges (charges of misconduct in office) against the man they now called "His Accidency." He was not convicted, but the Whigs formally expelled him from the party.

Tyler continued to perform his duties in accordance with his principles. By 1844, he hoped for reelection as an independent candidate but did not have enough support. During his last days in the presidency, Tyler signed measures annexing **Texas** and admitting **Florida** to statehood.

Tyler retired to his plantation in Virginia. When turmoil between the North and South increased during the 1850s, he initially remained loyal to the **Union**. As compromises failed, though, he publicly supported the idea of the South seceding from the Union. He was elected to the Confederate House of Representatives, the legislative body for the eleven Southern states that seceded from the Union, but he died in 1862, at the age of 71, before he could assume his seat.

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Uncle Tom's Cabin

Most historians credit the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly* with being a powerful force leading to the American **Civil War** (1861–65). Written by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published serially from June 5, 1851, to April 1, 1852, in the Washington, D.C.-based antislavery newspaper, the *National Era.* It appeared in book form in March 1852, breaking records in book sales in its first year in print.

Stowe was born in 1811 in Litchfield, **Connecticut**, the youngest daughter of the prominent clergyman Lyman Beecher (1775–1863). It was in 1850, after she had moved with her husband and children to Brunswick, **Maine**, that she formed the idea of writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Attacking the institution

Stowe was not an **abolitionist** (someone who fights to end slavery) at the time. Her novel was, in part, a reaction against the **Compromise of 1850**, the group of legislative measures that formed an uneasy compromise between North and South on the increasingly divisive issue of **slavery**. One article of the compromise, the **Fugitive Slave Laws**, provided for the legal return of escaped slaves in the North to their owners in the South. Because it demanded Northerners to actively participate in slavery, this measure particularly infuriated Stowe as well as many other Northerners.

Stowe had little firsthand knowledge of slavery, but her novel passionately denounces it. She attacked not the slaveholders, but the entire

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system. Her novel demonstrates that even the most benevolent slaveholders could not succeed in attempts to treat slaves well. Thus the kindly Mr. Shelby, the first master of the title character Tom, regretfully chooses to sell his faithful servant rather than go into debt. Tom's second owner dies before giving Tom the freedom he was promised. The brutal slave dealers Haley and Loker, and Tom's third owner, the vicious Simon Legree, carry out their cruel business within the legal framework of slavery. Stowe's novel portrays the institution leading every slave owner to evil, no matter what type of character or moral values they have.

Exposing brutality

Perhaps Stowe's most important achievement in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was her sympathetic portrayal of black Americans, who had been almost completely neglected by previous American writers. The black characters in the novel have all the variety and complexities of human nature. Tom himself is not the subservient stereotype of the later stage versions, but a man whose Christian love and piety allow him to rise above the corrupting effects of the slave system. In dramatizing the humanity of the slaves, Stowe exposed the brutality of a system that treated them not as human beings but as things.

Uncle Tom's Cabin had a popular reception never before accorded a novel. Three hundred thousand copies were sold the first year and more than one million by 1860. Dramatized and produced on the stage, it reached millions who never read the book. Northerners responded to the novel with an intensified sense of outrage at slavery. One of the most potent accounts of slavery, it lighted a torch in the North and was a contributing cause of the Civil War. When President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) met Stowe during the Civil War, he famously said to her: "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that started this great war!"

Underground Railroad

By the early 1800s the North had essentially abolished **slavery**. In the South, however, slavery was becoming more crucial to the **cotton**-producing economy and showed no sign of fading out on its own. While political opponents in the North and South negotiated and argued about slavery, slaves increasingly sought freedom by running away. Most fled to

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the North, often with assistance from Northern sympathizers. In 1850 Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, which required Northern states to return runaway slaves and established harsh penalties for individuals assisting runaways. Antislavery forces in the North responded by creating the Underground Railroad.

The secret network

The Underground Railroad was neither a railroad nor underground. It was a hidden network of people who agreed to help runaway slaves. Operating largely in darkness and disguise, free blacks with assistance from sympathetic Northerners provided direction, food, and shelter for those seeking freedom in the North or in Canada. The system was coded in railroad terminology for secrecy. The various escape routes were called lines, the hiding places were called stations, and the people who helped to transport escapees along the way were called conductors. The escaped slaves were called packages or freight. The escapees on the Underground Railroad traveled any way they could—by foot, small boat, or covered wagon. Some were even shipped in boxes by rail or sea. Stations consisted of hiding places in people's homes and businesses, such as barns, cellars, attics, and secret rooms. The most heavily used routes were through **Indiana**, **Ohio**, and western **Pennsylvania**.

Because of the secret nature of the Underground Railroad, no records were kept, but it is estimated that it provided an escape route for fifty thousand to a hundred thousand slaves during its years of operation. Due to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, many runaway slaves tried to escape to Canada, where they would be safe from U.S. law-enforcement officials and fugitive-slave hunters who could not cross the international border. A particularly common destination for many was southern Ontario, with the Suspension Bridge at Niagara Falls serving as a well-used border crossing.

Famous conductors

Historians believe that only about three thousand people actually served as conductors or otherwise assisted on the Underground Railroad. Many people associated with the Underground Railroad became well known, most notably **Harriet Tubman** (c. 1820–1913). A former slave herself who escaped via the Underground Railroad, Tubman traveled to the South on nineteen occasions in the 1850s. She reportedly helped three

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hundred slaves through her own action. Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), who wrote the antislavery novel ***Uncle Tom's Cabin,*** assisted fugitive slaves in Cincinnati, Ohio. Levi Coffin (1798–1877), a Quaker in Indiana, assisted more than three thousand slaves. **Frederick Douglass** (c. 1817–1895) a fugitive slave who rose to prominence as an eloquent spokesperson for the abolitionists, used his newspaper offices as a station on the Underground Railroad, helping countless runaway slaves on their road to freedom.

The Union

In 1861, the United States of America was torn apart by the American **Civil War** (1861–65). A conflict that pitted Southern supporters of **slavery** against the antislavery North, the war was essentially one of economic differences. A total of thirteen Southern states left the United States to form the **Confederate States of America**, or the Confederacy. Struggling to prevent the **secessions** and keep the nation intact, the remaining states became known as the Union.

A tale of two economies

In 1860, the nation was struggling with political issues involving the economic differences between states. The most difficult issue, one that recurred and caused passionate debates in Congress, involved the protection and expansion of slavery. The United States was expanding into new territories across the West, and the question whether slavery would be permitted there was controversial.

The health of the Southern economy depended heavily on slavery. Forcing slaves to work on plantations and farms allowed Southern agriculture to maintain low production costs. To protect slavery in the South, those states wanted to allow slavery in new territories, too.

The economy of the North did not depend on slavery. Instead, **immigrants** streamed into its cities from all over the world. Northern states needed a strong supply of paying jobs for economic well-being. Factories provided many jobs for the growing population there. Many in the North believed the expansion of slavery threatened the financial well-being of their states and fellow citizens.

There were many in the country who felt slavery was immoral. Most of the debates that raged in Congress, however, were about the states'

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economic needs rather than the immorality of slavery. The myth that America fought the Civil War to end the institution of slavery is only part of the whole story. In fact, President **Abraham Lincoln** (1809–1865; served 1861–65) once said he would keep slavery if it would save the Union.

Secession

In late 1860, Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln was elected president. As he opposed expansion of slavery, Southerners feared his election was a step in the complete abolition of slavery throughout the nation. In the five months following the election, thirteen states left the United States to form the Confederate States of America.

The remaining states saw secession as an illegal act of rebellion. They believed every state was bound to the union of the United States when it ratified, or approved, the U.S. **Constitution**. Agreeing to be part of the United States meant surrendering some states' rights to function under a united government, the federal government. The very act of seceding was a betrayal of the federal government, an act of treason. Believing in the need for a strong central government to unify the states, the remaining states were called the Union.

Preserving the Union

When war broke out between the Union and the Confederacy in 1861, passions were strong. The Civil War lasted until 1865 and proved to be the bloodiest conflict in American history. Though it tore the nation apart for a time, the Union's efforts ultimately preserved the United States. In April 1865, the Confederate Army surrendered. In the following years, the union of states was restored through the process of **Reconstruction**.

United Farm Workers of America

Before the organization of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) in 1962, farm workers had long tried to organize themselves into **labor** unions to improve their working conditions. Facing low wages, long hours, lack of fresh water, and inadequate housing, farm workers frequently held strikes (work stoppages) in protest; the challenge was to organize the forces necessary to win their objectives.

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United Farm Workers leader César Chávez organized several successful grape and vegetable strikes and boycotts, causing membership in the organization to soar. AP IMAGES

Early farm workers organizations

The National Farm Workers Union (NFW), led by the activist Ernesto Galarza (1905–1984), organized farm workers in the 1940s and 1950s. When the NFW failed, the **American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations** (AFL-CIO; a federation of unions) tried to organize farm workers again, through the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC).

In the 1940s and 1950s unionization of farm workers was hindered by the bracero program, which brought Mexicans to work on farms in the United States, initially to ease the labor shortage brought on by **World War II** (1939–45). **California**'s large agricultural businesses used the bracero program to prevent union activity in several ways. First, the corporations blocked bracero workers from joining unions: If these workers joined a strike or attended union meetings, agricultural businesses filed unfavorable reports on them and they would be deported. Second, when American farm workers went on strike, the growers refused to bargain, instead bringing in more bracero workers to take the place of the strikers. Union activity was nearly useless. NFW and AWOC both fought against the bracero program, and the government finally shut it down in 1963. By that time, AWOC had lost a large number of its members.

A new union

César Chávez (1927–1993) began organizing migrant workers in the 1950s. He knew firsthand about the workers' needs. As a boy, he had attended thirty-six elementary schools and never finished high school because he and his family had moved from job to job as migrant workers.

In 1952 Chávez began working as a community organizer for the Community Service Organization (CSO), a group that sought better living conditions for Mexican Americans. In his job, Chávez heard many complaints from migrant workers. He was especially concerned about claims that landowners often used Mexican farmhands—who were

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illegally bused across the U.S. border—to work in the fields for the lowest of wages. This prevented migrant workers already living in the United States from getting jobs. Because the workers were not organized as a group, however, they could not effectively protest the situation.

Over the next few years, Chávez tried to convince CSO leaders to develop a special farm-labor union that would work to improve the rights of migrant workers. When the CSO refused, Chávez resigned in 1962 and moved to Delano, California, where he began to organize the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). For several years, Chávez worked eighteen-hour days for little or no money. He drove to the fields and talked to the workers, urging them to join the National Farm Workers Association. By 1965 NFWA had 1,700 members, most of them Mexican Americans. Chávez was president of the union and remained in that position until his death in 1993.

The Delano grape strike

In 1965 the AWOC, whose membership at the time was made up mainly of Filipino farm workers, went on strike in Delano. AWOC leaders asked NFWA to join the strike. Although Chávez was not sure his small union was ready for a strike, he felt he could not refuse. The NFWA joined what was to become the five-year Delano grape strike.

Even after the farm workers had gone on strike, the grape-growing industry refused to grant workers' demands for better pay and working conditions. Chávez responded by calling for a countrywide boycott (refusal to buy) of grapes. By discouraging the American people from buying grapes until working conditions for grape pickers improved, he attracted national attention to the plight of the farm workers. Many large labor unions supported Chávez and the strikers, including the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers. **Robert F. Kennedy** (1925–1968), an influential senator from **New York**, also gave his support to the cause.

In March 1966 the strikers marched 250 miles from Delano to the California capital of Sacramento to take their demands to state officials. By the time they arrived in Sacramento, one of several large grape companies had agreed to sign a contract with the workers. It was the first of many victories.

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UFW philosophy

At the time the strike began, the successes of the African American **civil rights movement** of the 1960s were inspiring the farm workers and encouraging their union. From the start, the UFW was more than a union—it was a cause.

Chávez was convinced that he could not organize the poor unless he was willing to share in their plight. He adopted what he called "volunteerism," or extremely low pay for UFW staff. Chávez himself was the lowest-paid national union president in the United States, never earning more than $6,000 a year.

Chávez's Catholic faith and the writings of his hero, the Indian political and spiritual leader Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948), made the farm labor leader a champion of nonviolence. In the winter of 1968, during the five-year-long grape strike, some young UFW strikers were talking about resorting to violence against the powerful grape-growing businesses. Chávez went on a twenty-five-day water-only fast (no eating) to recommit his movement to nonviolence. Robert F. Kennedy flew to be with him in Delano when he broke the fast on March 10, 1968, describing Chávez as "one of the heroic figures of our time." Nonviolence drew widespread public support for the union cause.

Chávez knew his union alone did not have the strength to fight the powerful agricultural corporations that ruled the California crops. He transferred the scene of battle to the cities, where farm workers made allies among church, labor, minority, and student activists. He was the first to successfully apply a boycott to a major labor conflict. When millions of Americans quit buying California table grapes, it forced the grape growers to sign their first UFW contracts in 1970.

Showdown with the Teamsters

After successful grape and vegetable strikes and boycotts, UFW membership soared to around eighty thousand in the early 1970s. In 1973 the Teamsters Union, a powerful industrial union of truck drivers and warehouse workers, tried to take over the UFW's role. As the contracts between the grape growers and the UFW came up for renewal, the Teamsters made pacts with the growers, excluding the UFW from contracts they had worked hard to obtain. UFW membership plummeted to less than five thousand and the farm workers went on strike. Chávez

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called a second grape boycott, bringing the farm workers' plight once again to the attention of the public. A nationwide survey showed that seventeen million Americans were boycotting the fruit in 1975.

California Agricultural Labor Relations Act

Farm workers finally won important rights in the state of California with the help of Democratic governor Jerry Brown (1938–), who took office in 1975. With the passage of the landmark Agricultural Labor Relations Act, California farm workers were guaranteed the right to organize, vote in state-supervised secret-ballot elections, and bargain with their employers. Most voted for Chávez's UFW, eliminating the Teamsters from their business. Union membership rose again, to about forty-five thousand by the early 1980s.

In 1980 a supporter of the agricultural corporations, Republican George Deukmejian (1928–), became governor of California. His administration stopped enforcing the Agriculture Labor Relations laws, as did the administration of the next governor. From 1983 to 1990 thousands of farm workers lost their contracts and many lost their jobs. Chávez called another strike, but union membership shrank to around twenty thousand.

Death of the leader

Chávez died in 1993 at age sixty-six. A year later the new UFW president, Arturo Rodriguez (Chávez's son-in-law), kicked off a major new organizing drive. By 1999 membership had risen to twenty-seven thousand UFW members. The UFW continued to successfully negotiate contracts for farm workers in a wide variety of agricultural fields. It has worked to improve working conditions, particularly by calling attention to the dangers of pesticides to farm workers. In the early 2000s the UFW also began to work for the rights of undocumented workers from other countries to live and work legally in the United States.

United Nations Charter

The United Nations is an international organization created to promote global security and peace. It was established after **World War II** (1939–45) to replace the failed **League of Nations**. It was defined through its charter, which was adopted June 26, 1945. The charter is

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An assembly of the United Nations, an international organization created to promote global security and peace.
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much like a constitution that establishes the function and processes of the organization.

The writing of the United Nations Charter began in late 1944 at a conference at a mansion called Dumbarton Oaks in **Washington, D.C.** Only China, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union (known as the Big Four) attended. At this conference the United States proposed that international peace was intimately related to respecting the basic rights of nations and humans. Although there was some resistance among the other nations, this concept became a primary focus for the organization.

The founding conference of the United Nations was held in San Francisco from April to June 1945. At the invitation of the Big Four, forty-six other nations attended. The concept of human rights gained great support among the smaller nations. The UN Charter defined these

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rights very broadly as nations continued to have differences concerning specific provisions. It was promised that human rights would be defined specifically through a universal declaration as written by UN representatives later. That document is the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**, adopted in December 1948.

The UN Charter set up a structure that contains the Security Council as the main focus of power and the General Assembly for providing a voice to all members. The General Assembly provides open discussion among members, one vote per nation, and majority recommendations to the Security Council. The leading **Allied** powers (the Big Four and France, called the Big Five) received permanent membership in the Security Council. Six other nations are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms on the Security Council. The council was given the authority to make decisions to which all members are bound. A seven-vote majority is necessary to pass those decisions. Other aspects of the charter provided for the Economic and Social Council (to handle nonpolitical international problems), a Trusteeship Council (to handle the former colonial areas), a Secretariat (to handle administration) under the Secretary General, and the International Court of Justice.

Although the United Nations has not always had the power to oblige governments to maintain human rights and to pursue diplomatic resolutions, it has done much to support those efforts. It provides a forum for international discussions concerning global issues such as the **environment** and **nuclear energy**. It provides diplomatic pressure for governments to make respectful policies that consider human rights and other nations. Perhaps most notably, it has led and inspired great international movements, such as the one to support basic human rights everywhere. Many of the United Nations's efforts have inspired more individuals and groups to make demands for social, economic, or political changes within their own countries and around the world.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948. It was the first international proclamation to define the basic rights and fundamental free-

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The International Bill of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was included with two other UN documents, the Optional Protocol and the International Covenants on Human Rights, to form the International Bill of Human Rights. The two Covenant documents were legally binding treaties: the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Covenants recognize the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Under the Covenants, nations agree to respect, ensure, and take steps to improve those rights. The Covenants and the Optional Protocol became effective in 1976.

doms to which every human being is entitled. The document specifically lists many rights to which everyone throughout the world is entitled regardless of nationality, race, or gender. It includes civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights.

After the atrocities of **World War II** (1939–45), the United Nations was formed as an international peace-keeping organization. Among other goals, the UN sought to promote human rights and freedoms. Such rights, however, were not clear within the original **United Nations Charter**. The UN Commission on Human Rights was given the task to define those rights and to direct UN policy on the subject.

Writing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was an international effort. The drafting committee included representatives from Canada, France, the United States, Lebanon, and China. The final document contains thirty articles listing specific rights, including the rights to life, liberty, and security, education, freedom of thought, and freedom from torture and inhumane treatment. The General Assembly ratified the Declaration with forty-eight votes in support, none opposing, and only eight abstentions (countries that did not vote). Considering the vast cultural, political, and social differences among the world's countries, the vote for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a resounding success.

The Declaration was meant to be a guiding force for the policies of each country and is not a legal document. It has come to represent, however, rights that each country should uphold for its citizens. As such, it is a powerful moral and diplomatic tool for pressuring states that violate the principles of the Declaration.

The standards set forth have also inspired other human-rights-oriented national legislation, international documents, and watch-dog organizations. In 1966 the International Human Rights Covenants gave legal force to the rights in the Universal Declaration and established monitoring procedures. There still are no means, however, for enforcing adherence to the standards of the Declaration.

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Urbanization

Immigration brought about many changes to the American landscape, and the most notable one was urbanization. Rural America was quickly becoming a thing of the past, replaced by cities crowded with **skyscrapers**, bridges, and people.

America's rural and urban populations were both growing throughout the **Gilded Age** of the late nineteenth century. But the rate of urban population growth was greater than that of rural growth. The urbanization rate was more than four times greater than the increase in the rural population in 1890. An urban area is defined as one that has more than twenty-five hundred residents. In 1860, America had 392 urban places; by 1900, that number jumped 343 percent, to 1,737 places. The reason for the increase was the development of older towns and cities as well as **westward expansion**.

By 1900, America as a country was still just two-fifths urban. But the Northeast states (**Maine**, **New Hampshire**, **Vermont**, **New York**, **Pennsylvania**, **Massachusetts**, **Rhode Island**, **Connecticut**, and **New Jersey**) were two-thirds urban. The American South (**Texas**, **Oklahoma**, **Arkansas**, **Louisiana**, **Mississippi**, **Alabama**, **Tennessee**, **Kentucky**, **West Virginia**, **Virginia**, **North Carolina**, **South Carolina**, **Georgia**, and **Florida**) had the smallest urban population, with just 18 percent of its residents in cities. The North Central (**Illinois**, **Indiana**, **Michigan**, **Minnesota**, **Nebraska**, **Ohio**, and **Wisconsin**) and Western (**New Mexico**, **Colorado**, **Wyoming**, **Montana**, **South Dakota**, **North Dakota**, **Idaho**, **Utah**, **Arizona**, **Nevada**, **Washington**, **Oregon**, and **California**) had urbanization rates somewhere in between these two extremes.

Moving on

Foreign immigration was responsible for half of the era's urbanization. The rest of the increase was due to Americans who left the countryside in hopes of a more prosperous life in the city. Economic depressions in the 1870s and 1890s forced many farms into bankruptcy (complete financial failure). Farmers joined the escape to the cities.

African Americans were another group that contributed to the urbanization of America. Throughout the 1870s, approximately sixty-eight thousand African Americans from the South migrated to Northern cities.

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These cities offered African Americans what no place in the South could: enforced civil rights and the opportunity to earn a living independently. Although slaves had been freed with the victory of the North in the American **Civil War** (1861–65), most white Southerners continued to look upon African Americans as an inferior race. In addition, nearly all land was still owned by whites. African Americans could work that land, but they would probably never own it or reap the profits of their hard labor. Moving to the North gave African Americans the chance to begin life anew, and in a more tolerant atmosphere. By the end of the nineteenth century, that number increased to one hundred and eight-five thousand. This group was not attracted to the largest cities such as New York and Chicago but chose instead smaller urban areas. These smaller towns and cities were more like their homes in the South, and the familiarity made the transition to a new region more comfortable.

Southern cities increased in size owing to the African American migration as well. Not all rural residents went directly north, though most eventually did. In the last twenty years of the 1900s, the African American populations of Savannah, Georgia, and Nashville, Tennessee, nearly doubled. African Americans also flocked to Atlanta, Georgia, an area that also experienced a dramatic increase, from sixteen thousand to thirty-six thousand.

Urban growth brings change

As cities became more crowded, their environment changed out of necessity. Before industrialization, urban areas were "walking" cities; because of this, there were no specialized districts. Commercial, governmental, educational, industrial, residential, and religious buildings were built next to each other so that pedestrians could navigate the city conveniently. The wealthy lived just a short distance from the poor.

Urban development was influenced mostly by the advent of the streetcar. Streetcars moved along iron rails like trains. By the mid-1880s, three hundred cities benefited from street railway lines. Horses and mules pulled these streetcars, but at the beginning of the twentieth century, cables replaced the animals. The streetcars were attached to the cables by grips, which allowed them to move faster and more smoothly thanks to a nonmoving engine that powered an underground cable. The downfall of cable cars was that they broke down often and repairs were costly. Electrified streetcars called trolleys eventually replaced them.

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Introduced in Richmond, Virginia, in 1888, they quickly caught on throughout the United States. By the beginning of the twentieth century, most urban mass transit systems were based on electricity. The underground subway in New York City opened on October 27, 1904. On the first day of operation, one hundred and fifty thousand passengers rode the subway at a cost of five cents a ride. By the 1940s, New York City's subway lines provided more than eight million rides a day.

As transportation improved, cities grew. They no longer had to be compact so that foot traffic could manage daily travel. Trolley lines went from one end of the city to the other, with many stops in between. Residents could now move to outlying urban areas because they knew they could travel easily throughout the city. Before the trolley, the most sought-after city residences were often near the city's center (because of



New Orleans was a booming Southern city whose urban development was influenced significantly by streetcars. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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the convenience); mass transit, however, completely turned that pattern around. People began to divide themselves according to social class, ethnicity, and race. The middle of the city became home to society's lower classes, and the further toward the city limits one traveled, the more expensive the homes became.

Mass transit also encouraged the building of suburbs, or neighborhoods composed of the same "types" of people. Well before zoning laws and building codes were developed, construction companies were building entire neighborhoods of homes that were architecturally and structurally alike. Suburbs were built seemingly overnight on the outskirts of cities.

While suburbs sorted themselves out according to income and wealth, the core of the city divided itself into districts according to function. For example, New York's Wall Street was known—and still is—as the financial district, where banks and similar institutions based their offices. Other districts became known as the garment, entertainment, railroad, or government districts. Every large city followed this pattern. During this time, property taxes rose, as did the real estate value in these specialized districts. With few exceptions, single-family homes still in existence in the center of the city were forced out by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Birth of the skyscraper

As cities grew, so did buildings in order to accommodate the increase in people and the need for office space. Older buildings had been made of brick and masonry. These materials suited one-to-five-story structures well. Beyond that, the buildings would weigh too much and require incredibly thick lower walls and foundations. Railways allowed for horizontal urban expansion, but it took improved building techniques and materials to allow for vertical expansion.

Steel was the material of choice for urban building construction. A steel skeleton covered with light masonry marked the birth of the skyscraper in the mid-1880s. Chicago became home to the original skyscraper in 1885. The ten-story Home Insurance Building was erected, and soon thirty- and forty-story buildings were being constructed throughout the nation after the elevator was invented. Housing soon followed suit, with the arrival of apartment houses for the upper class and **tenement housing** for the working class.

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For a number of years, the towers of the Brooklyn Bridge dominated the New York skyline. It opened to traffic in 1883. By the end of the century, however, the city's new skyscrapers dwarfed the bridge's towers.

A need to be clean

Engineering became a profitable occupation as cities hired engineers to design reliable water and sewage systems. The last twenty years of the nineteenth century saw vast improvement in technology that cut down on the number of diseases carried by water. Between 1890 and 1914, the population served by filtered water grew from three hundred and ten thousand to more than seventeen million.

Sanitary engineers designed filters and built sewage treatment plants that relied on new chemicals to keep urban America clean and healthy. Running water and indoor toilets became standard features in the urban homes being constructed in the 1890s. Before the first decade of the twentieth century had ended, many cities had gas, electric, and telephone service.

As urban centers became home to business districts, large industries and factories were forced to move. Larger industries like railroads and steel mills required vast amounts of land, and the center of these early cities simply did not have it. The cost of land was much higher in the city, too. So industry was pushed to the outskirts, and in the late 1800s, industrial suburbs (manufacturing districts on the outskirts of towns) emerged.

Is bigger better?

Many Americans welcomed the changes created by industrialism (an economy based on business and industry rather than agriculture). Housing was better. Life was made easier by the invention of electricity and the way its availability in homes and businesses improved transportation, communication, and daily life. Buildings were bigger, cities more exciting.

As urban areas continued to grow, so did the more bleak aspects of human nature. More people meant more crime. Cities were not accustomed to enforcing their own laws; that had always been the responsibility of state or federal governments. Mayors were elected but in reality had very little authority over city governments. Instead, corrupt political ma-

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chines ruled urban America. Crime and violence increased, as did social problems such as overcrowding. The labor movement, already in progress, continued to pit workers against management. Education was neglected as children headed for factories and mills to help families survive.

USA PATRIOT Act

The USA PATRIOT Act (or Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) was passed October 26, 2001, just six weeks after the **September 11 terrorist attacks** on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The act was designed to give the U.S. president the powers needed to conduct a war on terrorism. With the country still in shock after the terrorist attack, some politicians felt there was a need for American citizens to give up certain **civil liberties** (individual rights of Americans, such as freedom of speech and religion, which are protected by law against unwarranted governmental interference) in the interest of national security. However there was never a thorough public examination of what this meant. The 342-page PATRIOT Act was introduced by President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) and Congress passed it rapidly.

The USA PATRIOT Act granted a wide range of new powers to domestic law enforcement and intelligence agencies (government agencies responsible for gathering and interpreting information about enemies to the United States). President Bush, upon signing the act, said it would help law enforcement to discover and stop terrorists before they struck. The bill had several critics, however, and many considered parts of the PATRIOT Act a significant threat to American civil liberties.

Search and surveillance powers

Americans are protected from unnecessary searches and surveillance (close observation of someone under suspicion) under the **Bill of Rights** (the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution). The **Fourth Amendment** states that government agents or law enforcement officers may only carry out searches and arrests after obtaining search or arrest warrants from the courts. Officers have to show a neutral judge "probable cause"—a reasonable belief that a crime has been committed. Under the **Fifth Amendment** all U.S. citizens have the right to "due process" of

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The USA PATRIOT Act was passed on October 26, 2001, as a result of the September 11 attacks on the United States. The act granted a wide range of powers to law enforcement and, for many of its critics, was a significant threat to American civil liberties. AP IMAGES

law, meaning that no one can be deprived of their life, liberty, or property without a fair and adequate process, such as a court trial. An adjustment was made to these protections in the 1970s, when Americans learned that the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) had been carrying out widespread surveillance of U.S. citizens, often because of their political beliefs or antigovernment positions. The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) passed in 1978. It separated domestic investigations from foreign intelligence gathering so that surveillance of foreign agents could continue without restrictions while domestic (inside the United States) investigation methods were limited and overseen by the courts. FISA authorized warrantless (without search or arrest warrants) surveillance, but only when the purpose was to obtain foreign intelligence information.

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The 2001 PATRIOT Act eased restrictions on searches and surveillance significantly. Government agents no longer needed to show that a crime had been committed in order to carry out searches on individuals. If they told a FISA judge that a search might be of use in antiterrorist efforts, the agents could demand an individual's records from banks, brokerages, libraries, travel agencies, video stores, telephone services, doctors, and places of worship without the person's knowledge. Similarly searches of people's homes or businesses could be made without showing probable cause. "Sneak and Peak" searches, in which the person being searched was unaware of the search, were authorized. Though FISA judges were to be consulted in these secret searches, their involvement amounted to what most people consider a "rubber stamp" and they had little oversight of the process.

Rulings about telephone and Internet surveillance also changed under the PATRIOT Act. Government investigators could obtain telephone and Internet records on an individual, showing communications coming into and going out of the phone or computer in question. To get permission for this, investigators simply had to claim that it might be relevant in a terrorist investigation. "Roving wiretaps" could be authorized by the FISA court. (A wiretap is an act of listening in on telephone conversations by a third party, usually without the knowledge of the callers.) Before the PATRIOT Act wiretaps were allowed in certain circumstances, but only on specific telephones. Roving wiretaps extended to any telephone or computer that a suspect used, roving from one telephone to another, with no particular target. Through this act government agents could tap the telephones of people whose only connection was that they might be acquainted with the suspect. Because these wire taps were so broad, oversight by the courts was nearly impossible.

New crimes and punishments

The PATRIOT Act created a new crime called "**domestic terrorism**," defined as "acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States," when the actor's intent is to "influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion." Critics of the act were concerned that the definition of the crime was too vague and that people who engage in **civil disobedience**, such as civil rights and antiwar protesters in the 1960s, could be convicted as domestic terrorists and spend years in jail.

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The act also set out new laws for immigrants. Any association with a terrorist, even if one had no knowledge of the individual being a terrorist, meant deportation back to one's home country. Under the act immigrants could be deported if a government agent believed they presented a threat to national security, even if there was no evidence to support that belief. Immigrants could be held for seven days without being charged with a crime and there was no court oversight of the process.

Reauthorization of the act, 2006

Many of the most controversial provisions in the USA PATRIOT Act were set to expire in 2005 unless reauthorized by Congress. These were called the sunset provisions. In 2005 Congress began a nine-month heated debate over reauthorization. During the debate the *New York Times* revealed that government agents in the Bush administration were conducting wiretaps on terrorist suspects without obtaining warrants from FISA judges, as required. President Bush claimed that he had wartime powers as president to authorize warrantless wiretaps.

The PATRIOT Act was reauthorized in March 2006, just days before it was set to expire. Some provisions were reworded or changed in minor ways, but the reauthorization made fourteen of sixteen sunset provisions permanent. One of the new requirements was for the Bush administration to provide reports to Congress on how the PATRIOT Act was being used.

President Bush signed the reauthorization of the USA PATRIOT Act on March 9 in a public ceremony. Afterward he issued a "signing statement," an official document laying out his interpretation of the law. In his signing statement the president stated that he was not obligated to report to Congress on how the PATRIOT Act powers were being put to use.

Impact

The United States government has always been safeguarded by a system of checks and balances among its three branches, the **executive** (president's administration), the **judicial** (the courts), and the **legislative** (Congress). Many of the provisions of the PATRIOT Act were designed to eliminate or ease the checks on the executive branch, particularly by limiting or getting rid of the oversight of the courts. The president ar-

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gued that he needed that kind of unchecked power to fight the war on terrorists and save American lives. Many Americans disagree, believing that the system of checks and balances is vital to democracy and that a separation of powers among the three branches of government can be maintained without loss of security. They argue that in the past there have been many instances in which unchecked government interference led to the harassment of vital political movements and their leaders, as in cases such as the FBI investigations of civil rights leaders in the 1960s and illegal spying on antiwar protesters in the 1960s and 1970s.

Because the government has not reported on the uses of the PATRIOT Act, it is difficult to determine whether the act has succeeded in warding off terrorist attacks on the country. It is equally difficult to determine whether—or how much—it has resulted in unnecessary searches and surveillance of American people.

Utah

Utah entered the **Union** as the forty-fifth state on January 4, 1896. A western state in the Rocky Mountain region, it is bordered by **Idaho**, **Wyoming**, **Colorado**, **Arizona**, and **Nevada**. The state capital is Salt Lake City.

Utah was originally inhabited by Native American tribes, including the Ute, Goshute, Shoshone, and Southern Paiute; the Navajo migrated to the area from Canada. Spanish missionaries traveled from Mexico to the area in the 1770s. By the early 1800s, trade between Santa Fe, **New Mexico**, and the Utah Native Americans was established.

The first white settlements were not established until 1847, when the Mormons, members of the **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**, arrived in Utah, then under Mexican control. In 1848, under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States acquired Utah from Mexico. Whites engaged in wars with Native Americans from 1853 to 1854 and again from 1865 to 1868. To put an end to the conflicts, most Native Americans were removed to reservations.

Nearly 98 percent of Utah's population was Mormon until 1870, and the Mormon way of life dominated Utah culture, politics, and economy. Non-Mormons flocked to Utah in 1863 with the discovery of silver-bearing ore. Newcomers were wary of the Mormons. They found no free public schools and were dismayed by the mingling of church and

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state, as well as by the Mormon practice of polygamy (marrying multiple wives). The Mormon church renounced polygamy in 1890.

Utah's total population in 2006 was more than 2.5 million, with approximately 89 percent white, another 11 percent Hispanic. Thirty percent were under the age of eighteen, another 30 percent between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four. Church-going Mormons accounted for 41.6 percent of the entire population of Utah in 2006.

Statistics from 2006 show that the majority (19.5 percent) of Utah's labor force worked in trade, transportation, and public utilities; 17.3 percent worked for the government. The economy depends on the federal government for a stable economy, as more than 70 percent of Utah lands are under U.S. control. Livestock and resulting products account for over three-fourths of the state's agricultural income.

A state rich in natural beauty, Utah boasts forty-one state parks, five national parks, and eight national monuments. The Great Salt Lake, in northern Utah, is the largest inland body of salt water in the Western Hemisphere.

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V

Martin Van Buren

Martin Van Buren made the most of his modest upbringing and poor education. Serving as a U.S. senator, secretary of state, and vice president before assuming the presidency, he carried on the strong tradition of democracy that had been established by his political patron, **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1828–37).

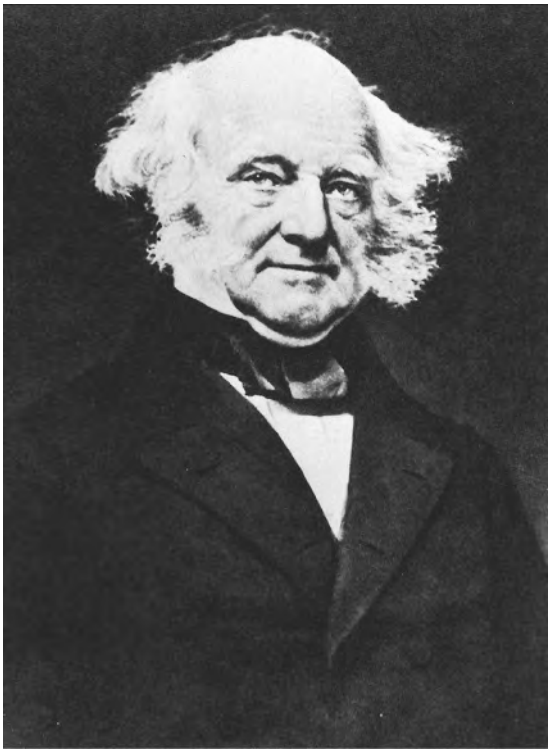
Van Buren was born on December 5, 1782, and raised in Kinderhook, a small **New York** town, in a respected Dutch American family. As a child he was often called away from the crude village schoolhouse to work on the family's farm or in his father's tavern. At the age of fourteen he went to work as an apprentice to one of the town's lawyers. He was admitted to the bar in 1803, and began a highly successful law practice.

Van Buren's father's tavern had been a gathering place for Jeffersonian **Democratic-Republicans**, people who, like President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–09), believed in a farming society and feared a strong central government. From his early days, Van Buren opposed the forces of change that were transforming the agrarian (farming) society into an industrial one. He fought against the privileges of the elite, particularly politicians who came from rich and powerful families. His law practice often defended the interests of local farmers and merchants in land and contract disputes against the landed gentry, who were typically members of the **Federalist Party**.

Builds a political machine

In 1812 Van Buren was elected to the New York state senate. Around that time, the Democratic-Republican party had split into two factions.

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Martin Van Buren served as a U.S. senator, secretary of state, and vice president before becoming the eighth president of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Van Buren became the leader of one faction, popularly known as the Bucktails; with this group's support he won the post of state attorney general in 1815. In this position he helped build the Albany Regency, which is considered the first modern political machine, a network of high-ranking politicians who make appointments and grant favors in return for political support rather than merit and use their collective power to defeat the efforts of political rivals. Van Buren saw the party as a means of access to power that had once been reserved for the elite.

Jackson supporter

Van Buren won election to the U.S. Senate in 1821 and remained in that post for the next seven years. The election of 1824 brought **John Quincy Adams** (1767–1848; served 1825–29) into the White House even though military hero Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) had won the popular vote. Van Buren, a staunch supporter of Jackson, actively opposed the Adams administration. To attract Southern support, he spoke out for states' rights and against the idea of strong national government advocated by Adams. Working closely with others, he fashioned a North-South coalition behind Jackson in the election of 1828. Van Buren ran for governor of New York as Jackson campaigned for the presidency. Both won their elections. After three months as governor, Van Buren resigned and joined Jackson in Washington.

During Jackson's presidency (1829–37), Van Buren served in turn as secretary of state, minister to England, and vice president for the second term. He was one of Jackson's most trusted advisors.

Follows Jackson to the presidency

With Jackson's support, Van Buren received the party's nomination for president and won the election of 1836. During his one term in office, Van Buren worked to contain the growing tensions between the North and the South over slavery. He prevailed on Southern Democrats to give up their desire to bring slaveholding **Texas** into **the Union**.

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Van Buren, like Jackson, distrusted national banks, thinking they favored the wealthy industrialists and gave the central government too much power. During the previous administration, Jackson had crushed the national bank and deposited government revenues in selected state banks. Van Buren had just taken office when the resulting economic collapse hit. He pushed through Congress a measure for an independent Treasury, which would separate Treasury operations from all private banks. His position was unpopular even within his own party and detested by the **Whigs**, a party that rose in opposition to Jackson. The Whigs nominated General William Henry Harrison (1773–1841; served 1841) for the presidential election of 1840, and he soundly defeated Van Buren.

Van Buren kept trying to regain the presidency. Because of his opposition to the issue of Texas annexation (admission to the Union) and the spread of slavery, the Southerners of the Democratic Party denied him the party nomination in 1844. In 1848, Van Buren agreed to stand as the candidate of the **Free Soil Party** on a platform of opposing the spread of slavery. Within two years, however, he returned to his old Democratic Party. Even though it remained strongly pro-Southern throughout the 1850s, he still believed strongly in the party's states' rights doctrine. He retired from the active political life and died on July 24, 1862, in Kinderhook.

Vermont

Vermont entered the **Union** on March 4, 1791, as the fourteenth state. Located in New England, in the northeastern United States, Vermont is bordered by Canada, **New Hampshire**, **Massachusetts**, and **New York**. With a total area of 9,614 square miles (24,900 square kilometers), in size it ranks forty-third of the fifty states. It is the second-least-populous state, after **Wyoming**.

The Abenaki and Iroquois tribes once inhabited the area that is now Vermont. The first European explorer to visit the region was the French **Samuel de Champlain** (c.1567–1635), in 1609. He discovered the lake later named Lake Champlain. France claimed Vermont, establishing forts and settlements. The British established their first permanent settlement near present-day Brattleboro in 1724. Following France's loss to

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Britain in the **French and Indian War** (1754–63), Britain took control of Vermont.

The British attacked several Vermont towns during the **American Revolution** (1775–83). The American patriot Ethan Allen (1738–1789) and his militia, the Green Mountain Boys, captured Fort Ticonderoga from the British in 1775.

Vermont was home to small farms and businesses in those early days. Once the Champlain-Hudson Canal was built in 1823, the state was vulnerable to competition from the west. After **World War II** (1939–45), manufacturing prospered as highway systems made the rural areas more accessible. Vermont experienced an influx of young professionals from New York and Massachusetts.

In spite of development, Vermont was the nation's most rural state even at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Two-thirds of its residents lived in towns of 2,500 people or fewer. The state capital is Montpelier, and its largest city is Burlington.

Vermont's total population in 2006 was 623,908, 43 percent of which were aged forty-five and older. Nearly 97 percent of the population was white.

Even as the nation's most rural state, Vermont ranked forty-first among the fifty states in terms of agricultural income in 2005. The economy relied on manufacturing for its stability, as well as industries such as electrical and electronic equipment, food products, and printing and publishing. It is the nation's leading producer of maple syrup.

Tourism is a major industry for Vermont as well, with ski resorts and historical sites major attractions. About 28 percent of all travel to the state takes place in autumn, when visitors can enjoy the brilliant colors of fall foliage. Vermont is home to fifty-two state parks and more than one hundred campgrounds.

Vietnam Veterans Memorial

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc. (VVMF) was established in 1979 by a group of Vietnam veterans in **Washington, D.C.** (See **Vietnam War**.) Member Jan Scruggs lobbied Congress for a two-acre plot of land in an area called Constitutions Gardens. In 1980, President **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) signed the legislation to provide a site for the construction of the memorial. It would be located near the

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As of 2008, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, also known as The Wall, was inscribed with more than 58,000 names, each representing a member of the military who died or went missing in the Vietnam War. AP IMAGES

Lincoln Memorial. More than three years passed before the memorial was built.

That same year, the VVMF announced a nationwide memorial design competition, open to any U.S. citizen aged eighteen years or older. Entries were judged anonymously by a panel of eight artists and designers who had been chosen by the VVMF. Out of 1,421 entries, the winner was an undergraduate student at Yale University. Maya Ying Lin designed the winning entry with the goal of creating a park within a park. The result of her vision is commonly known as The Wall.

The Wall consists of seventy separate granite panels, each 246.75 feet long and 40 inches wide. Each black granite panel is inscribed with names except for the four panels at the end, which have been left empty to allow for names to be added as needed. As of 2008, The Wall was inscribed with more than 58,000 names. Each name represents a member

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of the military who died in the Vietnam War (1959–75) or who is missing. Next to each name is a cross (for those confirmed dead) or a plus sign (for those missing). The plus signs can be turned into crosses if necessary.

The Three Servicemen

In addition to The Wall, the Vietnam Memorial includes a bronze, life-size sculpture designed and created by sculptor Frederic Hart. It is called *The Three Servicemen* and features three young, uniformed soldiers. The sculpture faces the wall, approximately 150 feet away. *The Three Servicemen* was unveiled in November 1984.

Vietnam War

More than fifty-eight thousand American soldiers and an estimated two million Vietnamese soldiers and civilians were killed in the Vietnam War (1954–75). It was a vicious, brutal conflict fought in a land few Americans could even identify on a map at the beginning of the 1960s. By the time it was over, the war had divided America over the issue of foreign policy.

Roots of the war

In the 1800s the French took control of an area in Asia that included Vietnam. The Japanese, in an effort to gain control of trade in the Far East, evicted French forces from the region early in **World War II** (1939–45). When native political forces rebelled against Japanese rule, the United States was eager to help them because the Japanese were their enemies as well. The United States provided weapons and advice to these Vietnamese patriots, also known as Vietminh. Their leader was a man named Ho Chi Minh (c.1890–1969).

When the Japanese were defeated in 1945, Ho Chi Minh came to power and claimed Vietnam's right to self-rule. But that same year, the United States helped its longtime ally, France, regain control over the area. The United States justified its support of France by claiming that the Vietminh were **Communists** (people who support a system of government in which the state controls the economy and all property and wealth are shared equally by the people) and posed a threat to the little country's well-being.

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When the Vietminh went to war to evict the French from Vietnam, the United States ignored pleas for assistance from the Vietminh and instead gave France money, weapons, and advice. By 1954 the conflict had killed hundreds of thousands of soldiers on both sides, as well as countless Vietnamese civilians. France withdrew from the area by negotiating a peace treaty that split Vietnam in half. North Vietnam was controlled by Communists led by Ho Chi Minh, and South Vietnam was led by Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963) and supported by the United States. Neither side was pleased with the arrangement.



Despite the fact that South Vietnamese leader Ngo Dinh Diem was a dictator who killed and tortured his own people, the United States supported his troops in the Vietnam War instead of Communist North Vietnam. AP IMAGES

America goes to war

Diem turned out to be a brutal dictator who ran his country in a manner that violated American values. Because he was an oppressive leader who tortured and killed his own people, he had little support even within his own country. As this type of treatment continued, more and more South Vietnamese supported the North Vietnamese and wanted the two countries to unite under Communist rule. These people were called the Viet Cong. They rebelled against Diem's forces and in 1960 alone, killed more than 2,500 government officials.

As **John F. Kennedy** (1917–63; served 1961–63) took presidential office, the situation in Vietnam demanded his immediate attention. The new president was passionately anticommunist and determined to support Diem's government. He slowly increased American monetary aid, which reached half a billion dollars by 1962. In addition, he had stationed more than eleven thousand military advisers in South Vietnam by 1962. These advisers were actually soldiers, but because federal law prohibits a president from sending soldiers to fight a foreign war without congressional approval, all soldiers were considered "advisers."

This military aid was meant only to support Diem's government, not to assist in attacks on North Vietnam. But as the North continued to gain supporters from the South, the United States was drawn further into the conflict.

Kennedy's assassination in 1963 put Vice President **Lyndon Johnson** (1909–1973; served 1963–69) in the president's chair. Some

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advisers urged him to withdraw troops from Vietnam; most urged him to increase American involvement to send a clear message to the Communist superpower Soviet Union that no attempts at spreading Communism would be accepted. By the summer of 1964, Johnson had increased the number of soldiers and advisers to twenty thousand.

The Tonkin Gulf Resolution The U.S. **Navy** destroyer USS *Maddox* was ordered to sail to the Gulf of Tonkin in the South China Sea on July 28, 1964. Its mission was to support South Vietnamese commando raids along the North Vietnamese coast. The purpose of the raids was to gather intelligence on radar sites and defenses in North Vietnam.

Three North Vietnam torpedo boats attacked the *Maddox* on August 2. The destroyer sank two enemy boats, but the third escaped. The next day, the *Maddox* was joined by the USS *Turner Joy.* On August 4, radar information led the two ships to report a second attack. This report elicited a strong response from President Johnson, who used the report to order an immediate aerial assault on the North Vietnamese coastline. It was the United States's first major air strike on North Vietnam.

Johnson also used the report to seek special authority to take further military action if necessary. Congress composed a resolution that gave Johnson this power. It became known as the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. Johnson and his administration convinced the American public that unwavering support of the government would make North Vietnam understand that the United States could not be intimidated. The resolution passed almost unanimously in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Although further investigation revealed that the second attack never happened, Johnson did not share that information. And although the resolution granted the United States power to attack and escalate the fighting in Vietnam, it never did convince the Communists to back down.

Johnson was reelected in 1964. Before the end of the year, the Viet Cong had control of many South Vietnamese provinces. On Christmas Eve they bombed a U.S. officer barracks in the city of Saigon, killing two soldiers and wounding many others, including civilians.

Escalation

Although war was never officially declared on Vietnam, the United States drastically increased its involvement in the conflict in 1965. Over the next few years, the "Americanization" of the war developed quickly

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This burning village was destroyed by the Viet Cong, whose surprise attacks were unlike anything U.S. forces had faced. NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION

as U.S. bombing campaigns killed thousands. Hundreds of thousands of American soldiers fought the Viet Cong, whose guerilla strategies using small groups of fighters launching surprise attacks were unlike anything the U.S. military had ever confronted. Because they were fighting on their own turf, using their own strategies, the Communist forces remained strong. American soldiers were not well prepared either physically or mentally for the kind of fighting they encountered. To make matters worse, most of the U.S. troops had been forced into service by the military draft. The average age of an American infantryman in the Vietnam War was 22.8 years.

By 1967 the war had reached a stalemate; neither side was winning, and nothing much was happening. Despite major bombing campaigns, the United States could not reach its goals. The harder Americans fought, the more determined the Communist forces became. American troops were under the command of General **William Westmoreland** (1914–). He had been confident that with more troops, he could wipe out the Viet Cong. His efforts included search-and-destroy missions that used weapons, helicopters, and other resources to raid rural towns and villages and kill anyone suspected of being a Viet Cong or Viet Cong supporter. One such mission, which came to be known as the **My Lai**

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Massacre, took place in the small hamlet of My Lai on March 16, 1968. American soldiers brutalized and murdered between three hundred and five hundred unarmed, unresisting women, children, and elderly men.

It soon became evident that these missions were useless. Because so many people assisted the Viet Cong, the guerrilla fighters would slip away right before a town or village was raided. Then, as military attention was diverted elsewhere, the Viet Cong forces would sneak back in and resume their activities.

Peasants pay the price The peasant population of South Vietnam paid a heavy price as it found itself caught in the middle of the fighting. Although some peasants joined the Viet Cong of their own free will, most were forced into assisting the fighters. Viet Cong agents monitored the behavior and actions of villagers throughout the country, and anyone suspected of helping U.S. forces was brutally punished. Yet the villagers resented American troops as well. U.S. bombing campaigns destroyed their homes, killed their children, and drove hundreds of thousands to the crowded cities. Toxic chemicals were sprayed on crops to kill the vegetation and force Communist fighters out of hiding, but these chemicals also killed the peasants' food supply and resulted in severe birth defects in babies born during the war and for years afterward.

Stalemate and a change of sentiment

As the war reached a stalemate, the U.S. economy suffered. The government did not have enough money to sustain the war and fund social programs. As a result, the cost of food, clothing, and other goods and services rose drastically, making them less affordable. Americans became angry as their own lives became less comfortable because of a war that wasn't producing results.

Anger gave rise to a tremendous **antiwar movement**. Opposition increased on college campuses and in the streets. The people no longer trusted the government; they had been told that victory was at hand too many times when the reality was far different. Those who had once supported the overseas involvement of U.S. forces now marched in protest of the prolonged fighting.

Civilians were not the only people to change their minds about the legitimacy of the war when U.S. involvement escalated. Johnson's secretary of defense surprised everyone when he began pushing for peace ne-

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gotiations in the mid-1960s. Robert McNamara (1916–) had supervised the military build-up in Vietnam in the early and mid-1960s. An intelligent man, he had relied on statistics and analysis to solve conflict. He was seen as the driving force behind the military's strategy, and some antiwar protestors called the conflict McNamara's War.

McNamara's confidence in the United States's ability to end the war quickly faded as it became obvious that victory was nowhere near at hand. His efforts for negotiation failed. Even after McNamara's eighth trip to Vietnam and his report to Johnson that the Communist forces were stronger than ever, Johnson would not alter his course. Many people believed McNamara should have gone public with his analysis.

In 1967, in testimony before a Senate committee, McNamara reported that the bombing campaigns were not having the desired effect, nor would they ever. McNamara's honesty cost him his job. His duties



Robert McNamara, seated center, listens to a briefing on the war by the Vietnamese army's special forces. McNamara was a driving force behind the U.S. military strategy. AP IMAGES

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were distributed among other officials, and McNamara left the administration in February 1968.

Tet Offensive

The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched a surprise assault in January 1968. Known as the **Tet Offensive**, it did not succeed in collapsing the Saigon government, but it did reinforce McNamara's warning that U.S. bombing campaigns were not going to win the war.

Tet is a Vietnamese holiday, and no one expected fighting during that time, but rebel forces seized control of villages, towns, and cities throughout South Vietnam. Hundreds of civilians were executed by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops and buried in shallow graves.

Despite this carnage, Johnson and his administration repeatedly assured the American public that the enemy was weakening. When news of the Tet Offensive was publicized, Americans were outraged. Their anger only intensified when it was reported that Johnson was considering sending another two hundred thousand troops overseas.

Johnson's presidency was destroyed by his decisions and deceit. The majority of Americans wanted out of Vietnam. **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) was elected president on a promise for an honorable end to a dishonorable war. He and his foreign policy adviser, **Henry Kissinger** (1923–), achieved a peace settlement in Paris in January 1973. All U.S. combat forces in South Vietnam returned home, even as North Vietnamese troops were allowed to remain. The Paris agreement did not resolve the conflict, but it did provide a way out for the United States.

North Vietnamese forces captured Saigon in April 1975, and South Vietnam became a Communist country. Millions left the country over the next several years. The United States admitted millions of Vietnamese and Laotians who had supported U.S. efforts in the war; others remained in refugee camps throughout Southeast Asia.

The legacy of Vietnam lived on long after physical fighting had ended. The United States was not accustomed to losing. Diehard supporters of the war insisted that if U.S. troops had remained in place for just a while longer, surely they could have claimed victory. Government analysis does not support this viewpoint, and when investigations and re-

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ports were leaked to the press in 1971, they revealed numerous mistakes and poor decisions on the part of U.S. leaders.

As it was, the United States struggled for decades to recover from the Vietnam War.

Virginia

Virginia entered the **Union** on June 25, 1788, as the tenth state. Located on the eastern seaboard of the United States, Virginia borders **North Carolina**, **Tennessee**, **Kentucky**, **West Virginia**, **Maryland**, and the Atlantic Ocean.

Jamestown was the first permanent English settlement in the state, established in May 1607. Life was a struggle for the colonists as they faced starvation and war with local Native Americans. Captain **John Smith** (1580–1631) negotiated peace between the two populations. Even so, colonists were massacred by the tribes in 1622 and again in 1644. Still, the colony's population continued to expand throughout the rest of the century.

Virginia's leadership was strong and distinguished. During the nation's first twenty-eight years, Virginians occupied the presidency for all but four.

Virginia played an important role in the **Civil War** (1861–65). Its capital, Richmond, became the capital of the Confederacy, and the state became the primary battlefield of the war. Confederate victories played out at the **Battles of Bull Run**, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. By the end of the war, Richmond was in a ruinous state, and Virginia's agriculture and industry were destroyed. Despite the **Emancipation Proclamation**, Virginia remained in favor of **segregation** and racial discrimination. In 1902 the state enacted a literacy test that few African Americans could pass, and a poll tax few could afford to pay. These two requirements reduced the black vote to nearly nothing.

The mid-1920s were years of reform. The 1927 Anti-Lynch Act made it a crime to be present at a **lynching**. Following the difficult years of the **Great Depression** (1929–41), Virginia's economy prospered from increased manufacturing and a developing tourist industry. In addition, the state contributed to the war effort in **World War II** (1939–45) as more than 300,000 residents served in the armed forces.

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After surviving economic recession in the 1980s, Virginia went into the twenty-first century with a strong economy, due in large part to its diversification. Rather than relying heavily on one economic sector, Virginia based its economy on agriculture, manufacturing, and federal government.

Virginia's total population in 2006 was more than 7.6 million. Whites comprised 71.7 percent of the population, African Americans 19.1 percent, and Hispanics and Latinos 6 percent. Virginia Beach was the largest city.

Because the state is home to extensive military installations and a significant number of its residents work for the federal government, that level of government is more active in Virginia's economy than it is in most other states. High-technology industry is another major employer.

Virginia's manufacturing revenue in the early twenty-first century depended upon tobacco production, paper and printing, and the chemical industry. Food products and textiles also played an important part in the economy.

The travel and tourism industry supports hundreds of thousands of jobs in Virginia. The state is rich with historic sites such as Colonial Williamsburg, **American Revolution** and Civil War battlegrounds, the famous Appalachian Trail, and homes of famous Virginians.

Voting Rights Act

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was created to enable the black population to vote. This right had been denied to blacks in some regions of the South since the end of the **Reconstruction** Era (1865–77; the period after the American **Civil War** [1861–65] when the southern states were reorganized and brought back into the **Union**). The **Fifteenth** and **Nineteenth Amendments** to the **Constitution** had given black men and black women the right to vote, but violence and intimidation, economic punishments, and unfair voting requirement tests had effectively prevented it. Prior civil rights acts had provided for African American voting rights, but their enforcement often depended on the cooperation of white Southerners who had no intention of complying with them.

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Background

African Americans in Selma, **Alabama**, had long been obstructed from registering to vote by the **segregationist** (people who wanted to separate blacks and whites) local government. In late 1964, the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC), a civil rights organization founded by **Martin Luther King Jr.** (1929–1968), planned an all-out campaign in Selma aimed at winning new federal voting rights legislation. On March 7, 1965—a day that was later named "Bloody Sunday"—peaceful demonstrators began a march from **Selma to Montgomery**. They were almost immediately confronted by a brutal police attack. Mass arrests followed. The nation watched the violence on the television news. "Bloody Sunday" rallied public and congressional support for the Voting Rights Act that was being promoted by President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973). Congressional passage of the bill was marked by intense controversy, but, in its final form, the measure was overwhelmingly approved.

The Act

The 1965 Voting Rights Act applied to states and counties in which a test or other device was used to determine voter eligibility, and where voter turnout for the 1964 presidential election had been less than 50 percent of potentially eligible voters. In those areas, the Act prohibited the use of literacy (ability to read and write) and other racially discriminatory tests. The Act authorized federal examiners to replace local registrars (officials in charge of voting) and to observe voting procedures. It required a voting district or state to get advance federal approval for changes in election laws and voting procedures. The Act also expanded the voting rights of non-English-speaking citizens.

The act's effectiveness

In the immediate aftermath of the act's passage, impressive gains were made by federal authorities; in the first six months, they registered more than 100,000 southern blacks, while local officials, aware of the threat of federal action, added another 200,000. In 1965, some 2 million African Americans were registered to vote in the South; by mid-1970, that figure had jumped to 3.3 million.

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Later gains under the act were weaker than the early ones. During the presidential administrations of **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1994; served 1969–74) and **Gerald Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77), commitment to the act decreased. Many southern officials resisted the Voting Rights Act, challenging its constitutionality in court and continuing to withhold the ballot from African American voters. They also found ways to weaken the black community's voting power. Using a variety of techniques, including redrawing voting districts to break up black majorities and imposing new restrictions and property qualifications on political candidates, southern politicians made it difficult for black candidates to run for and win office.

The Voting Rights Act has been extended three times since its initial passage. Originally, its targets included Alabama, **Georgia**, **Louisiana**, **Mississippi**, **South Carolina**, **Virginia**, parts of **North Carolina**, and **Alaska**. In 1970, the ban on literacy tests was expanded nationwide. The act was again extended in 1975, with less southern resistance than in the past. In 1982, the administration of President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004; served 1981–89) fought vigorously against another extension, but even so, it was extended and even amended to address the wide range of strategies designed to get around it.

By 2005, a total of about 9,000 African Americans held elected office in the United States, compared to just 500 in 1965. Although the gains are impressive, African Americans were still underrepresented as elected officials relative to their proportions in the population.

Voting Techniques Controversy of 2000

On November 7, 2000, voters went to the polls to choose between the Republican candidate **Texas** governor **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–), and the Democratic candidate, Vice President **Al Gore** (1948–), in an election expected to be very close. Problems in voting methods surfaced in **Florida** that delayed the election results for five weeks, cast doubt on the outcome, and called into question the place of the **Supreme Court** in electoral politics. The election forced Americans to take a closer look at the way their votes are tallied, especially where voting machines and the time-honored **electoral college** system were concerned.

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The electoral system

Under the U.S. **Constitution**, presidents are not directly elected by the popular vote (the total number of votes cast nationwide). The president is actually elected by an electoral college made up of 538 electors. Each state has a number of electors equal to its number of representatives and senators in Congress. In all states except **Maine** and **Nebraska**, when a candidate wins a majority of the popular vote in the state, he or she gets all of that state's electoral votes. To win an election, a candidate must get 270 or more electoral votes. The electoral college votes in December after the November elections, but in almost all cases the outcome is already set. The electoral college voting system ensures that each state's vote counts. If presidents were elected simply on the popular vote, a candidate would only need to win over the four most populous states, and could virtually ignore the other forty-six states and their interests.

Electoral votes become a key issue when a state's vote is very close, as it was in Florida in the 2000 presidential election. Shortly before 8:00 PM on November 7, the major television networks declared Bush the winner in Florida—meaning he would receive its twenty-five electoral votes. Over the next few hours, each candidate won several key states—that is, ones with large populations and therefore large numbers of elec-



The 2000 presidential race between George W. Bush, left, and Vice President Al Gore was riddled with controversy and errors with voting procedures and ballots. AP IMAGES

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toral votes. By 2:15 AM on November 8, it looked as if Bush had won enough states to have the 270 required electoral votes. Gore was on his way to give a concession speech (recognizing that he had lost the election) when he learned that Bush's lead in Florida was only a few thousand votes. He decided not to concede yet.

Problems with Florida ballots

Meanwhile, more than nineteen thousand votes were disqualified in Palm Beach County. The county had a system in which the voter used a stylus to punch a hole in a card beside the name of the candidate of his or her choice. The cards had perforations; when punched with a stylus, the punched perforation—or "chad"—was supposed to fall away. The nineteen thousand ballots disqualified either had more than one candidate selected, or the chads were still attached. In either case, vote-counting machines could not tabulate them. Additionally, a candidate not expected to receive many votes in that county—Reform Party nominee Pat Buchanan (1938–)—was credited with 3,407 ballots in his favor. Voters (and Buchanan himself) acknowledged the count must have been a mistake. These votes were probably the result of a so-called "butterfly ballot" that lined up the Democrats in one column with Buchanan in the next column, though they were not connected.

Soon it was clear that Florida's voting irregularities were not confined to Palm Beach County. In nearby Broward County, another 6,686 ballots were disqualified. Similar problems were noted in adjacent Dade County. Gore requested manual (done by hand, rather than machine) recounts of the three counties as well as Volusia County, where some problems were also noted. All four counties had larger numbers of Democratic voters than Republicans. Adding to the anger over inaccurate election processes was the disproportionate exclusion of some African American voters in Florida. A study showed that African American votes were ten times more likely to be rejected due to voting errors than any other group. This was, in part, because the voting districts with predominantly African American populations were generally poorer, and had older voting machines.

Partisan politics

Many believed that partisan politics (based on fervent support of one party) contributed to the turmoil as legal questions about the Florida

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votes were brought to court. Under Florida law, recounts must be conducted within seven days. But manual recounts in the four counties with irregularities would take more than seven days, and the legality of conducting manual recounts was challenged in court. On November 13, a federal judge in Miami, Florida, rejected a request by Bush's lawyers to end the hand recounts. Meanwhile, Florida's secretary of state, Republican Katherine Harris (1957–), who had actively campaigned for Bush, called for an end to the manual recounts, though her authority to do so was highly questionable. Bush's brother, Jeb Bush (1953–), was governor of Florida. Though he stepped back from the controversy, many were willing to believe that a Republican conspiracy was in the works. Machine recounts completed on November 15 confirmed Bush as the winner of the state, but only by 327 votes.

Officials in Palm Beach, Broward, and Dade counties decided to go forward with a manual recount. Harris again attempted to block the recount. Republicans were accused of wanting to hurry the process, even if some voters were stripped of their voting power because of mistakes. Democrats were accused of trying to find more votes.

Elections and the courts

On November 20, lawyers for Bush and Gore presented arguments to the Florida Supreme Court in a nationally televised hearing. The Florida justices were concerned that vote counting could drag on to the December 18, 2000, date set for the electoral college vote. If recounts were not completed in time, votes from the state of Florida would be lost. On the other hand, the justices were reluctant to discontinue manual recounts knowing that they were the only way to count votes not tabulated by computers.

The Florida Supreme Court ruled unanimously that manual recounts could continue and Bush's lawyers appealed the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court. On December 2, the day before Bush met with Republican congressional leaders to discuss his transition to the White House, Gore demanded a recount of some fourteen thousand "undervotes"—ballots that had not been completely filled out—from Palm Beach and Miami-Dade counties. The dispute ended abruptly on December 12, when a bitterly divided Supreme Court ruled 5–4 that the recounts were unconstitutional. It ordered a halt to all further recounts. Gore conceded the election to Bush.

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Impact

In the end it was clear that Al Gore had won more popular votes in the 2000 election than George Bush. The electoral college system, and perhaps voting machine error, decided the election. Many felt that the U.S. Supreme Court had overstepped its authority in deciding an election. Some state groups felt it was time to reorganize their electoral college systems. The need for more accurate voting systems was obvious to all. Nationwide measures were taken to ensure that all states installed new electronic, or computerized, voting machines, but problems continued, and in some cases grew worse, with the new systems. The 2000 election cast many new doubts in voters' minds. Though many of the problems that arose were technical, many Americans recognized that when voting is compromised, it poses a threat to the roots of the democratic system.

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WAAC

See **Women's Army Auxiliary Corps**

Wall, The

See **Vietnam Veterans Memorial**

Wall Street

Wall Street, the financial center of the United States, takes its name from an actual street in lower Manhattan in New York City. The financial district around Wall Street is home to the **New York Stock Exchange**, American Stock Exchange, and several commodities exchanges. Many banks, insurance companies, investment firms, and regulatory agencies also have offices in the area of Wall Street.

Wall Street's history as a financial center dates back to the time when the area was a Dutch colony. The "wall" in the street's name refers to the protective earthen wall that ran alongside it. Local merchants and traders gathered along the street to buy and sell interests (stocks and bonds) in companies.

In 1792 traders established a formal organization at 68 Wall Street to conduct business. In 1817 the New York Stock and Exchange Board was created. As the country's businesses grew and prospered, Wall Street became the center of investment activity and economic hope. It attracted investors from all over the world.

Market performance on Wall Street has come to symbolize the health of the nation's economy. Although there are now market districts

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worldwide, Wall Street remains the dominant symbol of high finance, big investments, and financial dreams.

War of 1812

The War of 1812, a war between the United States and Great Britain from 1812 to 1815, was primarily an offshoot of a larger ongoing conflict in Europe, the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815). The United States went to war mainly to force Great Britain to repeal its unfair regulation of American trade with the European continent and to give up **impressment**, the practice of removing seamen from U.S. merchant vessels and forcing them to serve in the Royal Navy. Other hostilities with Great Britain that led to war dated back to the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Britain had long maintained outposts in U.S. lands in the Northwest Territory and enlisted the aid of American Indians to help fortify them. Many people who supported the war hoped to eliminate the British presence from North America altogether.

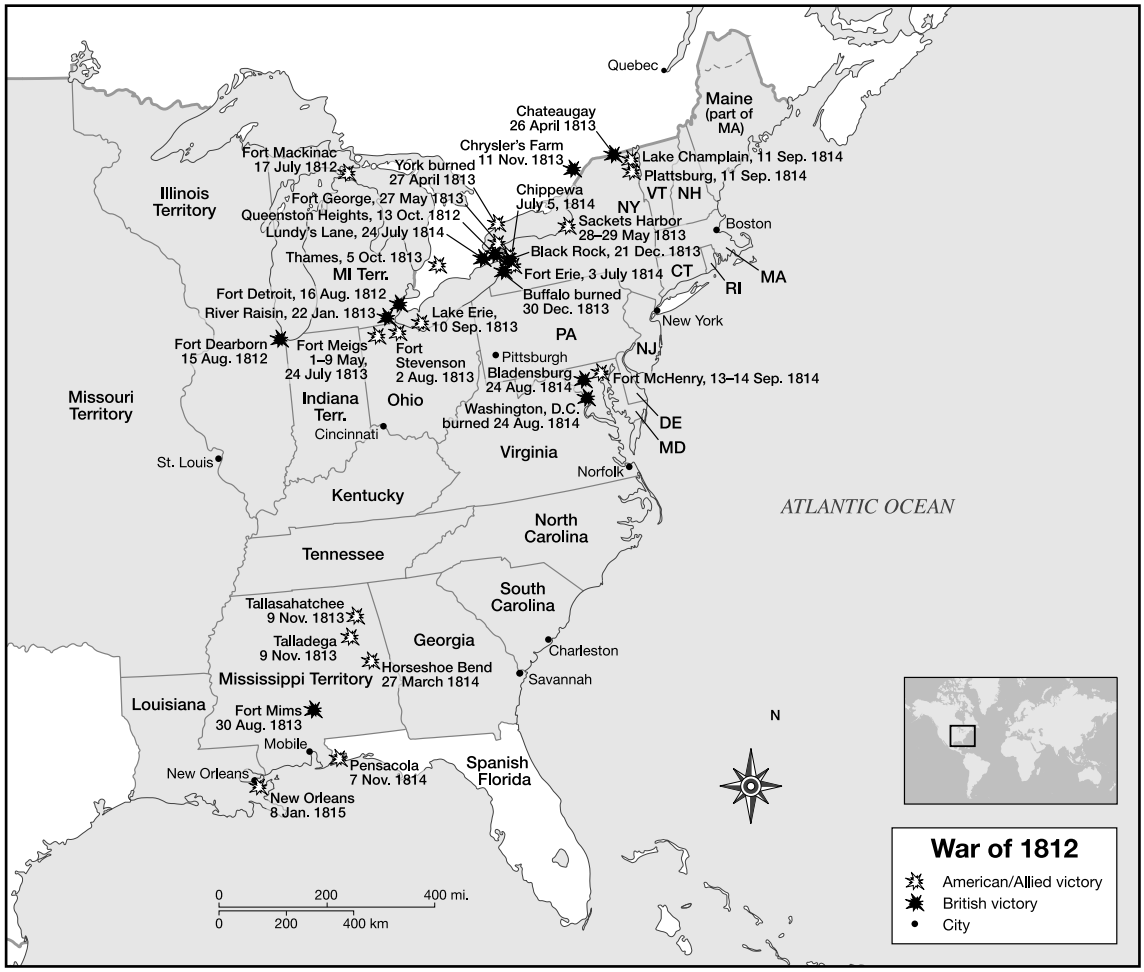
Napoleonic Wars

The war in Europe had begun in 1799, when French army general Napoléon Bonaparte (1769–1821) seized power in France. An extremely effective leader, Napoléon soon was named emperor, ruling with unlimited power. Not content with ruling France, he set his sights on the entire continent of Europe. To start, he wanted control of the English Channel, the body of water that runs between England and France. England's navy was much stronger than France's. Securing control of the channel, England was able to avoid invasion. Napoléon's mighty army, however, defeated the Austrians and Russians and then Prussia. By 1806 Napoléon dominated Europe from the Atlantic to the borders of Russia. Still unable to defeat England, he decided to employ economic measures. He established the Continental System, which forbade all European countries from trading with England. England, in turn, tried to choke off foreign trade with France.

Impressment

The United States became involved in this conflict through its trade with Europe. England had issued the Order in Council in 1807, which announced its intention to seize goods carried in neutral ships (ships that

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This map shows the locations of various Brisith and American victories during the War of 1812. THE GALE GROUP

were not linked to either side of the conflict) heading for French ports. France threatened to do the same to ships bound for England. This violated U.S. rights at sea as a neutral trader. In 1807 a British warship boarded the USS *Chesapeake* and removed four sailors who had allegedly deserted from the British navy. The American public felt its honor was insulted by the British impressments, which were becoming more frequent.

In response, President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; served 1801–09) stopped trade with Europe and ordered British ships out of American waters. The act hurt the United States far more than England.

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In 1809 Congress reopened trade with foreign nations other than Britain and France. Even this step did not help the faltering U.S. economy. A new bill opened trade with both countries, but the United States let it be known that if France agreed to drop its restrictions on U.S. trade, the United States would cut off trade with England, and Napoléon quickly took advantage of the opportunity to hurt the British. In 1811 President **James Madison** (1751–1836; served 1809–17) cut off trade with England.

The War Hawks

In 1810 a new Congress was elected, featuring a group of young Republicans who were impatient with the peaceful responses to humiliation abroad. The "War Hawks," led by skillful politicians such as **Henry Clay** (1777–1852) and **John C. Calhoun** (1782–1850), were members of the **Democratic-Republican Party**. They were incensed by impressments and by news of secret British aid to the Indians in the Old Northwest (a governmental territory in the United States comprised of modern-day **Ohio**, **Indiana**, **Illinois**, **Michigan**, **Wisconsin**, and part of **Minnesota**). The War Hawks represented the West and the South, regions that strongly favored the war. The war was strongly opposed by members of the **Federalist Party**, which was strong in the northern states that relied heavily on trade with England. War opponents in both parties pointed out that the United States was ill-prepared for war, both militarily and economically. Nevertheless, when President Madison sought to declare war on June 1, 1812, a divided Congress approved.

Preparing for war

In 1812, the strength of the regular army was still under seven thousand, and its officers were either too old or too poorly trained to be effective leaders. The U.S. **Navy** had only sixteen vessels to face Britain, the world's strongest navy. Antiwar governors in Federalist New England states refused to detach their militias (groups of volunteer soldiers) for federal service, stating that militias were emergency armies to be called upon to repel invasion, not to act in offensive moves.

How to pay for the war was another question. When Congress declared war, it had neglected to vote in taxes or come up with funds. The National Bank had been eliminated, and the Treasury Department was forced to rely on a decentralized system (one without a central author-

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ity) of state banks. A group of very wealthy businessmen finally loaned the United States the money it needed to wage war, but by that time the conflict was already well underway.

A poor start

The War of 1812 was ineffectively led and poorly fought, especially in its first year. The U.S. strategy was to strike out at Great Britain in Canada, which the Americans viewed as vulnerable because British forces were concentrated against Napoléon's armies in Europe. But shortly after the war began, the United States was forced to surrender Detroit to the British in a battle complicated by the long-term conflict with the Indians from that region. After the Treaty of Greenville (1795) awarded most of what is now Ohio to the U.S. government, Shawnee leader **Tecumseh** (c. 1768–1813) put together an intertribal confederacy to resist further American incursions into Indian lands. After Tecumseh's confederacy had been smashed by U.S. forces at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, the Shawnee leader promptly joined the British forces in Canada. He played an important role in that seizure of Detroit from the United States in 1812.

Throughout 1812, the United States continued to encounter defeat. This was partly due to the unpopularity of the war. The Battle of Queenston Heights in Canada was lost when the **New York** militia refused to cross the Canadian border to support the army. In November the refusal of militia forces to leave the United States ended an attack on Montreal. U.S. naval victories in 1812 boosted morale but had no strategic importance. By 1813 the British navy's blockade of the American coast guaranteed Britain's dominance of the seas.

A stalemate

Gradually, the U.S. Army started to improve, with younger and more capable officers such as **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845) and Winfield Scott (1786–1866) receiving combat commands. Still, military progress remained disappointing until the fall of 1813, when the United States destroyed the British fleet on Lake Erie. The victory was followed by the defeat of British-Indian forces at the Battle of the Thames in October, which restored American control of the Northwest. In July 1814 American troops crossed the Niagara River into Canada, defeating the

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British at the Battle of Chippewa. A standstill was reached in the Battle of Lundy's Lane, marking the last American attempt to conquer Canada.

Napoléon Bonaparte was defeated in Europe in April 1814, freeing up Britain to prepare for a final offensive in North America. The British army first attempted to secure Canada by cutting off New England from the rest of the United States, but this attempt failed with a British defeat on Lake Champlain in Plattsburgh, New York. Meanwhile, a British force occupied **Washington, D.C.**, in August, burning the White House and the Capitol. President Madison was forced to flee. British forces moved on to capture Baltimore, but a successful resistance forced the British to abandon their plans. The war had reached a stalemate.

Federalists speak out, too late

In December 1814, New England Federalists assembled in Hartford, **Connecticut**, to discuss ways of objecting to the war. The main objective of the Hartford Convention was to restore power to the North through constitutional amendments to limit the power of the federal government. The delegates upheld the doctrine of nullification, a theory that proposes that states have the right to overturn federal laws when the federal government has exceeded its constitutional powers. There was even a slight threat in the convention report that the New England states might consider secession from the Union if their concerns were not heeded. But on the same day the New England delegates announced their demands, news arrived that Andrew Jackson had defeated the British at New Orleans, and that the United States and Britain had signed a peace treaty. The delegates, fearing to be seen as fools or traitors, quickly let the matter drop. The Federalist Party lost its credibility. It never regained strength after the war and soon dissolved.

The Battle of New Orleans

Americans wanted a hero for the war and Andrew Jackson, a major-general by 1814, emerged to fulfill that yearning. Prior to the Battle of New Orleans, he had begun assembling a large military force and building entrenchments in preparation for a British assault. On January 1, 1815, American troops at New Orleans held off the British army with artillery (large guns and cannons). A week later a reinforced British army of six thousand men launched a frontal assault. American artillery and rifle fire inflicted more than two thousand British casualties (dead and wounded

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Andrew Jackson depicted during the Battle of New Orleans, which had two thousand British casualties and only twenty-one American casualties—a resounding victory for U.S. troops. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

in battle). The Americans suffered only twenty-one casualties. Neither Jackson nor the rest of the nation knew that a peace treaty had been signed two weeks earlier. In a war that was short of resounding victories, Americans celebrated the Battle of New Orleans as a glorious defense of American honor.

The Treaty of Ghent

Peace negotiations for the War of 1812 were concluded with the Treaty of Ghent, which was signed on December 25, 1814. (Some fighting continued until Congress ratified the treaty in 1815.) The treaty basically affirmed the state of affairs before the war. European peace had solved the problem of impressments and neutral trading with France. During nego-

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tiations, the American diplomats stood firm against British demands for territorial cessions and asserted the United States's status as an independent nation that would not accept the violation of its rights or the humiliation of impressment. The glory to be found in the war's aftermath was that a nation only three decades old had held its own against a world power.

Perhaps the most important gains from the War of 1812 were internal improvements. After the war, the United States reorganized its military to correct the defects the war had revealed. President Madison acknowledged the financial difficulties caused by the lack of a national bank and the supply problems caused by the poor conditions of American roads. He also acknowledged the value of American domestic manufacturing, which had been stimulated by the disruption of trade during the war. Congress approved a national bank, federal support for transportation and internal improvements, and protective tariffs (import duties to protect U.S. manufacturers from foreign competition) in the years immediately following the war.

American Indians fared very poorly in the War of 1812. Tecumseh was killed at the Battle of the Thames in 1813. His death marked the end of Indian resistance to U.S. settlement in the Old Northwest. In the Old Southwest, Tennessee border captain Andrew Jackson led a defeat of the Creeks in 1814, clearing the southern states and the Gulf Coast for U.S. dominance.

Warren Commission

President **John F. Kennedy** (1917–1963; served 1961–63) was assassinated on November 22, 1963. He was in Dallas, Texas, riding in a limousine with his wife Jacqueline Kennedy, Texas governor John Connally, and Connally's wife Nellie. Kennedy was struck by at least two bullets, the first going through his throat and the second entering his brain. John Connally was injured in the shooting.

A week later President **Lyndon B. Johnson** (1908–1973; served 1963–69), who had been Kennedy's vice president and who took over as president after Kennedy's death, appointed a commission to investigate the assassination. Its official name was "The President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy." The head of the commission was Supreme Court chief justice Earl Warren (1891–1974), so it became

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known as the Warren Commission. The commission had six other members, including future president **Gerald Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77) and former **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) director Allen Dulles, who had been pressured to resign from that position while serving under President Kennedy in September 1961.

The commission began to meet in February 1964. It collected evidence from over five hundred witnesses and over three thousand documents. Then it issued a report in September 1964 that is known as the Warren Report.

The Warren Report made many conclusions about the Kennedy assassination. It said the shots that killed Kennedy and wounded Connally were fired by one person from a sixth floor window of the Texas School Book Depository. The report found persuasive evidence that the bullet that went through Kennedy's throat was the same one that injured Connally.



The Warren Commission, nicknamed after the head of the commission, Supreme Court chief justice Earl Warren, center, was assembled to investigate the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. AP IMAGES

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Military-Industrial Complex Conspiracy

One of the conspiracy theories of the Kennedy assassination blames the nation's military-industrial complex (a partnership between the nation's military, its defense industry, and the government) for the murder. President Kennedy had a history of tense relations with the powers in those realms of government and business.

For example after the CIA's failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, President Kennedy pressured many in the CIA to resign. When the military wanted to attack Cuba during the **Cuban missile crisis** with the Soviet Union in 1962, Kennedy instead negotiated a solution that avoided military action. In August 1963 the United States signed a limited nuclear test ban treaty with Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Just weeks before he was killed, Kennedy signed an executive order to begin withdrawing the United States from the **Vietnam War** (1954–75).

Some argue that in this environment, the businesspeople who profited from federal government spending by the military had a strong motive to assassinate Kennedy. They claim that the Warren Report was a poor investigation designed to hide evidence of a conspiracy to kill Kennedy. Opponents of such conspiracy theories say that the forensic and eyewitness evidence supports the Warren Commission's report that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone.

According to the report the person who fired the shots was drifter Lee Harvey Oswald (1939–1963). Oswald was arrested the day of the assassination and then killed two days later by a bartender named Jack Ruby (1911–1967). The Warren Report found no connection between Oswald and Ruby and no evidence that the Kennedy assassination was part of any conspiracy beyond Oswald's lone actions. This and other conclusions are disputed by many conspiracy theorists who attribute the Kennedy assassination to various kinds of domestic and foreign plots.

Washington

Washington entered the Union on November 11, 1889, as the forty-second state. Located on the Pacific coast of the northwestern United States, it borders Canada, **Idaho**, **Oregon**, and the Pacific Ocean.

The first known Europeans to visit the Washington coast were Spaniards who explored the coastline in 1774 and 1775. While searching for a northwest passage across America, the English captain James Cook (1728–1779) arrived in 1778. He recognized the value of sea otter fur, and the maritime fur trade began.

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The **Lewis and Clark expedition** visited the area in 1805. As their account of the trip became known, many British and American fur traders followed their route to the Pacific coast.

By the time Washington became a state in 1889, the population had grown thanks to the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad line six years earlier. Settlers and immigrants made their livings in the lumber, farming, and livestock industries. The city of Seattle became a major seaport in the early 1900s, and the Puget Sound area was the center of shipbuilding activity.

As was true in most states, the economy in Washington suffered during the **Great Depression** (1929–41). Federally funded public-works projects brought to the state much-needed jobs and revenue. Boeing established the aerospace industry in Washington during **World War II** (1939–45). At the same time, the federal government built the Hanford Reservation nuclear research center.

The 1960s and 1970s saw rising public concern for the protection of Washington's natural resources. In May 1980 Mount St. Helens erupted and destroyed everything within 230 square miles (600 square kilometers). The volcanic eruption killed fifty-seven people, almost seven thousand deer, elk, and bear, and an estimated twelve million fish. More than two hundred homes were demolished, and 185 miles (300 kilometers) of highway and 15 miles (24 kilometers) of railway were destroyed.

In the early 1990s, when it was confirmed that plutonium produced at the Hanford nuclear facility had leaked into the Columbia River, Washington launched a cleanup program that cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

After enjoying economic growth in the 1990s, Boeing announced in 2001 that it was relocating its headquarters to Chicago, **Illinois**. That same year saw the downward spiral of thousands of dot-com companies in the United States, as well as the terrorist attacks on New York City and **Washington, D.C.** The state's economy was hard hit, and by the end of 2002 Washington had the third-highest unemployment rate in the nation.

Washington was home to just under 6.4 million people in 2006. Most of the population (81.2 percent) was white, 8.8 percent was Latino or Hispanic, and 6.6 percent was Asian. Seattle was the largest city, followed by Spokane and Tacoma.

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Washington's economic activity centers around services, financial institutions, manufacturing, agriculture, and lumber. Tourism is the fourth-largest industry in the state and employs almost 127,000. The state is consistently ranked among the nation's top ten tourist destinations. Seattle is a particularly popular attraction for its Space Needle tower, opera house, and Pacific Science Center, but there are also numerous **national parks** and historic sites throughout the state.

Booker T. Washington

Booker Taliaferro Washington was born into slavery on April 5, 1856, in **Virginia**. At the age of nine, he and his family were emancipated (freed) and moved to **West Virginia**. There, he learned to read and write when he was not working in the salt furnaces (locations set up to extract salt from springs and reservoirs of trapped sea water) and coal mines of the region.



Booker T. Washington was president of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, a school for African Americans in Alabama, until his death in 1915. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

At sixteen, Washington entered Hampton Institute in Virginia. After graduation, Washington taught school in Tinkersville, West Virginia, for three years. He briefly attended a seminary (a school for training ministers), but left to return to Hampton as a teacher in 1879. Washington kept that position until 1881, when he accepted a job as principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, a new school for African Americans in **Alabama**.

Normal refers to a standard for teaching that would create a model for other such schools. Tuskegee would train educators and students interested in learning occupational skills, such as carpentry, farming, and machine operation. Washington remained president of the school until his death in 1915.

As president, Washington had three goals for his school. He wanted to share with poor rural farmers new and improved methods of farming the land. To do this, he developed an extension program that traveled the countryside. This program trained people who were inter-

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ested in learning but could not attend formal classes. Eventually, Tuskegee graduates built smaller schools throughout the rural South.

Washington also wanted to teach his students craft and occupational skills so they could find work once they graduated. At Tuskegee, students learned about industry and production as well as agriculture. Part of the students' education involved having them build the school's buildings themselves and farm the land on which the buildings sat. In doing so, they developed necessary working skills and nourished themselves with the food that they produced.

Washington's final objective was to develop his students' moral character. He insisted on good manners and a strong work ethic. He encouraged Tuskegee students to take pride in every detail of their lives. Although both men and women attended the school, their studies were kept separate. All students attended daily nondenominational (not associated with a specific religious faith) church services.

The Institute was a great success for two reasons: fund-raising and quality of education. Washington toured the country, speaking before large crowds about his school. His enthusiasm and commitment to excellence impressed some of the country's wealthiest men. He secured funding from steel magnate **Andrew Carnegie** (1835–1919) and industrialist **John D. Rockefeller** (1839–1937). Students learned from the finest African American professionals in the country. Famed chemist **George Washington Carver** (1864–1943) taught at Tuskegee Institute. He came up with three hundred uses for peanuts and either invented or improved upon recipes for mayonnaise, ink, bleach, metal polish, and scores of other products. Architect Robert Taylor (1868–1942) and landscape architect David Williston (1868–1962) held positions at the school. Both men were among the first African Americans to graduate in their fields of study. Williston became one of the most highly respected landscape architects in American history.

An influential leader

Washington's reputation for commitment, intelligence, and levelheadedness made him a frequent consultant to Republican politicians who sought advice concerning potential appointments of African Americans to political positions. He earned praise from whites of all social statuses when he publicly proclaimed that self-reliance was the key factor to improved conditions for African Americans.

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In 1895, Washington spoke at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, **Georgia**. His address, called the Atlanta Compromise, sparked great debate for its message of accommodation. African Americans were generally divided into two groups during this period in history. The accommodators believed African Americans should strive very hard to earn their equality among white society. They believed change would come only through hard work and taking advantage of every opportunity to prove themselves worthy of such equal rights. This is the stance Washington took.

The other group, led by famous abolitionist **Frederick Douglass** (1817–1895), believed agitation, or protest and civil disobedience, was the only way African Americans were going to attain equal rights. This side believed those rights were theirs by law, and they should not have to prove themselves worthy to anyone.

Washington's educational philosophy also caused controversy. He believed in the value of industrial education, or the development of practical skills that would help African Americans lead productive lives. In direct contrast with Washington's philosophy was one embraced by African American scholar W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). Du Bois believed African Americans should obtain a more classical education that would emphasize the intellectualism of what he called the "Talented Tenth." According to Du Bois, his race would be saved by its exceptional leaders (the most talented top-tenth of his race). By developing this intellectually gifted minority, he thought that African Americans would find a way to overcome oppression at the hands of whites.

Du Bois gave Washington the nickname "The Great Accommodator," and what began as a friendship based on mutual respect declined over the years. Du Bois's philosophy of activism became the roots of the civil rights movement that began in the 1950s and peaked in the 1960s.

Publishes *Up From Slavery* In 1900, Washington founded the National Negro Business League, an organization dedicated to promoting the development of the African American as business leaders. Many of the organization's chapters were in the South, and the League was supported by wealthy white businessmen. Washington was a visionary in that he encouraged women to obtain business skills as well.

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In 1901, Washington published his autobiography, *Up From Slavery.* The best seller immediately became the most influential book written by an African American, and it earned him an invitation to the White House by President **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–09). It was the first time an African American had been invited to the White House.

A lifetime of overwork and too little rest finally took its toll on Washington's health. He died on November 14, 1915, of hypertension (high blood pressure), and was buried on the campus of what would later become a full-fledged college known as Tuskegee University. That year also marked the beginning of a shift in attitude of African Americans in general, as they moved to embrace the activist philosophy of W. E. B. Du Bois.

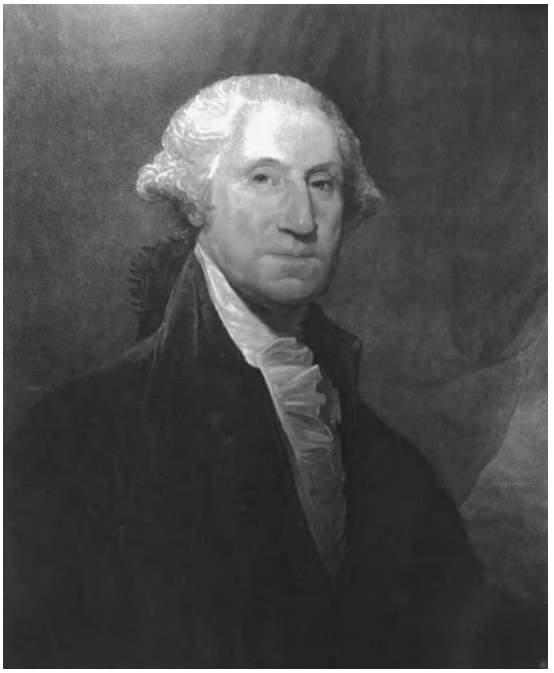
George Washington

George Washington was an essential leader during the formation of the United States of America. He led the armies as the commander-in-chief of the Continental forces during the **American Revolution** (1775–83). He was a delegate to both the First Continental Congress and Second Continental Congress that led America into that war. (See **Continental Congress, First**, and **Continental Congress, Second**.) Later he served as a delegate to the **Constitutional Convention** that set up American government under the U.S. **Constitution**. At that convention he was unanimously elected the first president of the United States. He served two terms and was responsible for defining much of the country's political and economic structure.

Early life

George Washington was the first child born to Augustine Washington and Mary Ball, on February 22, 1732. His father was a prominent landholder and businessman in Westmoreland County, **Virginia**. After his father's death in 1743, Washington and his mother spent the next several years at the homes of family members and relatives. While residing at the Mount Vernon estate of Lawrence Washington, his elder half-brother, George Washington acquired the social connections and skills of a Virginia gentleman. At the age of sixteen, Washington learned how to survey land, and by the following year he became the county surveyor.

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George Washington was a delegate to both the First and Second Continental Congresses and led the armies as the commander-in-chief of the Continental forces during the American Revolution. AP IMAGES

Washington's work as the county surveyor took him into the borderlands and wilderness of the county. His knowledge and experience of the frontier helped him get appointed as major in the Virginia militia when his brother died in 1752. One year into his service, at the start of the **French and Indian War** (1754–63), Washington had the first of his many military adventures.

In 1758 Washington resigned his commission. He married Martha Dandridge Custis (1731–1802), a wealthy widow with two children, on January 6, 1759. Though Washington would never have children with Martha, he treated her son and daughter as if they were his own.

Upon the death of his brother's widow and child in 1760, Washington inherited Mount Vernon, and the family moved there. Though Washington was drawn away from this home many times, it was always the center of his life. He entertained many social and political guests there as well as reveled in the routines of a gentleman farmer.

Military career

Washington's military career began in 1752 when he attained his late half-brother's position as major in the Virginia militia. In 1753, the French began pushing into British territory in the Ohio River valley. In order to protect financial interests in this area, the governor of Virginia sent Washington to dislodge the French. This event in 1754 marked the beginning of the French and Indian War, which soon widened into the Seven Years' War between Britain and France. Washington experienced both victory and defeat, and his service to British General Edward Braddock (c. 1695–1755) earned him national recognition.

In 1755, Washington was serving as aide-de-camp to General Braddock. Ordered to attack the French at Fort Duquesne (near present-day Pittsburgh, **Pennsylvania**), their forces were instead ambushed by French and Indian forces near the fort. Washington recommended a course of surprise counterattack through the woods, but Braddock re-

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jected the idea and maintained an orderly parade-ground formation. The British forces suffered a horrible defeat, including the death of General Braddock.

News of Washington's advice and his courageous actions in battle made him a hero in the colonies. In August 1755, he was appointed colonel and commander-in-chief of Virginia's militia. When he resigned from military service in 1758, Washington was a brigadier general.

These experiences prepared Washington for his greater challenge to lead the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. His experiences with inadequate supplies, undisciplined militia, and a lack of cooperation from civilian officials gave him invaluable skills as a leader. Serving with the British under General Braddock strengthened his resentment of British rule of the colonies. Unwilling to treat the colonial forces as competent equals and giving all British officers greater status and authority, the British attitude affected Washington's commitment to independence.

Political career

Shortly before retiring from the Virginia militia in 1758, Washington was elected to the **House of Burgesses**, Virginia's colonial legislature. This enabled him to enhance his status in society, participate in the practices of self-government, and be involved with the relations between the British and the colonists.

After the French and Indian War, war debts motivated the British parliament to impose a series of taxes on the colonies. Colonial assemblies resisted this taxation. In 1774, the Virginia legislators called for a Continental Congress between all colonies. Its purpose was to assess the level of anti-British feeling among the colonists and to tighten a boycott on British goods. Washington attended as a representative for Virginia.

The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia soon after the first to coordinate military resistance against the British. Washington attended again, and this time he was unanimously named the commander-in-chief of the Continental Army. Washington's task was daunting. He had no trained military, and there was no system for distributing supplies. There also was no central government that could oversee the creation of such a system or demand every colony's financial participation.

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Against all odds, and eventually with aid from France, Washington overcame these political and economic obstacles. He forged an army that eventually challenged the British, either winning or retreating in good order. In October 1781, Washington trapped the British General Lord Cornwallis (1738–1805) in Yorktown, Virginia. Cornwallis's surrender meant American victory and independence. Washington continued to oversee the Continental Army until the British left **New York** in 1783. He submitted his resignation in December and attempted to retire to Mount Vernon.

The Constitutional Convention

The rebelling colonies established a national government under the **Articles of Confederation** in 1781, but it had many weaknesses. The government lacked power to collect taxes, regulate commerce, or maintain armed forces. States maintained these independent powers.

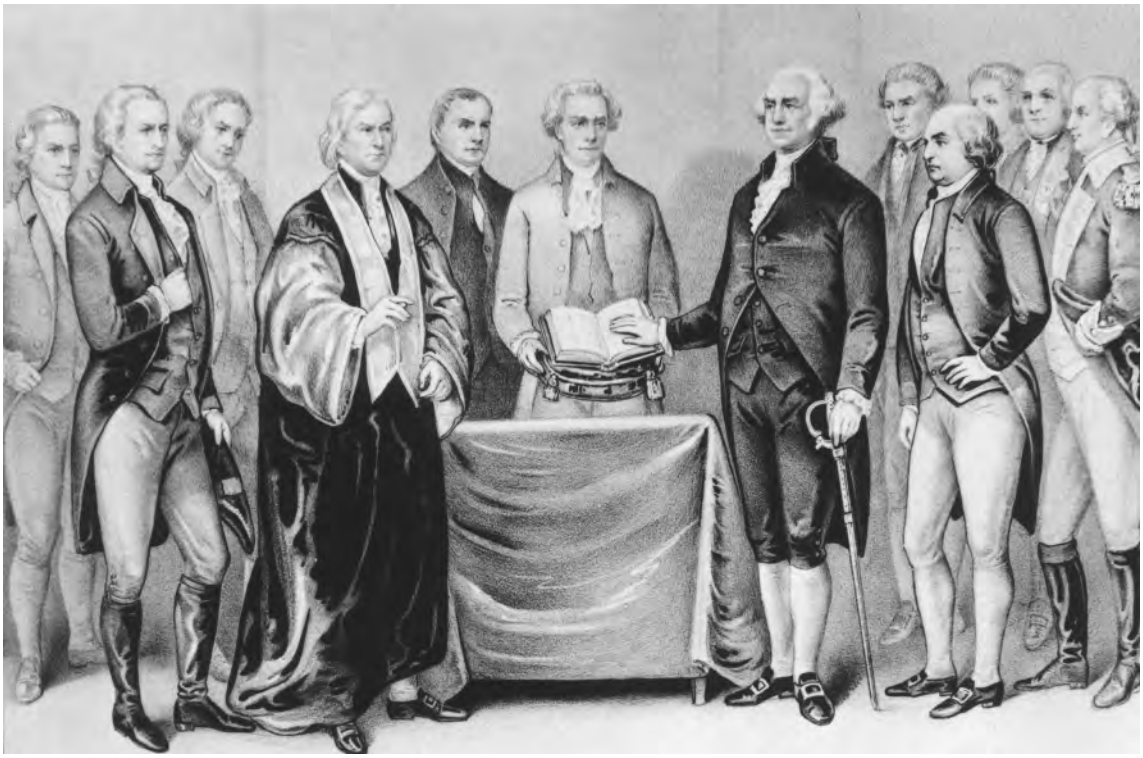
Washington was vocal about the weaknesses of the system and eventually came to believe that an entirely new form of government was needed. In Washington's opinion, a stronger union and a federal government were essential to the health of the nation. A Constitutional Convention was called in 1787 to restructure the government, and the U.S. Constitution was approved September 17, 1787. The last of the original **thirteen colonies** would ratify it on May 29, 1790. Meanwhile, in April 1789, George Washington was unanimously elected the first president of the United States by vote of the newly created **Electoral College**.

Presidency

George Washington's presidency was marked by firsts. The Constitution was new, and certain aspects of it were not yet clearly defined. These "Silences of the Constitution" left the new government with many questions to answer. Washington's legacy as president is how he handled his powers to maintain a balance between the branches of government and to establish precedents, or accepted ways of doing things, for future presidents.

The Constitution had created a federal government with three branches: the **legislative branch** for making laws, the **executive branch** for enforcing laws, and a **judicial branch** for administering justice under

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The inauguration ceremony of George Washington as the first president of the United States. He was unanimously elected by the newly created Electoral College. MPI/GETTY IMAGES

the laws. Washington believed strongly in this separation of powers. He worked hard not to infringe on the powers of Congress. In his eight years as president, he used his veto power only twice to reject bills Congress had passed that he thought were unconstitutional.

To make decisions with as much information as he could gather, Washington formed a cabinet of advisors. Among them were **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826) and **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804). Jefferson and Hamilton's political differences would challenge Washington and eventually lead to Jefferson's resignation.

Domestic issues

For the most part, Washington's presidency focused on building the economic and political foundations for a strong nation. Domestically, this

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took the form of establishing a federal bank, using the powers given Congress to collect taxes, and creating a monetary system.

While Washington worked to make decisions based on the best interests of the union, the differing needs of the states were beginning to create political divisions. Though Washington worked to discourage the development of factions, political differences between men like Hamilton and Jefferson mimicked regional and class differences in the country. This led to the formation of political parties. Hamilton became leader of the **Federalist Party**, who wanted a strong federal government. Jefferson was leader of the **Democratic-Republican Party**, who wanted state power to be greater than the power of the federal government.

Foreign affairs

In foreign affairs, Washington skillfully avoided wars for the young nation. With another war between Great Britain and France in 1793, Washington experienced both foreign and domestic pressure to take sides. Within the United States, economic trade interests called for support of Britain.

Those who recalled French support for the American Revolution rallied to the French cause. Treaties that America made with France after the Revolution also called for such support. Washington, however, felt it was unwise to take sides in the dispute. As a result, he issued the Proclamation of Neutrality in April 1793. The United States would officially support neither France nor Britain, and it maintained trading rights with both nations.

Both France and Britain stopped U.S. merchant ships bound for the opposing countries. Britain escalated these assaults in 1793, straining relations with America to the breaking point. To avoid war, Congress chose to enact mild sanctions against both Britain and France for violation of U.S. shipping rights.

Washington then sent U.S. Supreme Court chief justice John Jay (1745–1829) to Britain to negotiate a settlement. The resulting treaty, **Jay's Treaty**, was widely viewed as too generous to Britain and unfavorable to American power in foreign trade. It reignited domestic political differences, and negatively affected Washington's popularity. Despite public opinion, however, it helped to normalize relations with Britain, protect U.S. security, and promote economic development.

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Washington also avoided a crisis with Spain that was provoked, in part, by American expansion to the west. The Spanish controlled the port of New Orleans, a major avenue for communication and trade with American settlers on the frontier. Spain denied Americans the right to travel freely through New Orleans, charging them for off-loading goods onto ocean vessels. The situation angered American settlers, who demanded that the government interfere and force an end to the practice. Spanish anxiety over Jay's Treaty and the growing number of American settlers prompted Spain to negotiate with the United States. The resulting Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 was a great success that allowed free navigation of the Mississippi River for three years.

Retirement

Washington intended to retire at the end of his first term in early 1793. His colleagues instead persuaded him to serve another term, and he was again elected unanimously to the presidency during the election of 1792. By 1796, however, Washington had grown tired of the demands of political life and decided to retire and published his Farewell Address on September 17. His decision established an informal precedent of presidents serving two terms at most. This precedent lasted until Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected four times in the twentieth century.

On December 12, 1799, Washington contracted acute laryngitis, and his health deteriorated rapidly. He died on December 14. Afterwards Congress unanimously agreed to erect a marble monument—the **Washington Monument**—in his memory in the nation's new federal capital **Washington, D.C.**, also named in his honor.

Washington, D.C.

When the United States won its independence and began to form a federal government in the 1780s, it did not have a capital city. For more than a decade, Congress moved from city to city, meeting in Philadelphia, **Pennsylvania**; Princeton and Trenton, **New Jersey**; Annapolis, **Maryland**; and New York City.

The U.S. **Constitution** of 1787 provided that a tract of land be reserved for the seat of the federal government. Most of the nation's leaders believed that the federal government should be located in a new city, free from state and local pressures. In 1791 Congress authorized

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President **George Washington** (1732–1799; president 1789–97) to choose a site along the Potomac River in what was then part of the Maryland Colony. Halfway between **Georgia** and **New Hampshire**, the location served as a compromise between the northern and southern states. Washington selected a plot ten miles square on the peninsula formed by the Potomac and the Anacostia rivers. The necessary land was ceded by Maryland and Virginia.

Building the "Federal City"

Washington then employed a commission headed by French military engineer Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825) to draw up plans for the "Federal City." L'Enfant endowed the capital with broad avenues radiating from public buildings, and monuments. Central to his scheme were Pennsylvania Avenue, connecting the Capitol and the president's house, and a 400-foot-wide avenue between the Capitol and a planned statue of Washington (roughly the site of the **Washington Monument** today). L'Enfant, though, was dismissed before completion of the work, and after he left, his plan wasn't followed very well. For several decades the city was a strange and much-ridiculed blend of large public buildings, broad dusty avenues, and vast empty fields. Still, construction had progressed far enough by June 1800 to allow the government—President **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801) and some 125 government officials—to move from its temporary seat in Philadelphia to Washington, D.C.

The capital burns

The original capital buildings did not stand long. In 1814, at the height of the **War of 1812** (1812–15; a war between the United States and Britain), the residents of Washington, D.C., received word that the British army was coming. At that time the capital had a population of about eight thousand. Still unfinished, it consisted of several public buildings scattered here and there.

On August 24, 1814, an army of about four thousand British soldiers broke down the meager U.S. defenses at nearby Bladensburg, Maryland. News of the lost battle, and rumors of British plans to burn the city, reached Washington, D.C., only hours before the British arrived. Crowds of fleeing women and children loaded down with baggage

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pressed onto the wooden bridge leading over the Potomac River and out of the city.

First lady saves documents

Dolley Madison (1768–1849), wife of President **James Madison** (1751–1836; served 1809–17), watched the panic-stricken flight from the president's residence. She was awaiting word from her husband, who was leading the defense at Bladensburg. She had already made certain that important documents—the **Declaration of Independence**, the Constitution, and treaties—were packed in coarse linen bags readied for flight. They were taken to a vacant stone house in Leesburg, **Virginia**, thirty-five miles outside Washington. Most of the Madisons' private property had to be sacrificed, but Dolley managed to save some national treasures, including George Washington's portrait by Gilbert Stuart. Fear finally got the better of her and she left the presidential household in a carriage loaded with public property.

That evening, the British invaders took possession of Washington. The British soldiers burned the president's residence along with the Capitol and Treasury buildings. Temporarily interrupted by a great storm, they renewed their activities the following morning. By noon they had reduced to ruins most of the government buildings as well as some private ones.

Americans learned with dismay that the national capital had been held by the enemy and burned. But when the war ended with an American victory a few months later, Dolley Madison led celebrations in the capital. President Madison decided to rebuild Washington, D.C. The original President's House had taken ten years to build. A newly built structure, the White House, would be finished in three years.

The construction of the Capitol building was not quite finished when the British burned it. Restoration of the building as we know it today, including its large dome, was completed in 1826.

The seat of democracy?

As a symbol of democracy, the city of Washington left something to be desired. The U.S. Constitution gave Congress power to govern over the District of Columbia. Its citizens could not vote for president and vice

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president or elect a representative to Congress because of the unusual way it came into being as a non-state.

In 1961 the **Twenty-third Amendment** to the Constitution granted Washingtonians the right to vote in presidential elections, but even in the early twenty-first century the nearly six-hundred thousand residents of Washington, D.C., still do not elect representatives to Congress.

Washington Monument

In 1783, the Second Continental Congress (see **Continental Congress, Second**) began talking about building a monument near the capitol building in honor of **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97). Three decades passed, and still no action was taken. In 1833, the Washington National Monument Society was organized by powerful and influential citizens in **Washington, D.C.**, who wanted to honor the former president's memory.

Progress was slow, but by 1847, $87,000 had been collected to help finance construction of the monument. Though many applied, it was architect Robert Mills who submitted the winning design. Mills's design was elaborate, however, and bore little resemblance to the final monument, which is an obelisk made of marble, granite, and sandstone. At 555 feet, 5 1/8 inch, the monument weighs nearly 90,000 tons.

Progress stalled for several years

The cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1848, using the same trowel (digging tool) Washington used when constructing the nation's Capitol in 1793. Construction progressed until 1854, when the building of the monument became a political issue. Many people disliked the work and collection of funds slowed down. This conflict, in addition to the onset of the American **Civil War** (1861–65), caused construction to come to a complete halt. The unfinished monument stood for nearly twenty-five years at 150 feet. On August 2, 1876, President **Ulysses S. Grant** (1822–1885; served 1869–87) approved an act which required the federal government to complete construction of the monument. The Corps of Engineers of the War Department took over the job, and work resumed in 1880.

The monument was completed on December 6, 1884, and was dedicated on February 21, 1885. In October 1888, the monument was

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opened to the public. A steam hoist elevator was installed and used until 1901, when the first electric elevator was installed. In 1959, a new elevator was installed, and it remains in place in the twenty-first century. This elevator makes the ascent to the top of the monument in seventy seconds. For those who prefer to walk, an iron stairway consisting of 897 steps is available. The interior walls are decorated by 188 carved stones presented by individuals, organizations, cities, states, and nations around the globe.

Watergate Scandal

On June 17, 1972, five men were arrested during a break-in-gone-bad at the **Democratic Party** campaign headquarters at the Watergate hotel-apartment-office complex in **Washington, D.C.** It was later discovered that the crime was committed at the request of the Committee to Reelect the President, who at the time was Republican **Richard M. Nixon** (1913–1993; served 1969–74). The scandal involved major figures in the Nixon administration. When it was proven in 1974 that Nixon was involved in the cover-up of the affair, if not the actual break-in, he became the first American president to resign from office.



Members of the U.S. House of Representatives listen to the Watergate tapes on August 6, 1974. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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The purpose of the Watergate break-in was to place wiretaps on the **telephones** of the Democratic campaign headquarters. Nixon was a fan of wiretapping and had relied on its use before 1972. In 1969, secret bombing missions against Vietcong supply routes in Cambodia were disclosed to the press. These missions were just a small part of many secret activities carried out by the American government during the **Vietnam War** (1954–75). Nixon believed those leaks to the press to be subversive (in opposition to government) and authorized seventeen wiretaps on newsmen and his own White House aides. He claimed these wiretaps were for the purpose of national security.

Watergate was not the first time Nixon's administration had resorted to criminal acts. In 1971, two White House men were told to dig up information on Daniel Ellsberg, the man who had leaked the controversial **Pentagon Papers** (a Defense Department study of America's involvement in the Vietnam War) to the newspapers. The names of these men were G. Gordon Liddy (1930–) and E. Howard Hunt, Jr (1918–2007). Liddy and Hunt broke into Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office hoping to find incriminating information; they failed.

Woodward and Bernstein

Liddy and his team were directed to plant wiretaps in the Democratic campaign headquarters, which they did in May 1972. They were unable to intercept the signals of the transmitters during that burglary, so a second one was necessary. The men were apprehended inside the hotel, and the incident outraged and shocked the nation.

Two *Washington Post* reporters were assigned to cover the Watergate break-in. Bob Woodward (1943–) and Carl Bernstein (1944–) teamed up with six other reporters to gather information on the incident. The first report about it appeared in the June 18 edition of the paper, under the name of the senior reporter, Alfred Lewis. Woodward and Bernstein published their first joint story about Watergate the following day, thus beginning a long series of collaborative investigative reporting. Soon the nation was transfixed by the reporting of Woodstein, as the duo came to be known at the *Post.*

It was because of the efforts of Woodward and Bernstein that the truth behind the break-in came to light. They reported that White House officials approved the break-in, the fact that would ultimately be the demise of President Nixon. For their work, the two journalists re-

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Who Was Deep Throat?

Every journalist needs a source for information. For Woodward and Bernstein, that source was a man nicknamed Deep Throat. He would meet the writers late at night in a downtown parking garage, whispering to them the information they needed. The whole situation was like something out of a spy movie. If the journalists needed to meet with Deep Throat, Woodward would set a flowerpot on the balcony of his home. If Deep Throat had a piece of valuable information for the reporters, he would draw in ink the face of a clock on page twenty of Woodward's copy of *The New York Times.*

Deep Throat was not the only source for information on the Watergate affair, but he was the main one. For thirty years, his true identity remained a mystery. Neither Woodward nor Bernstein would provide his name, and the source did not step forward. In 2005, Deep Throat's family came forward to announce his real name. W. Mark Felt (1913–), the number two official for the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI), was the famous source. By the time of the announcement, Felt was ninety-one years old and no longer of sound mind or body after having suffered a serious stroke.

ceived the prestigious George Polk Memorial Award for outstanding achievement. They also earned the Pulitzer Prize.

Woodward and Bernstein released *All the President's Men,* the story of Watergate as a book, exactly two years after the incident. It was a best-seller for fifteen weeks and was made into a movie by the same title. Dustin Hoffman (1937–) portrayed Bernstein, and Robert Redford (1936–) played Woodward.

Aftermath

Nixon discussed the arrests over the phone with various White House officials in the days following the incident. A conversation with Nixon and his chief of staff on June 20 was recorded on tape but was later found to have an over eighteen-minute gap, an erasure Nixon blamed on mechanical failure. Another conversation between the men, held on June 23, recorded the president and chief agreeing to order the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA) to interrupt the FBI investigation of the break-in. This was a clear order for obstruction of justice, and this conversation tape would come to be known as the Smoking Gun. Hunt, Liddy, and the five burglars were indicted by September 1972. Because the public was unaware of the link between the scandal and the president and his highest officials, Nixon was reelected that same year.

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Watergate continued to haunt Nixon, and in February 1973, a committee was established to investigate the break-in. That same month, Nixon and his counsel, John W. Dean III (1938–), made arrangements to cover up the involvement of the administration. They did this by paying those convicted to stay silent. One of the burglars indicated that the trial had been fixed through pressure to plead guilty. He implicated Nixon advisers in the crime by saying they gave their approval for the break-in.

Several key White House officials resigned. John Dean was fired by Nixon, who in turn willingly provided documentation proving Nixon's role in the scandal. Nixon maintained his innocence even once it had been revealed that there were recorded phone conversations that could prove the president's guilt. Though adamant about his innocence, the president refused to hand over the tapes. By late July 1974, the House of Representatives voted to impeach (formally remove from office) Nixon. The transcript of the June 23, 1972 conversation was released on August 5, 1974. Four days later Nixon resigned from office.

The five men arrested inside the Watergate Hotel were charged with burglary, conspiracy, and wiretapping. All five were sentenced to prison. G. Gordon Liddy was sentenced to six to twenty years in prison but was released in 1977 when President **Jimmy Carter** (1924–; served 1977–81) pardoned him. Hunt spent thirty-three months in prison. Well over a dozen White House aides and officials as well as other important politicians were either fired or resigned in the wake of the Watergate scandal. There was enough evidence against Nixon to convict him on charges of conspiracy, among other things. He avoided trial and sentencing when President **Gerald Ford** (1913–2006; served 1974–77) pardoned him on September 8, 1974.

WAVES

See **Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service**

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are weapons capable of causing massive numbers of deaths, injuries, and/or destruction. They are usually classified into three categories: biological; chemical; and nuclear and/or radiological weapons. Biological weapons use bacteria and viruses—tox-

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ins found in nature—to kill or incapacitate people. Chemical weapons use manufactured chemicals, such as chlorine gas. The ultimate weapons of mass destruction are nuclear weapons, which release large amounts of energy by splitting the atoms of highly enriched uranium or plutonium in a process called fission, or reaction. The destruction brought about by even a crude nuclear weapon may be devastating due to the enormous amount of heat and pressure released. In addition, nuclear destruction is accompanied by a fallout of ionizing radiation, which damages human cells and can cause health problems long after the nuclear event.

Bioterrorism and chemical weapons

Biological and chemical weapons have existed for centuries. They were used by the warring nations in **World War I** (1914–18). Germany first experimented with chlorine gas to incapacitate enemy troops. Dispensed into the enemy trenches, it caused violent choking and coughing and was often fatal. When soldiers started wearing masks to protect themselves from the gas, Germany began to use mustard gas. The gas, usually shot onto a trench or battlefield in artillery shells, poisoned its victims slowly and painfully, blistering their skin, blinding them, causing vomiting, internal and external bleeding, and terrible coughing and choking.



Weapons of mass destruction can cause massive injuries and death. WMDs can be deployed in missiles, gas, or even small suitcases or backpacks. AP IMAGES

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The Geneva Protocol of 1925, an international agreement about the rules of war, banned biological warfare. Despite this ruling, during **World War II** (1939–45) Japanese forces used biological weapons against prisoners of war, infecting them with diseases such as cholera, plague, and anthrax.

In 1972, an international agreement banning chemical and biological warfare, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BWC), was affirmed. By the end of 2000 it had been signed by 160 countries including the United States, Iraq, the Russian Federation, Libya, Iran, and North Korea. But the development of biological and chemical weapons was not halted. Between 1972 and 1992, the Soviet Union undertook significant biological weapons development despite its endorsement of the BWC. This program included research and development of biological weapons such as anthrax, plague, smallpox, and the Ebola virus. When Iraq was defeated by a U.S.-led coalition in the **Persian Gulf War** in 1991, its leaders acknowledged Iraqi development of many disease-causing bacteria as biological weapons. In 1995 the United Nations (UN) ordered that Iraq's biological weapons facilities be destroyed. In the **Iraq War**, chlorine gas was used by the insurgents (rebels) against civilians and U.S. troops.

Nuclear and radiological weapons

On August 6, 1945, at the end of World War II, a U.S. bomber released an **atomic bomb** on the city of Hiroshima, Japan, killing an estimated one hundred and thirty thousand people and destroying 81 percent of the city's buildings. Three days later, the United States leveled much of Nagasaki, Tokyo, with a second atomic bomb, killing at least sixty thousand. An additional one hundred and thirty thousand Japanese died within five years from radiation burns and other injuries inflicted during these attacks.

After World War II ended, the **Cold War** (1945–91) began. It was a period of noncombative conflict between the Communist East—mainly the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China—and the capitalist West—mainly the United States and Western Europe. The two "superpowers," the Soviet Union and the United States, were pitted against one another, and each developed increasingly sophisticated atomic bombs. This led to the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1952,

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which is about one thousand times more powerful and destructive than the atomic bomb used in Nagasaki.

The threat of the nuclear bomb dominated the Cold War era, but no nation ever employed atomic or nuclear weapons in battle after the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. One reason the Cold War never became a "hot" shooting war between the main rivals was that both sides were painfully aware that a nuclear conflict could lead to their mutual destruction.

In the early 2000s, two decades after the end of the Cold War, eight nations are known to have nuclear weapons. Five are internationally recognized nuclear powers: the United States, Russia, England, France, and China. Three more have successfully conducted nuclear tests: India, Pakistan, and North Korea. Israel has nuclear weapons but has not officially declared them. Some nations are suspected of carrying on nuclear development secretly, including Iran and Saudi Arabia. Though there are concerns in the United States about hostile countries such as Iran and North Korea obtaining nuclear weapons, most nations are governed by the same knowledge that persisted through the Cold War—that any attempt to launch a nuclear bomb at an enemy would result in nuclear retaliation and the inevitable destruction of one's own country.

Terrorists and weapons of mass destruction

In the early years of the twenty-first century, international law and peacekeeping agencies reported the presence of a new breed of terrorists who appeared to be more inclined than terrorists of the past to commit acts of extreme violence. Most twenty-first century terrorists are motivated by religious convictions or antigovernment beliefs. Weapons of mass destruction could be especially valuable to these terrorists, who seek to perform large-scale and indiscriminate killing for the sake of revenge, hatred, or to demonstrate their own political or religious convictions.

Toxic biological and chemical agents can be an attractive weapon for terrorists. In March 1995, members of Japan's Aum Shinrikyo cult released sarin, a nerve gas, in a Tokyo subway during rush hour, killing twelve people and injuring thousands. Since the Tokyo subway attack, incidents involving chemical and biological weapons have been on the rise.

On October 2, 2001, just weeks after the **September 11 terrorist attacks** on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, a photo editor was diagnosed with a fatal case of inhalation anthrax that had been sent in a

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letter. He was the first known person in the United States to die from inhaled anthrax since 1976. Within days more individuals tested positive for exposure to anthrax and it became clear that letters containing anthrax had been mailed to a series of high-profile addresses. Soon, the U.S. postal service was paralyzed. The **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) found no direct link to organized terrorism. Most experts believe the anthrax attacks were the result of **domestic terrorism**, and possibly the work of a lone American.

Nuclear and radiological terrorist weapons

No known terrorist incidents have ever involved actual nuclear weapons. Security experts are constantly on the alert for nuclear or radiological weapons that may have fallen into the hands of terrorists.

Despite some common features, nuclear and radiological terrorism are distinct. Nuclear weapons require highly sophisticated development and difficult-to-obtain materials. Radiological weapons—devices that spread dangerous radioactive materials—may be a more likely route for terrorists. The best known example of a radiological weapon is the "dirty bomb," in which radioactive waste is wrapped around a conventional explosive and detonated, spreading poison and contamination. Dirty bombs will instantly kill those in the immediate vicinity, but their primary impact would be in long-term health effects, such as cancer and other diseases, for all who come into contact with their fallout.

Suitcase bombs are far more sophisticated and powerful than dirty bombs. Made with plutonium or highly enriched uranium, they are true nuclear weapons. Weighing up to sixty pounds (thirty kilograms), these nuclear bombs can fit into a small suitcase or large backpack and possibly be smuggled through an airport or, more likely, inside cargo containers aboard a ship or plane. Suitcase bombs were made by the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Some have gone missing and could be in the hands of terrorists.

Twenty-first-century WMD concerns

During the **Afghanistan conflict**, U.S.-led forces found **al-Qaeda** documents describing production of weapons of mass destruction. Evidence indicates that al-Qaeda had been trying to obtain enriched uranium

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since the early 1990s. Though al-Qaeda's efforts at establishing a WMD program were probably impeded by the invasion of their headquarters in Afghanistan, it is possible that other domestic and international terrorist groups may be developing weapons of mass destruction.

In March 2003, the United States led a coalition in a massive **Iraq invasion**, which the administration of President **George W. Bush** (1946–; served 2001–) claimed had continued to develop weapons of mass destruction even after the United Nations had prohibited it from doing so. No weapons of mass destruction were found.

Daniel Webster

Daniel Webster is one of the greatest lawyers, orators, and politicians in American history.

Webster was born on January 18, 1782, in modest circumstances in **New Hampshire**, but attended an excellent private school and graduated from Dartmouth College. He studied law and began a practice in 1805.

Federalist with a legal mind

Webster was a passionate member of the **Federalist Party**. In the early days of the United States, there was great debate about how much power the central (federal) government should have and how much power the states should have. Webster believed in a strong central government for the United States and felt that it was very important that the states be governed together.

Webster was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1813 but left in 1816 to practice law in Boston. A strong speaker, he quickly gained a reputation as one of the country's top legal minds. He pled many important cases before the U.S. Supreme Court.

States' rights argument

In 1827 Webster was elected to the U.S. Senate. He was a staunch supporter of the Tariff of 1828, also known as the Tariff of Abominations, an act that placed a high tax on goods coming into the United States from other countries. By making foreign goods less competitive, the act raised demand for goods produced in the industrial northeastern United

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States. But the tariff was hated by Southerners because it damaged the European market for the agricultural goods of the South.

In 1829 Vice President **John C. Calhoun** (1782–1850) led a states' rights argument against the tariff. He argued that the United States had not been formed directly by the people of the United States, but that it had been formed by the individual states, of which the people were citizens. According to Calhoun, it was the states, and not the federal government, that were supreme in power. Thus, when a state objected to a law passed by a majority in the federal government, that state had the right to nullify, or to make not valid, the law within its borders until three-quarters of the other states overruled its decision. At the time it was overruled, the state could choose to yield to the will of the other states, or to **secede** (withdraw) entirely from the **Union**.

A famous speech

In December 1829 U.S. senator Robert Hayne (1791–1839) of **South Carolina** brought up the states' rights argument in the Senate. Webster countered with an eloquent speech, imploring the Senate to protect the Union at all costs. He argued that the **Constitution** was a document drafted directly by the people and was the supreme authority in the land. His speech electrified the spectators that day and gained immediate attention in the press, drawing attention to the increasingly bitter debate between the North and South.

Last years

Webster remained a key figure in politics in the years leading up to the American **Civil War** (1861–65). He served as secretary of state under presidents **William Henry Harrison** (1773–1841; served 1841), **John Tyler** (1790–1862; served 1841–54), and **Millard Fillmore** (1850–1853; served 1850–53).

Webster generally supported bills that attempted to stop the expansion of slavery into new territory in the West, but he surprised his party more than once by supporting the proslavery forces, presumably to win more widespread political favor. He hoped to run for the presidency himself, but never received the nomination. Greatly disappointed about not receiving the nomination in 1852, he stopped supporting his party, the Whigs. He died in October that year.

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West Virginia

West Virginia was admitted to the **Union** on June 20, 1863, as the thirty-fifth state. Located in the South Atlantic region of the eastern United States, West Virginia is surrounded by **Ohio**, **Pennsylvania**, **Maryland**, **Virginia**, and **Kentucky**.

Historians believe the first white settlement in West Virginia was established at Bunker Hill in 1731. At the time, West Virginia was still part of Virginia. After the **War of 1812** (1812–15), Virginia was divided by conflict over **slavery**. Eastern Virginia supported slavery because it was a region of plantations (large farms that grow one primary crop) that relied heavily on slave labor. Western Virginia, comprised of small farms and industries still in their infancy, opposed slavery.

In 1861 Virginia **seceded** from the Union even though the western counties remained loyal to the Union. Virginia agreed to let those counties split from the state, and those counties became the state of West Virginia in 1863.

West Virginia suffered mightily, as did many states, throughout the economic depression of the 1930s. Both **World War I** (1914–18) and **World War II** (1939–45) changed the state's economy by stimulating the chemical, steel, and textile industries. West Virginia was once a state that relied on its natural resources like coal, oil, and natural gas for revenue. After World War II, many residents left as their jobs were replaced by mechanization. By 1960, West Virginia had one of the most depressed economies in the United States. Manufacturing and mining continued to shrink throughout the next several decades.

West Virginia was home to slightly more than 1.8 million people in 2006, with a predominantly (95 percent) white population. Of the remaining 5 percent, 3.1 percent were African American. The largest percentage (29 percent) of West Virginians were between the ages of forty-five and sixty-four.

While other regions of the United States profited heartily from the high technology boom of the 1990s, West Virginia did not. Its primary industries in the early twenty-first century were chemicals, metals, lumber, and wood. Millions of tourists visit West Virginia to enjoy its thirty-seven state parks and forests. The Appalachian Mountains provide challenging ski slopes for skiers and snowboarders.

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Western Front

The term "western front" was first applied in **World War I** (1914–18) to describe a region of fighting in Europe. The war involved many countries, and Germany was faced with conflicts on several fronts. The most difficult and dangerous battles happened along the western border of Germany, the western front.

During World War I, the western front stretched for 475 miles between Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg to the east and most of France to the west. Much of it was dotted with trenches on both sides and barbed wire. Nearly 900,000 German troops and 1.2 million Allied soldiers were positioned along the western front, an average of 1,900 Germans and 2,500 **Allies** per mile of front. As a result of the intense concentration of men, the fixed-place fighting from the trenches, and the newly created machine and artillery guns, casualties were high. Though the fighting was intense, little ground was gained for either side.

During **World War II** (1939–45), the term was used to describe the same region. Germany was again involved in conflicts on several fronts, and the western front came to describe the line along its western border. Unlike the previous war, this border did not remain fixed. The western front was quickly pushed through France to the English Channel early in the war. With the Allied invasion at Normandy, the Allies eventually pushed the western front back into Germany.

William Westmoreland

General William Westmoreland was commander of all American forces in the **Vietnam War** (1954–75) from 1964 until 1968.

Westmoreland was born on March 26, 1914, near Spartanburg, **South Carolina**. After attending the Citadel, a military college in South Carolina, for one year, Westmoreland entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, in **New York**, and graduated at the top of his class in 1936. He joined the U.S. **Army** as first captain, where he served in field artillery.

Westmoreland served with distinction in **World War II** (1939–45) and again in the **Korean War** (1950–53). He then was appointed head

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of the office of manpower at the Pentagon. In 1960 he accepted a position as superintendent of West Point. He remained in that job for three years before being deployed to Vietnam.

Controversy in Vietnam

Within a few months, Westmoreland was promoted from deputy to the commander general to head of Military Assistance Command and four-star general. He promised the American public that the United States would be victorious, and one strategy he used was to increase the number of American troops. When he took command in 1964, there were approximately 15,000 to 20,000 American soldiers in Vietnam; by 1968, that number increased to a half million.

Reasoning that his men could kill faster than Vietnamese troops could be replaced, he believed victory was inevitable. His plan failed, and it became evident that an increase in troops did not lead to success for America. As the number of American casualties (wounded and dead) increased, Westmoreland lost the support of the American public. Although he was named Man of the Year by *Time* magazine in 1965, he was criticized and scorned for his lack of progress. He responded by calling his critics unpatriotic.

In 1968 the general was reassigned as the army's chief of staff. He remained in that position until his retirement in 1972, at which point he moved back to South Carolina. He filled his retirement years with speaking engagements that took him to college campuses across the nation. Often, those engagements were scenes of protest over what many saw as Westmoreland's costly mistakes.

After an unsuccessful bid for the governor's office in 1974, Westmoreland penned his memoirs. In *A Soldier Reports,* he continued to defend his decisions in Vietnam and insisted that the U.S. Army had not lost the war. A 1982 television documentary alleged Westmoreland changed and repressed intelligence information in the last two years of his command in Vietnam. Westmoreland sued the television station (CBS) for libel; the case was settled out of court. CBS admitted to some errors in the documentary.

Westmoreland died at the age of ninety-one on July 18, 2005.

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Westward Expansion

As industrialism (an economy based on business and industry rather than agriculture) took over the eastern states at the dawn of the **Gilded Age**, immigrants came by the millions to build new lives in the United States. The Gilded Age was the period in history following the American **Civil War** (1861–65) and the **Reconstruction** Era (1865–77), characterized by a ruthless pursuit of profit, an exterior of showiness and grandeur, and immeasurable political corruption. Most immigrants during that time settled in the East. The southern states were populated largely with African Americans who had been freed from **slavery**. Because the South was less affected than the East by the **Industrial Revolution** (approximately 1878–1900), the population growth in that region was not as explosive.

The region of the United States that was still relatively open was the West. **California** was home to hundreds of thousands of Chinese immigrants who crossed the Pacific Ocean to work as servants and railroad laborers and in other positions most workers considered too dirty or dangerous. Mexican immigrants crossed the border into **Texas** and worked mostly as field hands, taking jobs where they could find them. For the most part, the West was still wild in the minds of Americans.

Home of the Native American

The phrase "**Wild West**" conjured images of dusty plains and ferocious Indians, as Native Americans were called. They were also referred to as savages and thought to be brutal in war.

Clashes between Native Americans and the newer inhabitants of the Americas had been occurring since the 1600s. Tribes in the Northeast forged respectful relationships with fur traders and missionaries, but English settlers lived in constant fear of attacks. After the **American Revolution** (1775–83) the new government had to deal with a major problem: how to convince the Native American tribes in the Northwest Territory (land north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River) to leave their land so white settlers could move in.

After many battles, the Treaty of Greenville was signed in 1795, and Native American tribes left **Ohio** for **Indiana**. The treaty allowed tribes to retain hunting rights to certain land, and it promised them $20,000 in immediate payment in the form of goods needed for everyday living.

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A map of the United States showing westward expansion and the main routes used by explorers. THE GALE GROUP

Tribes also would receive another $9,500 in goods annually to be split among them. The U.S. government became dissatisfied with this agreement as settlers soon began moving to Native American lands in Indiana. This breach of contract angered the tribes, and they formed a confederacy led by the Shawnee chief **Tecumseh** (c. 1768–1813). The great warrior was killed in the **War of 1812** (1812–15). His death ended the Native American resistance from the Northwest Territory, and the U.S. government was able to develop a policy for removing Native Americans from the region.

By 1860 most Native Americans had been relocated across the Mississippi River onto **Indian reservations**, federal land allotted to and managed by Native Americans. The tribes did not leave their homeland

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willingly or without a struggle. In addition to many smaller conflicts, the relocation program resulted in the **Seminole Wars** (1817–18; 1935–42) and the Black Hawk War (1832). These wars were a foreshadowing of what would be more than twenty years of battles between Native Americans and whites known as the **Plains Indian Wars.**

More than two hundred battles were fought between 1869 and 1878 alone. By the late 1870s the government wanted to "Americanize" Native Americans. Reservation life forced upon them white values, including **Catholicism** and European American lifestyles and attitudes.

Building the West

The rapid expansion of the **railroad industry** was the main factor in promoting westward expansion and the closing of the American frontier. In 1865 the West and the Great Plains had just 960 miles of track. By 1900, the region boasted over 90,000 miles of track. Five routes linked the East with the West.

The Federal Land Grant Program

Before the final stake was pounded in to connect East with West via the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, passengers and freight could travel only as far as **Kansas** and **Colorado** by rail. While this was a major accomplishment, the lack of railroads in the West prohibited human settlement on a large scale. The development of the Pacific Railroad changed that.

Now that the West had a railroad, immigrants could pursue the American dream, one of great hope of prosperity and riches, as far as the Pacific Coast. European immigrants entered America mainly at **Ellis Island** in **New York**, where they tended to settle. Beginning in 1869, however, they had the option of heading West, where land was more plentiful. Beginning in the early 1800s the government began giving grants (money that did not need to be repaid) to various groups, such as those who wanted to build homes in the West, before railroads made life on the prairies easier. As the railroads were being built, these grants were extended to include the financing of railroad construction.

The government designated strips of land in areas it wanted people to settle. It designated alternating strips of land to railroad construction and gave that land to railroad companies that promised to build. The

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companies then sold the settlement land to settlers, most of them European immigrants, and used the money to pay for railroad construction. Figures released by the American government in 1943 show that more than 131 million acres of land were granted to all railroads under the program. About 18,738 miles of railroad track were built using funds from the land grants, a figure that represents 8 percent of all U.S. railroad construction.

A lesser-known aspect of the Federal Land Grant Program was the promotion of the West by the railroads themselves. It is generally accepted that most immigrants left their homeland in search of a quality of life they knew they could never have at home. But American railroad companies fed on the immigrants' needs and desires by promoting their land in Europe. Many railroads hired clergy and prominent businessmen to help influence immigrants to come to the West. The railroads focused their efforts on the non-English-speaking countries of northern Europe. It was a common belief that these groups had a better work ethic than others and that they would work harder, complain less, and produce more. The railroads published promotional brochures and pamphlets in several languages. These advertisements promised wealth and success, many times to a degree not possible even for the hardest of workers. But Europeans desperate to find security and comfort believed what they read, and they headed west by the thousands.

Between 1607 and 1870, 409 million acres of land in the West had been settled. The people who ventured west were mostly miners and ranchers. Between 1870 and 1900, after the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad, 430 million acres were settled. Most of the settlers in this time period were farmers, both American and immigrant.

Edith Wharton

Edith Wharton was a leading novelist of the early twentieth century. Her novels portrayed the lifestyles of New York City's high society from the 1840s throughout the 1930s.

Born into wealth on January 24, 1862 (some sources cite 1861 as her birth year), Edith Jones lacked for nothing. She was privately tutored and traveled extensively throughout Europe while young. By the time she was eighteen, Edith had published her poetry in magazines and had a printed volume privately produced.

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Edith Wharton was a leading novelist of the early twentieth century. AP IMAGES

In 1885 Wharton married wealthy Boston banker Edward Wharton, a man eleven years older than she. Wharton continued to write and cowrote a book with an architect titled *The Decoration of Houses,* which was published in 1897.

As the wife of a wealthy banker, Wharton was an unhappy hostess at the couple's **Massachusetts** estate, the Mount, and did not like the social expectations foisted upon her as a wealthy matron of high society. A few years into her marriage, she suffered a nervous breakdown and was told by her doctor to focus more seriously on her writing as a way of calming her nerves.

Following her doctor's orders, Wharton published her first of thirty-two volumes of fiction in 1899. In 1905 she developed a friendship with popular writer Henry James (1843–1916). His influence helped her in her writing, and she published a scathing account of **New York** society in *The House of Mirth* that same year. The novel brought her critical acclaim and became a best seller. She continued to publish throughout the decade, and by 1910, the Whartons had moved to France. Shortly thereafter, Edward suffered his own nervous breakdown and was committed to a sanitorium. The couple divorced in 1913, and Edith traveled throughout Europe until the outbreak of **World War I** (1914–18). Since moving to Europe, Wharton had written prolifically. She published two volumes of short stories as well as four more novels, including the popular *Ethan Frome* (1911). After discovering the freedom of automobile touring, she began publishing travel pieces.

Wharton supported the war effort by returning to France and volunteering for charities. She recounted her wartime experiences in several nonfiction and fiction books. Her most famous novel, however, was not published until 1920. *The Age of Innocence* was set in the New York City of her youth. At a time when the world of civilized manners and etiquette were surrendering to the wild parties of the **Roaring Twenties**, the novel's portrayal of the urban elite and its rituals—formal dinner parties, opera, summering in Newport—unknowingly chronicled an era that would never be revived. Wharton won the Pulitzer Prize for her book in 1921.

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Wharton continued her writing pursuits even as she aged. Her work rarely received negative reviews, though some critics complained that she had nothing new to say in her work. In the last twelve years of her life, she wrote a book of essays, five novels, five collections of short stories, a book of poetry, and her memoirs.

Wharton died of a heart attack on August 11, 1937. In 2005 her twenty-six-hundred-volume personal library was sold for $2.6 million to the trustees of her Massachusetts estate. The collection had been owned by a rare books dealer in England and was made available to the public at the Mount for the first time beginning in May 2006.

Whig Party

The Whig Party organized in the 1830s in opposition to the **Democratic Party**. It formed mainly in reaction to the policies of President **Andrew Jackson** (1767–1845; served 1829–37), especially his attack on the Second Bank of the United States. Members of the Whig Party united against the Jacksonians by merging together the Anti-Masonic Party and the National **Republican Party**, which had split from the Democratic Party around 1828.

The party's name was borrowed from the English Whigs, who resisted the English parliament and monarchy in the 1600s. Opponents of Andrew Jackson disliked the way he arrogantly handled the power of being president. They dubbed him "King Andrew I." Calling their party the Whig Party was a political criticism of Jackson, whom the Whigs considered to be a monarchical tyrant.

A pro-business platform

The Whig platform was attractive mostly to those who had ties to commerce. They believed in a strong, active federal government for regulating banks and imposing protective tariffs, or taxes on imports. Believing commercial expansion would create prosperity for Americans, Whigs sought internal improvements of canals, roads, and railroads in existing states. They resisted the territorial expansion of the United States into the undeveloped west, where the lack of internal development would make commerce difficult. Whigs also tended to support a variety of reform movements that encouraged moral behavior.

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The Whig Party provided opposition to the Democrats for twenty years. They managed to capture the White House twice, the House of Representatives from 1846 to 1848, and majorities in numerous important state legislatures, including **New York**, **Pennsylvania**, and **Virginia**, between 1838 and 1852.

Split over slavery

In the 1850s, debates over **slavery** began to dominate national politics. The main issue concerned the rights of new territories and states to allow or outlaw slavery. Abolitionists opposed slavery as immoral, but the ruling politicians did not often concern themselves with this question in their debates. Disagreement over slavery threatened the stability of both the Democrats and the Whigs.

By 1852, sectional allegiances had become so strong that the Whig Party began to disintegrate. After one last effort to run a candidate for president in 1856, the party dissolved. The newly formed Republican Party, established in 1854, absorbed many former members of the Whig Party. The Republican Party united against the expansion of slavery into new territories, a position that led to the American **Civil War** in 1861.

Whiskey Rebellion

The Whiskey Rebellion was a revolt against U.S. economic policies in the summer of 1794. It began in western **Pennsylvania** and spread to neighboring states before subsiding in autumn. President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) led a militia of over twelve thousand men to crush the rebellion in Pennsylvania, but when they arrived, the rebels had already ended their revolt.

A whiskey tax imposed by Congress in 1791 was the reason for the Whiskey Rebellion. When the United States adopted the **Constitution** in 1788, the federal government and the state governments still owed debts from the **American Revolution** (1775–83). Secretary of the Treasury **Alexander Hamilton** (1755–1804) proposed that the federal government assume responsibility for all the debts and pay them off with funds collected from various taxes, including the whiskey tax.

The whiskey tax was unpopular with many Americans, especially in western Pennsylvania. Whiskey made from corn was an important part

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of the economy in western Pennsylvania. The tax reduced profits in the whiskey business, especially for small producers.

The whiskey tax, however, was just the spark that ignited discontent with various federal policies. Settlers in the western region of the country had troubles with Native Americans, who resisted the loss of their land to Americans. The federal government was losing battles with the Native Americans, who were supported by English and Spanish territories in the western frontiers. Wealthy landowners such as Washington, were acquiring large holdings in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, making it hard for middle- and lower-class Americans to find affordable land for agriculture.

Starting in 1791, representatives from the four westernmost counties in Pennsylvania began meeting in Pittsburgh to discuss how to respond to the federal government and the whiskey tax. By the summer of 1794, the meetings led to open rebellion. On July 16, 1794, about fifty armed men went to the home of John Neville, a whiskey tax collector. They demanded that Neville resign his position and turn over records he had collected on local distilleries. Neville refused, trading gunshots with the rebels. The next day, with support from soldiers from Fort Pitt, Neville continued fighting the rebels until he was forced to flee. The rebels burned down his home.

Through August and September, the Whiskey Rebellion spread from Pennsylvania into **Maryland**, **Virginia**, **Ohio**, **Kentucky**, **North Carolina**, **South Carolina**, and **Georgia** with rebels harassing whiskey tax collectors. The largest crowd of tax protestors, numbering seven thousand people, assembled outside Pittsburgh in August.

President George Washington called a meeting of his cabinet in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to decide how to respond to the rebellion. Treasury Secretary Hamilton argued that the rebellion threatened the power of the federal government. He supported raising a militia to crush it. Washington agreed, and both men rode with the militia from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, arriving in western Pennsylvania in October.

Commander in Chief

The Whiskey Rebellion provides an interesting glimpse into the way the role of the president of the United States, also known as the commander in chief, has changed since adoption of the U.S. Constitution. Under the Militia Act of 1792, President Washington could not order troops to crush the Whiskey Rebellion until a judge certified that law and order could not be maintained without the use of armed forces. Supreme Court justice James Wilson made such a certification on August 4, 1794. After that, President Washington personally led the troops on their mission to crush the rebellion.

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By then the rebellion had calmed. The federal troops arrested only about twenty leaders of the rebellion. Just two were convicted of treason, and Washington later pardoned them.

Over time federal policies helped ease the unrest that had led to the rebellion. Under the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, the United States opened Ohio to American settlement. **Jay's Treaty** of 1794 and Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 moved English and Spanish troops away from America's western borders and opened the Mississippi River to American shipping. After the **Republican Party** won the presidential election in 1800, President **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826; president 1801–9) supported a repeal of the whiskey tax.

Eli Whitney

Eli Whitney was an inventor whose inventions had a lasting impact on the economy of the United States. The **cotton gin** he designed allowed more cotton to be processed and exported from the southern states. His concept of interchangeable parts revolutionized industries in the northern states by enabling mass production.



Inventor Eli Whitney's inventions significantly influenced the economy of the United States. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Early years

Eli Whitney was born in Westboro, **Massachusetts**, on December 8, 1765, to Eli and Elizabeth Whitney. His father was a farmer, and the younger Eli spent much of his youth helping on the farm. He liked spending as much time in his father's shop as he could.

During the **American Revolution** (1775–83), when Eli Whitney was fifteen he maintained a side business making nails. When the war ended, his business evolved into making hatpins. He later took a teaching position in order to pay for college. He graduated from Yale in 1792. After college, Whitney moved south to **Georgia**. He intended to take a tutoring position while studying to become a lawyer, but the tutoring post was filled before he arrived.

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Whitney was befriended by Catherine Greene (1755–1814), the widow of General Nathaniel Greene (1742–1786). She invited him to stay at her plantation as her guest while he pursued his interest in law. While there, he became friends with the manager of the plantation, Phineas Miller.

The cotton gin

At the plantation, Whitney and some other guests discussed the complications of growing **cotton**. It seemed that English cotton mills were hungry for greater exports from the South. Black-seeded cotton, which was easy to clean after harvest, grew only along the coast. The green-seeded kind that was easily cultivated inland was difficult to clean. Typically, it took one person an entire day to clean only one pound of green-seeded cotton.

It was apparent that a machine that could easily clean the cotton could change the southern economy and make the inventor rich. Whitney turned his attention to the problem and began working on a model. By April 1793 Whitney had perfected a machine that enabled a person to clean fifty pounds of cotton per day. He called it the cotton gin.

At the end of May 1793 Whitney entered into a partnership with Miller to start a business manufacturing cotton gins. Whitney obtained a patent for his invention in March 1794, but many imitations of the gin quickly appeared. The machine was copied to such an extent that Whitney and Miller's business proved unsuccessful and closed in 1797.

Whitney filed lawsuits against those making variations of his invention. It wasn't until 1807 that a court supported Whitney's patent rights, but his application for a renewal of the patent in 1812 was denied. Meanwhile, the cotton industry exploded throughout the southern states. In 1790 the annual production of cotton was about four thousand bales; by the 1840s it was over one million bales, 60 percent of the world's supply. Throughout the growth in production, Whitney received practically no income from his invention.

Another industry

Whitney realized that he was unlikely to get much money from his invention of the cotton gin, so he turned his attention to another task. His reputation as an inventor and businessman was so respectable that he had little difficulty finding the financial backing to pursue his next business.

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In 1798 the United States was seeking production of forty thousand muskets. The process of making them was slow and difficult because each one had to be made by hand. By hiring private contractors, the government hoped to make these muskets faster.

Whitney secured an ambitious contract to produce ten thousand muskets in less than two years. With a concept in mind, he worked to establish a factory where the muskets could be produced quickly, with machines. Though he was unable to produce the arms in the two years promised, the government patiently supported Whitney's endeavor.

Over the course of the next nine years, Whitney devised a system of machines that together produced a musket. Each machine could be operated by an unskilled laborer to produce a part that could go into any of the muskets made at the factory. The concept of interchangeable parts simplified industry, sped up production, and made repairs of muskets easier to handle. As a result, factories for mass production sprang up throughout the northern states and changed the economy there, just as Whitney had changed the economy in the South.

Later years

Though Whitney was very late in producing the arms promised to the government, he succeeded in building a business that could fulfill large orders quickly. He built a factory in Whitneyville, **Connecticut**, and continued his business. In 1812 he was awarded another federal government contract, as well as one from **New York**. This time the business was financially rewarding for Whitney.

Because of his business difficulties, Whitney married late in life. On January 6, 1817, he married Henrietta Frances Edwards. Three of their four children survived Whitney, who died in New Haven, Connecticut, on January 8, 1825.

Wild West

The Wild West was the frontier areas west of the Mississippi River during the nineteenth century, especially after 1840. According to American myths and folktales, the Wild West was a place where law-abiding citizens faced constant threats from gun-slinging outlaws and Native Americans. Myths of the Wild West are rooted in true stories, but exaggerate the danger that westerners faced.

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People who settled on the frontier owned guns and used them regularly for hunting and for protection. Settlers often built houses and hunted on land inhabited by Native Americans, and it led to disputes and sometimes violence. The federal government tried to move entire tribes of Indians away from white settlers and it led to wars.

The United States entered a period of great expansion in the 1840s. Settlers raced to **California** after gold was discovered there in 1848. The acquisition of land after the United States victory in the **Mexican-American War** (1846–48) opened the southwest to development. American settlements attracted not only settlers, but criminal opportunists as well.

Crime was common in the Wild West. Frontier towns often did not have any law enforcement, so banks, stagecoaches, and trains were easy targets for robbers. Railroads sometimes hired private armies to take land for their tracks from settlers, which occasionally led to disputes. Gunfights erupted over land disputes between cattlemen and sheepherders.

There was some law and order in the Wild West. Law enforcement officers such as Wild Bill Hickok (1837–1876) and Wyatt Earp (1848–1929) tried to catch famous criminals such as Billy the Kid (c. 1859–1881) and Jesse James (1847–1882). When law enforcement was ineffective, citizens formed groups of volunteers to prevent and punish crime. In San Francisco in the 1850s, for example, the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance apprehended many accused criminals and executed some of them.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show

William F. Cody (1847–1917) was a former army scout and hunter who claimed to have killed over four thousand buffalo in an eight-month period. His nickname was Buffalo Bill.

In 1882 Cody organized a frontier celebration in North Platte, **Nebraska**. The celebration was such a success that Cody and Dr. D. W. Carver organized a traveling show in 1883 called the Wild West, Rocky Mountain, and Prairie Expedition. It became known as Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and it traveled around the United States and Europe for over thirty years until 1916. The show featured cowboys and Indians performing stunts and battles, helping to form the American myth about what life was like in the Wild West.

Tennessee Williams

Tennessee Williams (1911–1983) is recognized as one of America's greatest dramatists, and is well known for the originality of his approach. The material for his plays came almost exclusively from his inner life, showing little influence from other playwrights or even contemporary events.

Because his work is semi-autobiographical, critics often use Williams's family background as a means of analyzing his plays. His fa-

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ther, Cornelius, was a businessman from a prominent Tennessee family who traveled constantly. He was often abusive toward his son, calling him "Miss Nancy" because the child preferred books to sports. Williams's mother, Edwina, was a southern belle and the daughter of a clergyman. She was the inspiration for the domineering and possessive mother figures in Williams's plays. Williams was very close to his older sister, Rose, who was institutionalized for schizophrenia (an emotional disorder that entails depression and losing touch with reality) for much of her life.

Publishes at the age of twelve

Williams was born on March 26, 1911, and began writing early in life. His first works were published in a magazine when he was just twelve. A lonely and sickly child, writing was an escape for Williams. By the time he was twenty, he knew he was going to become a playwright. He went away to college but had to leave when he ran out of money. Eventually he received his degree from the University of Iowa with money he earned writing.



Playwright, poet, and screenwriter Tennessee Williams is recognized as one of America's greatest dramatists. AP IMAGES

Tennessee Williams had been born Thomas Lanier Williams. Where he acquired the name Tennessee is uncertain, but most biographers agree that he was taking on a new persona (character or identity) after leaving his family's home. After college, he returned to the South—to his beloved New Orleans, where he once lived and felt at home. But he left behind a turbulent family situation. His parents had decided that his sister Rose was to have a prefrontal lobotomy—surgery severing nerves in the brain, which at one time was used as a method of reducing severe emotional disturbances, but with serious, personality-changing side effects.

Establishes himself as an important playwright

In 1944 Williams captured the public's attention with his first major play, *The Glass Menagerie.* Tom, the narrator of the play, dreams of being a writer and is said to represent

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Williams. Tom's sister, Laura (based on Rose), is physically and socially challenged. His mother, Amanda, is a fading southern belle who lives in the past. In the play Amanda persuades Tom to bring home a "gentleman caller" (or suitor) whom she hopes will marry Laura and provide for her future. Tom brings a man who is already engaged, upsetting his mother and causing Laura to retreat more deeply into her fantasy world of records and her glass animal collection. Tom then leaves his family, as his father had before him, to pursue his own destiny.

In 1947 Williams established an international reputation with *A Streetcar Named Desire,* which many critics consider his best work. The play begins with the arrival of Blanche DuBois at the home of her sister, Stella, and her brother-in-law, Stanley Kowalski, a strong, crude, working-class man. Blanche has presided over the decay and loss of her family's Southern estate and has witnessed the suicide of her young husband. She comes to Stella seeking comfort and security but clashes with Stanley. While Stella is in the hospital giving birth, Stanley rapes Blanche, causing her to lose what little is left of her sanity. At the end, Blanche is committed to a hospital for the mentally ill.

Later works

Although none of Williams's later plays were as popular as *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *The Glass Menagerie,* several works from the 1950s and 1960s are considered significant achievements in American drama. *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955), which is set on a **Mississippi** plantation, is about the lies and self-deception of a southern family. This play has some of Williams's most memorable characters: Brick, a homosexual, who drinks to forget his guilt over the death of a lover; Maggie, his wife, who struggles "like a cat on a hot tin roof" to save their marriage; and Big Daddy, whose impending death from cancer prompts his family to compete for the inheritance. *The Night of the Iguana* (1961) was Williams's last play to win a major prize and gain critical and popular favor.

Williams saw himself as a shy, sensitive, gifted man trapped in a world where "mendacity," or lies, replaced communication, brute violence replaced love, and loneliness was the standard human condition. His homosexuality isolated him from the comforts of Southern society as did his sense of being a romantic in an unromantic, postwar world. He was at a low point in his own life when he wrote such plays as *Suddenly Last Summer* (1958) and *Sweet Bird of Youth* (1956), which are

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dark and violent stories. In his *Memoirs* (1975), Williams referred to the 1960s as his "Stoned Age," a time he needed drugs, caffeine, and alcohol for the energy to work.

Despite increasingly unfavorable criticism, Williams continued his work for two more decades. In the course of his career he produced three volumes of short stories, many of them studies for later dramas; two novels, *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone* and *Moise and the World of Reason*; two volumes of poetry; his memoirs; and essays on his life and craft. His dramas made that rare transition from stage to movies and television with great success. Before his death in 1983, Williams had become the best-known living dramatist; his plays had been translated and performed in many foreign countries, and his name and work had become known even to people who had never seen a production of any of his plays.

Woodrow Wilson

Thomas Woodrow Wilson was born on December 28, 1856, the third child of a religious **Virginia** family. His father was a minister, his mother a minister's daughter. When he was two, the family moved to Augusta, **Georgia**.

Wilson was a shy boy and slow to mature. He did not learn to read until he was eleven or twelve. When a subject interested him, however, he was quick to learn about it. At seventeen, Wilson entered Davidson College in **North Carolina**, where he did well. He finished just one year of college there before his father changed jobs and moved the family to Wilmington, North Carolina. Wilson's parents wanted their son to move with them.

Wilson stayed home for one year and returned to school in 1875, this time at the College of New Jersey (renamed Princeton University in 1896). He excelled in his studies as he overcame his shyness and was elected to student leadership offices, earning a reputation as a gifted public speaker. It was during his Princeton years that young Wilson took an interest in politics and history. By the time of his graduation in 1879, he was one of the most highly respected students on campus.

Enters law school

Following his father's wishes, Wilson began studying law in 1880. He attended the University of Virginia Law School for a year and a half, after

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which he expressed doubts about pursuing a law career. Again to please his father, he moved to Atlanta, Georgia, and opened a law practice in 1882.

Unhappy in his profession, in 1883 Wilson entered the graduate program in political science at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, **Maryland**. Around this same time he met Ellen Louise Axson, and the two exchanged letters and visited one another while Wilson was in school. They married in June 1885. Also that year Wilson published his book *Congressional Government*, which earned wide acclaim for its analysis of Congress's workings. Wilson took a job teaching history at Bryn Mawr, a women's college in Pennsylvania.

The future president taught at Bryn Mawr until 1888, when he accepted a position at Wesleyan University in **Connecticut**, where he became a very popular professor. In 1890 Wilson, then thirty-four years old, left Wesleyan to return to Princeton, becoming a professor of jurisprudence and political economy. He arrived at the university already well known for his book and various articles as well as his teaching style.



Woodrow Wilson became the nation's twenty-eighth president in 1913, promising national reforms that stressed individualism and states' rights. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Wilson and his wife had three daughters by this time. He published another book in 1893, *Division and Reunion*, on the **Civil War** era. The book solidified his reputation as a historian.

Princeton president

Wilson was elected president of Princeton in 1902 and began implementing reforms he hoped would improve the school's performance. He reorganized departments and changed class offerings. One major change he ushered in was the hiring of more than forty young teachers—known as preceptors—to act as informal advisors to the undergraduate students. The preceptorial system is still in place at Princeton in the twenty-first century.

Wilson battled trustees and wealthy alumni (Princeton graduates) in other areas of reform. He was overruled when he tried to reorganize the

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actual structure of the university. Wilson made powerful enemies in that conflict, but his well-publicized battles brought him to national attention. He was seen as a progressive, someone who fought for the common people. So great was his popularity that he won the **Democratic Party's** nomination for New Jersey governor in 1910. Wilson won the election and served for two years.

Wilson proved to be a remarkable leader, and his stint as governor earned him the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912. His campaign was based on the promise of national reforms that stressed individualism and states' rights. He called his program the New Freedom, and it helped him beat President **William Howard Taft** (1857–1930; served 1909–13) and former president **Theodore Roosevelt** (1858–1919; served 1901–9) to win the election and become the twenty-eighth president.

A time of conflict

Wilson stepped into the presidency during a tense time. In February 1913, one month before he was sworn in, a revolution broke out in Mexico. Wilson opposed Mexico's dictator, Victoriano Huerta, and ended the fighting in 1917 by invading Mexico.

World War I broke out in Europe in 1914. It was the first war in which armies used new technology that allowed the killing of enemy soldiers more quickly and in greater number. The war progressed slowly, with unprecedented numbers of men dying in a type of fighting called trench warfare.

Wilson was determined to keep the United States neutral and out of the fighting. His professional life, however, was deeply affected by tragedy in his personal life when his wife died in the summer of 1914. Wilson faced his struggles with courage and managed to keep America from going to war until 1917. He won reelection with the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War," but on April 2, 1917, Germany, disregarding the United States's neutrality, sank several American ships. Four days later, America entered World War I. Wilson explained to the nation that American involvement was necessary to "make the world safe for democracy."

America was not prepared for war. To help mobilize the country, Wilson passed a selective service bill through Congress that led to nearly three million men joining the U.S. **Army** through a **military draft** by the end of the war. He appointed General **John J. Pershing** (1860–1948) to command the country's soldiers.

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Even as war was being waged overseas, Wilson searched for ways to make peace. In January 1918 he outlined in a speech to Congress a program he called Fourteen Points. Among his demands were arms (weapons) reduction, open diplomatic and economic relations (as opposed to secret treaties and trade strategies), self-government for certain people, and the establishment of a **League of Nations** to oversee world affairs. Germany eventually requested peace under the terms of the Fourteen Points later that year.

Postwar America

A cease-fire agreement was signed on November 11, 1918, but the terms of the peace still had to be determined. Wilson traveled to Paris, France, in 1919 to work out the details of what would be known as the **Treaty of Versailles**. While Wilson wanted the final treaty to follow the Fourteen Points, his allies from Britain, France, and Italy were more interested in seeking vengeance against Germany. In the end, Germany was forced to admit guilt for the war, give up huge amounts of territory, disarm, and pay reparations (payments to the victorious countries to help cover the costs of the war).

Wilson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919. At home, however, the Senate was opposed to ratifying the peace treaty. After traveling more than eight thousand miles and delivering forty speeches in just over three weeks, hoping to win public support for the treaty, Wilson's health was failing. After giving a speech in Pueblo, **Colorado**, on September 25, the president collapsed in his railroad car. The train made its way back to **Washington, D.C.**, where Wilson suffered a massive stroke on October 2. Unable to rise from his bed because of partial paralysis, Wilson was never able to return full-time to his official duties.

Wilson did not have the strength to fight for passage of the peace treaty, let alone run for reelection. He demanded that the treaty be the main issue in the 1920 election, but the Democratic nominee, James Cox, lost to Republican **Warren Harding** (1865–1923; served 1921–23), who opposed the treaty. Under Harding's leadership, the country did not join the League of Nations, nor did it sign the Versailles Treaty.

Wilson was cared for by his second wife, Edith Bolling Galt, until his death on February 3, 1924.

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Wisconsin

Wisconsin was admitted to the **Union** as the thirtieth state on May 29, 1848. Located in the eastern north-central United States, it is bordered by Lake Michigan, **Illinois**, **Iowa**, **Minnesota**, Lake Superior, and **Michigan**.

The Ojibwa, Sauk, Fox, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and other tribes inhabited the area that is now Wisconsin in the seventeenth century. Historians believe the first European visitor was Jean Nicolet, who landed on the shores of Green Bay in 1634. Within thirty years, Jesuits had established missions while the French began a successful fur trade.

The state was primarily antislavery throughout the American **Civil War** (1861–65). During the late nineteenth century, the economy prospered. Dairy products, food processing, and lumber were main industries, and the city of Milwaukee became an important industrial hub and a major center for **German immigration**. Immigration increased in the 1880s as more Germans and also Scandinavians arrived.

Wisconsin was a progressive state, ahead of many others in social reform. It developed one of the first workers' compensation programs, a railroad commission to regulate rates, and an old-age pension act.

Industry increased, as did a trend toward **urbanization**, into and even past **World War II** (1939–45). During the 1960s and early 1970s, Milwaukee's African American population was discontented because of the segregated school system. In 1986 the Milwaukee School Board and nine suburban districts agreed on a plan to integrate their schools. Nearly three thousand minority students would voluntarily transfer to schools in the nine suburbs, while between nine thousand and ten thousand suburban students would attend Milwaukee schools.

Wisconsin's economy remained stable into the twenty-first century. By 2006, more than 5.5 million people lived in the state, and the population was projected to reach 5.8 million by 2025. Milwaukee was the largest city, followed by capital city Madison and Green Bay. The majority (88.1 percent) of the state's total population was white, 5.7 percent were African American, 4.5 percent were Hispanic or Latino, and 2 percent were Asian.

The state's economy depends primarily on manufacturing, though farming (dairy, in particular) remains an important sector. Wisconsin's industries are diversified and include nonelectrical machinery, food

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products, paper and pulp products, and transportation equipment. This diversity of Wisconsin's economic activity minimized the impact of the nationwide recession that began in 2001. By the end of the following year, employment rates were rising more rapidly than those of the nation overall.

Wisconsin has a healthy tourist industry that features forty-eight state parks as well as the Wisconsin Dells gorge, forty-three automobile racetracks, thirty-six ski areas, and the world's largest music festival, Summerfest. The state's legendary football team, the Green Bay Packers, is the last remaining publicly owned professional sports team. People from all over the globe flock to watch the team compete, and the waiting list for season tickets holds more than sixty-seven thousand names.

Witches

See **Salem Witch Trials**

Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service

Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service, known as WAVES, was a branch of the U.S. **Navy** formed during **World War II** (1939–45) in which women could enlist. Before its formation, women could serve only as nurses in the navy. In an effort to make more men available for combat positions, women were accepted through WAVES to serve in support positions.

There was great social resistance to opening up the armed forces to women. The demands of a worldwide war, however, outweighed these concerns. Congress created WAVES on July 30, 1942. Unlike the women's unit of the army—the **Women's Army Auxiliary Corps**—WAVES was given full military status, and its members therefore enjoyed full benefits. Women in WAVES held clerical positions, but they were also used as aviation instructors, intelligence agents, scientists, and engineers. Over 100,000 women served during World War II through WAVES.

WAVES gained permanent status as part of the navy in 1948 with the passage of the Women's Armed Services Integration Act. It continued to function as a separate branch of the navy until 1972, when the armed forces became integrated, with men and women serving equally.

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Women's Army Auxiliary Corps

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) was established by Congress at the outset of **World War II** (1939–45). Before then, women served only as nurses in the military. With the creation of the women's unit, men were relieved from clerical and support positions to serve combat duty. As many as 150,000 women served in WAAC during World War II.

Despite public resistance to allowing women to enter the armed services, a bill was introduced in Congress for the formation of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps in May 1941. It then met with political resistance and was not passed until the Japanese attack on **Pearl Harbor** in December 1941 made women's help essential. Enlisted women served both at home and abroad in a variety of positions. Among other things, women were office assistants, air traffic controllers, electricians, and radio operators. They were not permitted, however, to go into combat alongside men.

Women who served in WAAC did not receive the same pay, military ranks, or benefits given to men in the army. In June 1943 the unit was converted to the Women's Army Corps (WAC) with full military status, conferring greater equality and benefits. The WAC continued until 1978, when women were allowed to serve in the same units as men.

Women's Liberation Movement

See **Feminism; Women's Suffrage Movement**

Women's Suffrage Movement

In 1840, at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, **Elizabeth Cady Stanton** (1815–1902) met **Lucretia Mott** (1793–1880). Stanton and Mott were disturbed to find that there were no women speakers and that women who attended the convention were denied seats. Their meeting and sharing of ideas marked the beginning of a friendship that would have a great impact on women's rights in the United States.

In 1848 Stanton and Mott decided the time was right to hold the first women's rights convention, where they would discuss not only rights but also social conditions of the day. Held in **Seneca Falls**, **New York**, on July 19 and 20, 1848, the convention was attended by three hundred people, including forty men. Mott's husband presided over the

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ceremonies, which featured the Declaration of Sentiments, a document written by Stanton stating that men and women are equal. She listed eighteen ways in which women were not treated as equals by men, and put forth eleven resolutions, one of which stated that women had the duty to secure the right to vote—a concept known as suffrage. All the resolutions except for that one passed. The idea of giving women the right to vote was still too foreign and radical an idea. Although newspaper reporters made fun of the convention, Stanton believed the publicity could only help get the word out about the cause.

In 1851 Stanton met another dedicated activist, **Susan B. Anthony** (1820–1906). The women formed an immediate friendship that would last a lifetime. Stanton, whose ties to her husband and family did not allow much travel, developed the ideas and the words to convey them; Anthony, who was unmarried and had no children, brought those ideas and words to the world. Because she was more often in the public eye, Anthony became more famous, but she could not have reached that level of fame without Stanton.


WOMAN'S JOURNAL
AND SUFFRAGE NEWS
VOL. XLIV. NO. 10. SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1913 FIVE CENTS.
PARADE STRUGGLES TO VICTORY DESPITE DISGRACEFUL SCENES
Nation Aroused by Open Insults to Women—Cause Wins Popular Sympathy—Congress Orders Investigation—Striking Object Lesson
AMENDMENT WINS IN NEW JERSEY
MICHIGAN AGAIN CAMPAIGN STATE

Each different organization within the women's suffrage movement had its own method for spreading information about the cause. This edition of **Woman's Journal and Suffrage News** *shows a women's suffrage parade and gives updates on the movement.* THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Conflict from within

Although the goal of the suffrage movement was to secure the right to vote, the movement itself was not unified. It was made up of different organizations, each with its own philosophy and plan on how to achieve that goal. The movement suffered from years of internal conflict among leaders and organizations alike.

The movement consisted of two main rights organizations: the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) and the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). The AWSA, the first organization of its kind, was established in 1868 by Lucy Stone (1818–1893) and Henry Blackwell (1825–1909). Its sole focus was women's suffrage, and its strategy was to fight for the right one state at a time. The NWSA was formed in 1869 by Stanton, Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage (1826–1898), and several other activists. The NWSA sought many reforms, in-

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Two Views of Women's Rights

Two major philosophies of women's rights circulated in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The first, inherited from the prior century, held that women must work together as a group if they are to survive in a man's world. This view stressed the differences between men and women in terms of biology and life experiences, and maintained the moral superiority of the female sex.

The second philosophy, which gained momentum throughout the century, placed less emphasis on gender differences and focused on equal rights and opportunities for women. Those who favored this feminist point of view focused not on solidarity, or power and unity as a group, but on the individuality and unique abilities of each woman. These early feminists believed in every woman's right to self-expression and self-fulfillment.

Each philosophy had its uses. Those who believed in the power of solidarity worked to improve conditions for women in dangerous, low-paying jobs. Working-class women fought successfully for reforms in the workplace, and some activists encouraged women to join labor unions. The Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), founded in 1903 by several wage-earning women, was instrumental in providing support for women's suffrage as the issue gathered steam in the 1910s.

cluding suffrage, which it pursued on a federal level. After the **Fifteenth Amendment** guaranteed all men of any race, color, or previous condition of slavery the right to vote, the NWSA proposed that white women were in fact more fit to vote than many African American men. The AWSA and NWSA, though united in a common goal, competed against one another for funding, members, and support.

As the movement grew, the two organizations realized that nothing would be achieved unless they united. In 1890 they merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Stanton was its first president, Anthony its second. The NAWSA headed the movement in the **Progressive Era** (the first two decades of the twentieth century), but it would be many years before they could claim victory.

The most important reform

During the first decade of the twentieth century, women's reforms were largely cultural and social. By 1910 many women realized that true power would come only if they were given the right to vote. Suffrage became the goal of the women's movement throughout the second decade, while other reforms were pushed to the bottom of the agenda.

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Some states had already granted women suffrage. **Wyoming** was the first, in 1869, followed by **Colorado**, **Utah**, and **Idaho**. Attitudes toward women in these western states, where women were valued for their contributions to a largely male population, were more progressive than those in eastern states.

The suffrage movement gained strength as young college-educated women joined the ranks of activists. Soon the largely white, middle-class women's movement built solid relationships with working-class white women, and the number of people the movement could reach increased. These women launched door-to-door campaigns throughout poor and working-class urban regions. Some of the more courageous women spoke publicly on street corners, something America had never experienced before. Others focused their reform efforts on farming communities or professional organizations.



Victoria Woodhull argues in favor of women voting to the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in 1871. College-educated women helped give momentum to the cause. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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African American Women and Reform

African American women of the Progressive Era supported the women's reform movement, but the women's reform movement did not necessarily support African American women. Most of the organized reform associations either opposed or were divided over the issue of including and working with African American women.

As a result of the separate-but-equal (equal rights for African Americans, but separate from whites) doctrine, African American women focused their efforts on the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and turned it into a well-organized group for the protection and advancement of African Americans. Most of these women, who were in the upper classes of society, agreed with the ideas of their white counterparts: Women had their place (in the home) and were morally superior to men.

As the 1910s progressed, African American women joined African American men in forming local community institutions such as kindergartens, homes for the aged, and orphanages. They also helped build and maintain African American hospitals staffed by African Americans—a necessity because they were discriminated against in white hospitals.

One of the most influential and longest-lasting African American associations was formed in 1909. The **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** (NAACP) was established by a group of about sixty activists, most of them white. Among them, however, were some of the most famous African American reformers in history, including Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862–1931) and W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). The organization, which has continued to promote equality of opportunity for African Americans, has a membership of about three hundred thousand.

In 1910 the state of **Washington** gave women the right to vote. Next came **California** and **Oregon**. In 1913 **Illinois** became the first state east of the Mississippi River to grant suffrage. By 1914 the movement included hundreds of thousands of women and their husbands, male friends, and coworkers. Some men supported women's suffrage because they believed women were indeed equal to men and thus should have the same rights. But others were in favor of the female vote only when suffragists pointed out that female voters would help reformers reduce political corruption. Women, as the argument went, would vote for men who were truly qualified to hold office and not because a candidate was owed a favor or had bribed them.

The cause of women's suffrage got a boost in 1912, when **Theodore Roosevelt's** Progressive Party announced its support. In January 1918 President **Woodrow Wilson** voiced his support for the women's suffrage

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amendment, but it was not until June 1919 that Congress passed it by the required two-thirds vote. On August 18, 1920, the states ratified the **Nineteenth Amendment** to the Constitution, granting women the right to vote. Historians consider the suffrage movement the "first wave" of **feminism**, the foundation for all future struggles for women's rights.

Works Progress Administration

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was created as part of President **Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal** relief programs. With work difficult to find during the **Great Depression** (1929–41), the WPA was established to provide employment to citizens while improving the nation's public works. Congress authorized the WPA



Works Progress Administration (WPA) construction workers on the job. The WPA repaired and constructed more than one hundred thousand bridges, one hundred thousand public buildings, and thousands of parks and airfields. AP IMAGES

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through passage of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act in April 1935. In 1939 the name was changed to the Works Projects Administration.

During its existence, the WPA employed more than 8.5 million people on over 1.5 million projects. With the intention to put most of its funding into wages rather than materials, the WPA undertook a vast range of projects. It constructed more than six hundred thousand miles of highways, roads, and streets, and repaired and constructed more than a hundred thousand bridges, a hundred thousand public buildings, thousands of parks and airfields, and thousands of recreational facilities. Federal projects in theater, writing, and visual arts employed artists in painting murals in public spaces, producing public theater performances, and writing state guidebooks. Dentists, nurses, biologists, and other skilled professionals also received work.

The WPA was in many ways a success, helping many individuals, stimulating business during the Depression, and benefiting the nation as a whole. However, political complications, including charges of favoritism, waste, and disorganization owing to the sheer size of the program, hindered its effectiveness. In 1943 President Roosevelt dissolved the program. As a result of **World War II** (1939–45), the unemployed were finding work in wartime production, and the WPA was no longer necessary.

World Trade Center

See **September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks; World Trade Center Bombing (1993)**

World Trade Center Bombing (1993)

On February 26, 1993, terrorists bombed New York City's World Trade Center, a prominent symbol of American financial power. It was composed of seven buildings covering sixteen acres and provided a workplace for some fifty thousand people and services for eighty thousand daily visitors. The complex was dominated by two one-hundred-ten-story towers, each nearly one-quarter mile high.

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The explosion

The World Trade Center's underground parking facility, equipped for two thousand vehicles, was the stage for the bombing. There, at 12:18 p.m., a terrorist, working in a carefully planned scheme, lit four slow-burning fuses, igniting over one thousand pounds of urea (a nitrogen-containing chemical product usually used as fertilizer) mixed with one hundred five gallons of nitric acid and sixty gallons of sulfuric acid, all contained within a rented van.

The tremendous explosion that followed created a crater two-thousand feet square. Within minutes of the explosion thick, black smoke was drawn up the stairwells and elevator shafts of the two towers. Many people in the towers were forced onto the roofs by the choking, blinding smoke, and were rescued by helicopter. The explosion was so powerful that the cinder block walls of the parking structure turned to dust and a fourteen-thousand-pound steel beam snapped like a twig and was tossed fifty feet across the garage. The eleven-inch thick concrete floor that the van was parked on disintegrated, and a giant hole was torn through two more concrete ceilings above the bomb. Five people were killed and more than one thousand injured, a total many consider to be low considering how many tens of thousands of people were in the complex at the time.

The terrorists

The investigation's first solid lead on who was responsible for this terrorist act was a slim, dust-covered strip of metal that was found in the wreckage that revealed the vehicle identification number of the van that held the bomb. The number was quickly traced to a Ryder rental truck dealership in Jersey City, New Jersey. It had been rented to Mohammed A. Salameh (1967–), who was caught after he attempted to recover the $400 deposit he had left when he rented the van. When the **Federal Bureau of Investigation** (FBI) searched his apartment, they found evidence that led them to a self-storage locker that Salameh had rented. It was stocked with bomb-making chemicals.

Other evidence led to the arrest of Ibraham Elgabrowny and Sayyid Nosair (who had previously been implicated in the murder of a rabbi), Mahmud Abouhalima, and Nidal Ayyad, a naturalized U.S. citizen with a degree in chemical engineering. Found among the belongings of the conspirators were photos of the **Washington Monument**, New York's Saks Fifth Avenue store, the Empire State Building, and the World Trade

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Center. Further investigation revealed that the person in charge of the bombing had been twenty-five-year-old Pakistani Ramzi Yousef (1967–).

Yousef had entered the United States in 1992. He made contact with Salameh and Ayyad and together they transferred nearly $100,000 to various bank accounts. The money was used to purchase the bomb-making chemicals that were stored in a small rented storage facility in Jersey City. The actual mixing of the chemicals and the assembly of the bomb, which took about a month, was completed at an apartment the terrorists had rented a few miles away.

Arrests and sentencing

While the other conspirators were quickly rounded up by the FBI, Abouhalima fled to Egypt but was soon captured by Egyptian police. After being interrogated and beaten for ten days, he was turned over to U.S. authorities in **New York**. Ayyad, the chemical engineer, was arrested when a letter claiming responsibility for the bombing was found on his computer. On March 4, 1994, Salameh, Ayyad, Abouhalima, and another suspect, Ahmad Ajaj, were found guilty of various crimes, including conspiracy, assault, and explosives charges. Ajaj was a Palestinian trained in guerilla warfare and who had assisted Yousef. Although he had been in prison for immigration fraud when the bomb exploded, he aided in its construction via encoded messages over the prison telephone. Each of the terrorists was sentenced to a term in prison of two-hundred forty years. Nosair and Elgabrowny were found not guilty of being conspirators in the Trade Center bombing but Nosair was subsequently convicted of a 1990 slaying.

Yousef fled the United States. In early 1995, after eluding police on three continents, he was arrested in Islamabad, Pakistan. He was turned over to the FBI and returned to the United States to stand trial. His uncle, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed (c. 1964–), a member of the terrorist group **al-Qaeda,** was believed to have financed the bombing. The blind Egyptian cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman (1938–) a militant (war-like) Islamist who presided at a mosque in Jersey City, was suspected of being the spiritual leader and co-conspirator of the terrorist gang. Rahman was never charged in the World Trade Center bombing, but in late 1995 he and nine of his followers were convicted of conspiring to carry out bombings, assassinations, and other terrorist activities. Rahman was sentenced to life in prison.

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There had been few terrorist attacks on U.S. soil prior to this first bombing of the World Trade Center. The attack shocked Americans, especially because no evidence or acknowledgment linked it to a particular American action or policy. The bombing, which in many ways ushered in the era of terrorist threats to come, significantly changed the way American citizens felt about their security.

World Trade Organization

The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established on January 1, 1995, to oversee world commerce. In particular, it was meant to make free trade across national borders easier. It has 140 member nations and 32 observer governments (most of which have applied for membership). WTO members represent more than 95 percent of world trade.

Background

The roots of the WTO date back to the **Great Depression** of the 1930s, a period of worldwide economic downturn and collapse, when unemployment was high and many businesses failed. During the Great Depression most countries adopted economic policies that favored their own nation's trade and damaged the trade of competing nations. The impulse to compete led to barriers to foreign trade, such as tariffs (taxes imposed on goods imported into the country) and quotas (limitations on imports).

The U.S. Congress erected rigorous trade barriers with the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, which became law in 1930 and raised the effective rate of U.S. tariffs by almost 50 percent from 1929 to 1932. The act provoked retaliation by a number of America's trading partners, who countered with their own barriers to American trade goods. The result was a decrease of nearly two-thirds in U.S. exports in the two years following passage of the act. Among the painful lessons of the period was that protectionism (policies designed to protect a nation's trade goods from the competition of foreign goods) was not helpful economically.

Bretton Woods system

After **World War II** (1939–45), leaders of the victorious **Allied** powers decided to create a worldwide trade agreement that would encourage cooperation and interdependence rather than competition and protection-

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ism. In July 1944, in the New Hampshire resort community of Bretton Woods, representatives of forty-four countries met to construct the so-called Bretton Woods system of open international economy, also called the free market.

The delegates at Bretton Woods created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These two international organizations were designed to help countries maintain stability in their currencies and to finance economic growth. The architects of this new international economic order also envisioned the creation of an International Trade Organization (ITO), a specialized agency of the United Nations that would permanently manage economic relations and rule in defense of open and nondiscriminatory world trade. The 1948 Havana Charter that christened the ITO, however, failed to secure ratification (approval) by enough signatories.

GATT

With the ITO abandoned, supporters of free trade turned to the only remaining international trade agreement: the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The GATT began as a set of tariff-reduction negotiations among twenty-three countries that had met in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947. These negotiations resulted in some 45,000 tariff reductions impacting about one-fifth of the world's trade. The GATT came into force in January 1948 and became the principal set of rules governing international trade for the next forty-seven years.

The GATT established trade principles that continue to be applied today. Among the most important of these principles was nondiscrimination in the treatment of trade in goods among countries. Any advantage given to an imported product must be extended unconditionally to a like product from another country. Countries also agreed to treat imported and domestic goods equally. Maximum levels for tariffs were set, and quotas were not allowed.

The GATT included a process for countries to follow to resolve disputes. The process allowed countries to consult with each other first; if that was not successful, a country could ask that a panel hear the complaint. Although the panel's decision was not enforceable, the panel report encouraged countries to work toward an agreeable resolution.

GATT members met periodically to negotiate the further reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers and changes to GATT rules. These ne-

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gotiations were called rounds. The most recent round, the Uruguay Round, lasted from 1986 to 1994 and included the most encompassing set of negotiations in the history of the GATT. On the agenda was the reform of the existing GATT system and an expansion of rules to cover new areas such as the trade aspects of intellectual property rights (copyrights, trademarks, and patents).

Establishment of the WTO

One of the most important changes that came from the Uruguay Round was the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO). In contrast to the GATT, the WTO was created as a permanent structure. The WTO went into effect on January 1, 1995.

Headquartered in Geneva, the WTO administered and enforced trade agreements signed by its member countries, facilitating the freer flow of goods and services worldwide. The WTO has a staff of around five hundred people and is headed by a director-general. Its rulings are law among members. If, for example, the United States and the European Union clash over hormone-treated beef or the right to do business in Cuba, then the WTO acts as both judge and jury to this dispute. The WTO is empowered to enforce standing GATT rules as well as newly constructed ones in the fields of trade, services, and intellectual property, and it has a legal process that is enforced by substantial sanctions. Sanctions are measures adopted by several nations acting together to penalize a nation that has violated an international law or agreement in order to persuade it to conform to the law.

Pros and cons of the WTO

By certain measures, the GATT/WTO system has produced positive results, especially in expanding world trade and securing a system of peaceful economic interdependence. Total trade at the end of the 1990s was more than fifteen times the level of 1950. According to supporters of the WTO, global free trade has worked much more effectively than the protectionist measures of the pre–World War II era.

Globalization—the process of increasing the economic and cultural connections and interdependence between all the nations and peoples of the world—has transformed the way business is done worldwide. Other highly successful institutions dedicated to globalization are the United

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Nations, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the European Union, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and others. Technological advancements (in, for example, computers, telecommunications, and transportation) have facilitated economic interdependence and the mobility of goods, services, people, and capital across national borders.

But globalization and the WTO itself have had negative impacts as well as positive, and there has been steady opposition to the WTO. Since economic globalization has become the norm, there has been a marked increase in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) seeking to protect and defend the environment, culture, consumers, workers, indigenous (native) people, children, the poor, and others. WTO opponents argue that this is because countries are less able to restrict their own trade for humanitarian or environmental reasons.

Opponents of the WTO also argue that the number of multinational corporations (huge and powerful businesses that operate in many countries) has soared since World War II. The multinational corporations are based in wealthy countries but usually operate in poorer countries, where they exploit the population for cheap labor and strip the environment of its raw materials.

WTO opponents in the 1990s and 2000s were concerned that the WTO—in the name of free trade—had the power to undermine laws passed by individual countries to promote health, food safety, environmental protection, and workplace safety. To these protesters, free trade meant the manipulation of national political processes by business interests bent on profit at any price.

In meetings in the 2000s, the WTO discussed whether it should continue to address traditional trade issues only, or if it should begin to include nontraditional issues such as labor and the environment. The U.S. president and Congress continued to debate their respective roles in participating in the WTO to ensure that the United States was making its own trade policies for the benefit of the nation.

World War I

World War I, also known as the Great War, was fought between 1914 and 1918, and it set the stage for politics, culture, and economics in the twentieth century. Depending on their area of expertise, historians offer

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different reasons for and causes of the war. One thing is for certain: The event that started the war happened in the Balkans, an area encompassing several countries in southeastern Europe.

By 1914 Europe was divided into two opposing camps defined by diplomatic alliances. One alliance was that of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, called the Triple Alliance. The other was formed between Russia, France, and Great Britain, called the Triple Entente. With Europe divided in this way, full-scale war was not just a possibility but a probability. Any nation of an alliance that had problems with a nation of the opposing alliance had the strength of several militaries and governments behind it.

War begins

Serbia and other Balkan states gained their independence in 1878 after nearly five hundred years of Ottoman rule. Nations from both alliances wanted to increase their influence over the Balkans. On June 28, 1914, the Austro-Hungarian archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914) and his wife were assassinated by a Bosnian Serb student while visiting the capital city of Sarajevo in the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The student was a member of a group called Young Bosnia that was sponsored by Black Hand, a nationalist group in Serbia (but not supported by the Serbian government). Black Hand provided weapons and explosives to the Young Bosnians.

As a result of the assassination, Austria-Hungary gave Serbia an ultimatum that included five demands. Serbia agreed to all the demands save one. This was enough for Austria-Hungary to declare war on Serbia, which it did. In response, Russia mobilized troops along its Austro-Hungarian border and its German border. Germany, in turn, demanded that Russia remove its troops within twelve hours. When Russia ignored the demand, Germany declared war against Russia. The date was August 1, 1914. Two days later Germany declared war against France, too, because France was an ally of Russia. Throughout the war, the Triple Entente (which eventually included Greece and Romania) was called the **Allies**, and the Triple Alliance (which eventually included the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria) was called the Central Powers. Before the war was over, thirty-two countries would join the Allies.

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Total war and trench warfare

The Great War was the first total war. That is, it was the first to break down the distinction between military forces and the civilian populations of the enemy nations. Never before had war included the use of machine guns, gas attacks, barbed wire, tanks, airplanes, submarines, and battleships. And while soldiers were weary with battle, civilians on the home front provided necessary manpower to make munitions. As battles took over farms and towns, more and more civilians paid with their lives. In all, approximately 13 million European civilians died in World War I.

Never before had the strategy known as trench warfare been used, either. Earlier wars were fought with opposing sides charging at one another with weapons such as bayonets and muskets. With the



An aerial battle between British fighter planes and German fighters. Aerial assault was an important factor during World War I. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

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introduction of rapid-firing small arms (firearms intended to be carried), the traditional battle strategy was no longer an option. As a result, troops in World War I dug thousands of miles of trenches—deep ditches into which they could take protection—often fronted with barbed wire.

Although the trenches provided the soldiers with somewhat of a shelter, they made for a slow-moving war. At times, enemies found themselves at a stalemate (complete halt in the action), neither side willing to come out of the trenches and into open battlefields.

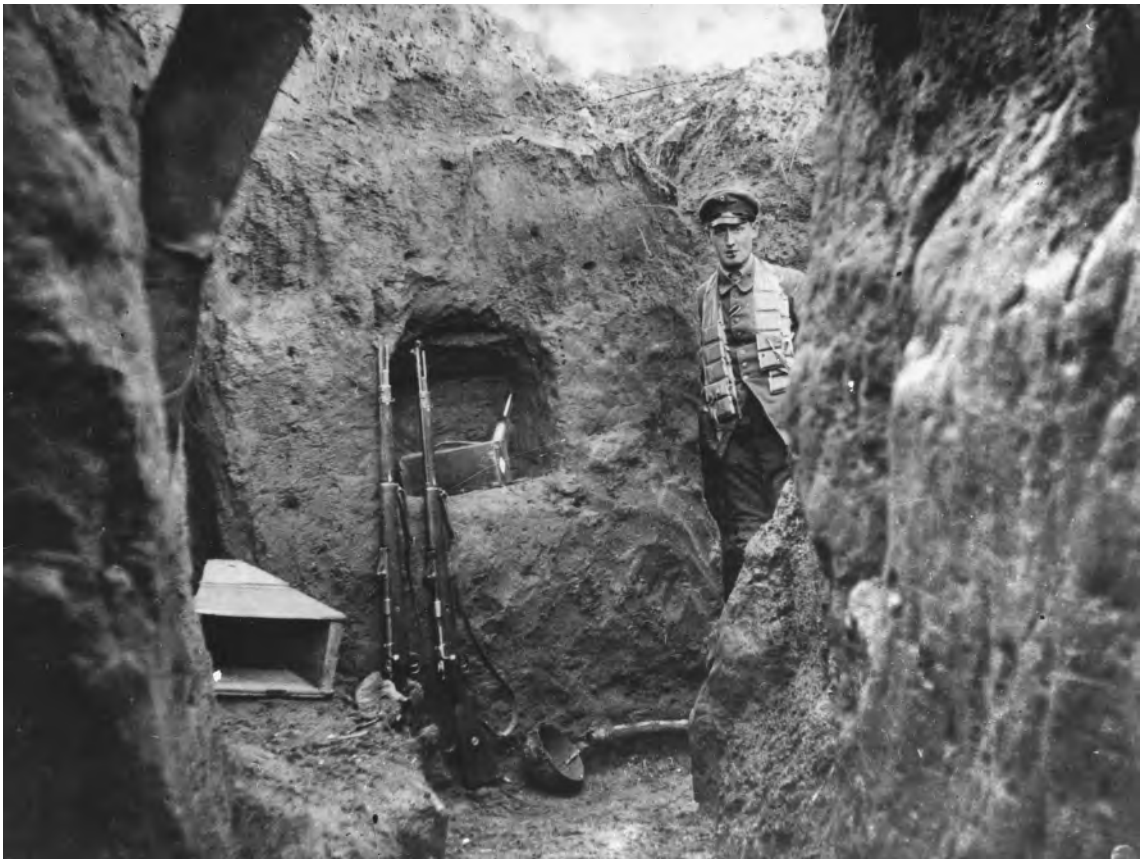
Soldiers literally lived in the trenches, which were infested by millions of rats. Both brown and black rats lived side-by-side with the soldiers, and the men feared the brown variety most. These rats lived off human flesh and could grow to reach the size of cats. Given that a single rat could produce up to 900 offspring in one year, the trenches became sites of infection and contaminated food. The rat problem lasted as long as the war, for there was no way to get rid of them.

Rats were not the only source of infection. Trenches were filled with frogs and lice, too. Body lice (insect-like parasites) infected an estimated 97 percent of the men and caused a disease known as trench fever. The disease, which caused severe pain and fevers so high as to cause delirium, was spread by the lice, which sucked the blood of the infected men and carried it to the others. Recovery inside the trenches was impossible, and trench fever was responsible for approximately 15 percent of trench deaths.

Trench foot was a fungus that infected the feet when they got cold and wet and had no chance to dry. Trench conditions were unsanitary at best, and trench foot often led to gangrene (the death of body tissue), which required amputation of the foot.

Perhaps the soldiers became accustomed to it, but visitors to the trenches were appalled by the remarkable stench of the endless ditches. With nowhere to bury the dead, human corpses were left to rot on battlefields. The smell of rotting flesh permeated the air and mixed with the reek of overflowing latrines. Trench foot caused a hideous smell, and the men themselves often went weeks or even months without bathing. Add to this the smell of creosol and chloride of lime—both chemicals used to ward off disease and infection—as well as poisonous gas, and life in the trenches offered about the worst conditions one can imagine.

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An especially deep German trench in World War I. Trenches provided some shelter during attacks but were also infested with rats, lice, and frogs. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

Enter the United States

By 1916 both sides were finding it nearly impossible to penetrate the enemy's line. Trench warfare had created a vast no-man's land, that area between enemy trenches that no soldier wanted to try to cross. Battles were a long, slow business and required extreme endurance on the part of the men. A battle at Verdun, France, was fought from 1916 through 1917. Neither the French nor the Germans made much progress, and neither could claim victory: Germany had lost 330,000 lives in that battle; France lost 350,000.

For much of the war, the United States remained neutral and continued trading with both sides. Neutrality became harder to maintain,

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however, as American merchant ships were attacked by German fighting boats and continually stopped by British blockades. In May 1915 Germany sank a British passenger ship called the ***Lusitania.*** This led to major anti-German feelings in America. In 1917 a telegram sent from Germany to Mexico was intercepted by the British. Germany promised to give Mexico the territories it had lost to America in 1848 if the country would join the Central Powers. After learning of the telegram's content, U.S. president **Woodrow Wilson** (1856–1924; served 1913–21) declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917.

America enacted the **military draft** (forced military participation) for World War I. As in other participating countries, those left at home went to work making munitions, and women took over many jobs previously held only by men. Food was rationed, and people were urged to do whatever was necessary to support the war effort. American patriotism was near frenzy as schools discontinued teaching German, orchestras no longer played symphonies written by German composers, and German Americans were relentlessly attacked both physically and verbally.

America's entry into the war marked a major turning point. Russia withdrew from the conflict in the spring of 1918, freeing up German troops to focus on the eastern front. After four years of intense fighting, they were no match for American troops who had yet to fight. Nevertheless, Germany launched a major offensive that spring but was stopped at the Marne River in France. Together with French leadership and soldiers, American troops forced the enemy into continual retreat, forbidding them from even resting in the trenches.

War comes to an end

Central Powers everywhere were collapsing. German civilians held public protests and demonstrations throughout their country. When it became apparent that victory was not within reach and never would be, Germany surrendered. World War I officially ended on November 11, 1918. The Allies had won.

More than nine million people of various nationalities died during the war. One million of them were civilians. Millions more suffered permanent, crippling injuries. So many soldiers returned home with facial disfigurements from poisonous gas attack and bombs that a new branch of medicine was developed: plastic surgery.

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President Wilson had proposed a program he called Fourteen Points. The proposal outlined what he believed the Allies should work toward in developing international relations. His program was refused by other Allied forces. In January 1919 representatives from the Central Powers and the Allies met in Paris for a peace conference to decide how to move forward.

Angry and bitter, the European Allies were not willing to work with the Central Powers but instead dictated the terms of the peace agreement. They wanted their enemies punished. Five treaties were developed, one for each Central Power. Each treaty outlined its own terms applicable to that particular country. Every country who formed the Central Powers lost some of its territories and land holdings.

The most significant treaty was called the **Treaty of Versailles**. Leaders of Germany were invited to sign the peace treaty, but they initially refused because it required them to admit they were guilty of starting a war and to make reparations (repayment) to the countries devastated by the war. Despite the leaders' protestations, they were in no position to refuse. Germany was required to pay $5 billion within two years to European Allies. Two years later, another $28 billion was added to the bill. Germany lost territory as well and was forbidden to build a military or manufacture weapons and war supplies. The treaty also established the League of Nations.

Aftermath

Historians have criticized the treaty as being one based on vengeance, not peace. Its terms forced Germany—which was unable to rebuild itself due to its wartime debt—into further resentment and hatred toward the Allies. Historians generally agree that these feelings ultimately led to **World War II** (1939–45).

World War II

World War II started in September 1939 when German troops invaded Poland. It evolved into an international conflict involving sixty-one countries. Over 100 million people were mobilized for military service in four geographic regions across the globe: Europe, Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. The war left 55 million people dead (30 million civilians

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and 25 million soldiers), cost over one trillion dollars, and resulted in more material destruction than any other armed conflict in history.

Although the war was fought across the world in many countries, a few powers led efforts on both sides. Those who joined, or were forced to join, Germany became known as the **Axis** Powers. They were led by German dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), Italian dictator Benito Mussolini (1883–1945), and Japanese prime minister Hideki Tojo (1884–1948). The Axis Powers also included Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and others.

The opposing countries became known as the Allied Powers, or **Allies**. They were led primarily by U.S. president **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45), British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin (1873–1953). Among many others, Canada, Australia, France, and China joined the efforts of the Allies.

In the years following **World War I** (1914–18), the United States had become increasingly isolated from the activities of European nations and other countries. Despite Americans' desire to remain uninvolved in world currents, the United States was drawn into World War II in 1941. The war posed great challenges for the nation even as it brought economic benefits and increased international power.

Evolution of a world war

The world conflict evolved throughout the 1930s as countries across the globe took various aggressive steps. In 1931, the Japanese invaded and occupied Manchuria, China, to obtain raw materials needed to support their industrial economy. In 1937 Japan launched efforts to control the entire Chinese mainland.

Mussolini had come to power in Italy in 1922 with extreme ambitions. Hoping to restore the Roman Empire, he invaded Ethiopia in 1935.

In Germany, the National Socialists (Nazis) came to power in 1933 under Hitler. He promised that he would restore the country to its position of leadership in Europe, a position it had lost after its defeat in World War I. Hitler's forces reoccupied the Rhineland (area along the Rhine River, which since Germany's defeat in 1918 had been a demilitarized area) in March 1936; annexed (forced a union with) Austria in

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March 1938; and then seized Czechoslovakia, one portion in October 1938 and the rest in March 1939.

The world stood by without taking military action until 1939, when Germany invaded Poland. Both Britain and France had made promises to maintain Polish independence, so they declared war against Germany. The United States, however, would refrain from direct support of any country until Japan's attack on the U.S. naval base at **Pearl Harbor**, Hawaii, in 1941.

From isolationism to involvement

With the memory of World War I still fresh, Americans preferred a policy of total noninvolvement and neutrality in world affairs. The result was the passage of several laws designed to avoid U.S. involvement in any conflict. The laws also limited America's ability to assist nations facing acts of aggression.

The Johnson Debt Default Act of 1934, for example, prohibited loans to any country that had not yet repaid debts to the United States from World War I (which meant to any country except Finland). Congress enacted the Neutrality Act in 1935 when Italy invaded Ethiopia. Originally this law only prohibited arms shipments to warring nations and travel by U.S. citizens on belligerent vessels. In 1936 Congress added a provision forbidding loans or credit to nations at war. As tensions increased and war began in September 1939, the United States was not in a position to lend public support, even if the public had wanted to do so.

Eventually Roosevelt persuaded Congress to make some changes in policy. The Neutrality Act of 1939 authorized the sale of arms to those nations who could pay cash and were able to transport the goods by their own means. By 1940, after Germany invaded France, Congress had increased taxes and the national debt limit to enable greater defense spending. Officially the United States was not yet at war, but the country was preparing for it.

Another piece of legislation that Roosevelt pushed for was the **Lend-Lease Act**, passed in March 1941. It enabled the U.S. to "lend" resources (specifically arms) to another country with the expectation that these resources would be "returned" at a later date. Though originally intended to assist Britain, which was under siege, the aid would soon be extended to thirty-eight nations. Through this indirect means, the United States

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U.S. involvement in World War II began in 1941 after Japanese forces attacked the American naval fleet, including the U.S.S. **West Virginia,** *shown here.* FOX PHOTOS/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES

managed to avoid entering the war yet still made an important contribution to the Allied cause.

Then the war came home. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked and severely crippled the American naval fleet in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Americans were immediately drawn into the war, and Congress declared war on Japan on December 8. Italy and Germany then declared war on the United States on December 11.

With military confrontations in both Europe and Asia, the United States needed to expand and reorganize its military rapidly. Most citizens became involved in the war effort to assure that enough supplies for the

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troops were produced as quickly as possible. President Roosevelt, along with Churchill and Stalin, worked to develop strategies to end the aggressions of the Axis nations.

The war in Europe

In the spring of 1940, Germany swept through Europe. Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands all fell to Germany. By June, France was overtaken and Hitler was attempting to overrun Britain with attacks by both sea and air.

Though Britain managed to hand Germany its first significant defeat, Hitler merely changed course. His troops invaded Russia in June 1941, taking the Russians by surprise. Given the desperate situation in Europe when America entered the war, Roosevelt agreed to focus attention first on Germany and Italy. Japan could be taken care of when Europe was safe.

Amidst the fighting, Hitler had begun a program of ethnic cleansing, known as the **Holocaust**, that targeted Jews, primarily, and other groups. Five to six million people were forced from their homes, imprisoned in labor, or concentration, camps, and then murdered. Hitler sought Aryan, or non-Jewish Caucasian, domination.

American forces joined the Allied troops first in Africa, where they began with a string of victories under General **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (1890–1969). The Allied strategy was to chase the Axis armies out of Africa, remove them from the Italian island of Sicily, and slowly push them out of the Italian mainland. In 1943 Mussolini was removed from office by the King of Italy, who surrendered to the Allies that September.

The Germans, who were trying to take Russia in 1941, were severely crippled by the Russian winter. Many troops retreated or were captured, and from 1942 to 1943 Hitler attempted to reinvigorate his campaign there. The Russians, however, managed to drive the German forces back across Poland by the end of 1943.

The most aggressive and costly Allied offensive was made in June 1944. General Eisenhower led Operation Overlord, the largest amphibious assault in history. The Allies took more than a year to plan it.

In the early hours of June 6, 1944, a day now called **D-Day**, 5,000 ships, 10,000 planes, and 176,000 soldiers crossed the English Channel and landed in Normandy, on the northwest coast of France. The intense

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American infantrymen armed with rifles and bazookas in Belgium near the end of the war. Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945. AP IMAGES

fighting in the Battle of Normandy opened Europe to the Allies, who brought a million troops over the next month through the beaches of Normandy. Over the course of that summer, the Allies pushed the Germans back across France and Belgium.

The **Battle of the Bulge** took place in December 1944, at the German border, where the Allies pushed on and crossed into Germany. With the Allied offensive pushing the Germans back on three fronts, the German army finally collapsed. An unconditional surrender came from Germany on May 7, 1945. A month before, on April 12, President Roosevelt had died, and his vice president, **Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972; served 1945–53), had become president.

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Participation on the Home Front

With so many American men drafted and serving overseas, life in the United States changed dramatically. All citizens were expected to do their part to support the war effort. Manufacturing and military supply needs created a demand for workers that was filled by unprecedented numbers of women and minorities. Rations were imposed on everything from sugar to rubber to gasoline. Hollywood made movies that encouraged the war effort. Families had to pull together through food shortages, increased taxes, and long lines at the gas station to support family members and friends at war.

The Pacific theater

The Japanese aggressively invaded the islands of the Pacific, taking hostile action against U.S. forces stationed there. The United States, however, was focusing on Europe, so it initially did not launch attacks in the Pacific. General **Douglas MacArthur** (1880–1964) was instead ordered to retreat from the Philippines to Australia to protect it from invasion.

With only a limited number of troops, MacArthur skillfully defended Australia. Although he was commanded merely to contain the situation, MacArthur decided to push the Japanese back through islands it had taken. By 1944 he added air and sea power to assist his ground troops. By March 1945 MacArthur had managed to push the Japanese back far enough to clear an invasion of Japan itself.

After Germany surrendered in 1945, MacArthur received the long-awaited support of U.S. forces, and attacks on Japan were devastating. Japan, however, refused to surrender. On August 6, 1945, President Truman authorized the dropping of an **atomic bomb** on Hiroshima, killing 75,000 people. When Japan still refused to surrender, the United States dropped another atomic bomb, on August 9, this time on Nagasaki, killing 39,000 people. On August 14, 1945, Japan agreed to surrender.

Victory

The United States played an essential role in the outcome of World War II. Its sustained production of supplies for the Allied armies enabled the troops to continue fighting in situations in which the enemies lacked support. The U.S. military leaders displayed extraordinary skills and strategies, while the troops they led fought with courage and determination. The willingness of Americans at home to work and sacrifice to give the troops all they needed also contributed to victory. With victory came a booming U.S. economy and the nation's new status as a world superpower.

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World Wide Web

See **Internet Revolution**

Wounded Knee Massacre

Around 1889 a Paiute tribe holy man experienced a vision during a total solar eclipse, during which the moon passes between the earth and the sun, blocking the sun from view. The result of his vision was a religion called the Ghost Dance. It included an actual dance in which dancers might die for a moment to get a brief glimpse into the paradise that awaited them. Part of the Ghost Dance involved the wearing of a specially made shirt that was believed to protect the wearer from enemy bullets. All Sioux reservations were practicing this new religion. One Lakota, Kicking Bear (c. 1852–1904), and his brother-in-law, Short Bull (c. 1845–1915), traveled to Nevada to learn about the Ghost Dance. Kicking Bear then visited the great **Sitting Bull** (1831–1890) in October 1890 to tell him what he had learned. Sitting Bull was a highly respected Lakota chief whose visions of the defeat of General George Armstrong Custer (1839–1876) and his own death came true. Sitting Bull expressed doubt that the dead would be brought back to life, but he had no objections to allowing his people to dance the Ghost Dance.

Indian agents, however, had already reported to the federal government their fears about the strength and influence of the Ghost Dance movement. Now their fears were intensified, as they believed Sitting Bull would join the Ghost Dancers. To keep this from happening, forty-three Lakota policemen were sent to remove Sitting Bull from his home at Standing Rock, **South Dakota**. They entered his cabin on December 15 and woke the sleeping chief. He agreed to come with the police and asked that his horse be saddled while he dressed. Meanwhile, a large group of Ghost Dancers gathered outside the cabin, and when Sitting Bull and the police stepped outside, one of the dancers shot Lieutenant Henry Bull Head. Bull Head pulled his gun and shot back at the dancer but accidentally shot Sitting Bull instead. Another policeman then killed Sitting Bull with a shot to the head. Before the morning was over, six police and seven warriors were dead.

The Ghost Dance was officially banned on Lakota reservations, yet the dancers continued with their rituals. Many of Sitting Bull's tribe had fled to find safety with another Lakota tribe led by chief Big Foot (c.

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1820–1890). Wanting to avoid further violence, Big Foot led his people and the newcomers farther south toward the reservation at Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

What Big Foot did not know is that officials had already ordered his arrest. The great chief had become ill and was growing weaker with each hour as pneumonia set in. He had no intentions of fighting and was flying the white flag (symbol of truce, or peace) when he had his people set up camp for the night near Wounded Knee Creek on December 28, 1890. As they settled in to sleep, troops of the Seventh Cavalry surrounded them on all sides.

Soldiers entered the camp the following morning and demanded the Native Americans turn over all their weapons. One of the Native American warriors, Black Coyote, was deaf; he did not understand what was going on and was not willing to give up his weapon. A soldier tried to disarm him and the firearm discharged. Chaos immediately set in, as Native Americans ran for cover and soldiers began shooting them to try to control the disorder. Big Foot was among the first killed, and his corpse lay in the snow for three days before being tossed into a mass grave.

The massacre lasted less than one hour. Although accounts differ as to the number of Native Americans killed, ranging from 150 to 400, most agree on the figure of 300, the majority women and children. Twenty-five soldiers were dead, another thirty-nine wounded.

Corpses of women and children were found scattered as far away as three miles from camp. On New Year's Day of 1891, soldiers dug a pit and piled into it the bodies they could find. Relatives had already removed other bodies. Some soldiers kept souvenirs of the massacre, items such as Ghost Dance shirts they could sell later as "relics" from the Ghost Dance movement.

Because of his actions at Wounded Knee, the man who ordered the slaughter, Colonel James Forsyth (1834–1906), was removed from command. His superior officer was disgusted that Forsyth had approved of the brutal killings of innocent women and children. It was also discovered that many Lakota warriors were unarmed. Forsyth failed to see the error of his ways and instead wrote a report praising his troops for their courage in the face of "religious fanaticism." Forsyth was later reinstated to his position and even rose to the rank of major general. The government further insulted the Native American community when it awarded

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three officers and fifteen soldiers with the Medal of Honor for their conduct at Wounded Knee.

Although fighting between the Native Americans and whites continued occasionally throughout January, the Wounded Knee Massacre is generally considered the end of the **Plains Indian Wars** as well as the end of the American frontier.

WPA

See **Works Progress Administration**

Wright Brothers

Wilbur Wright (1867–1948) and Orville Wright (1871–1912) were brothers whose lives were entwined until death. Pioneers in **aviation**, their flying machines and first successful flight in 1903 ensured their place in the history books.

The Wright brothers were quite different, but their personalities balanced each other. Both men were intelligent—Wilbur had an amazing memory, while Orville was always coming up with new ideas and inventions. The two brothers together accomplished more than either of them likely could have as individuals. Where Wilbur used his analytical skills to figure out technical problems during the invention of the airplane, Orville's positive outlook and enthusiasm kept the pair from losing hope.

Early years

Wilbur Wright was born on April 16, 1867, in Millville, **Indiana**. He excelled in his school studies. In his senior year of high school, Wilbur and his family moved to Dayton, **Ohio**. Wilbur did not graduate. He took preparatory classes at a high school in Dayton with the plan of studying at Yale and becoming a teacher.

In 1885 the young Wilbur sustained a serious injury during an ice hockey game. He was left with digestive disorders and a heart condition that would linger throughout his life. Wilbur became a withdrawn and depressed man. He gave up his plans for Yale and isolated himself from the world. He spent most of his time caring for his sick mother, who was dying from tuberculosis, a common bacterial infection. He remained devoted to her until her death in 1889.

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Orville was born on August 19, 1871. Even as a young child he would take apart toys and machines in an effort to find out how they worked. Unlike Wilbur, Orville was impulsive, not given to thinking things through before jumping in. Accounts portray him as a perfect example of the nutty inventor, with several projects going on at once and ideas striking him in the middle of the night.

He also differed from his brother in how well he performed in school. Although his mind was every bit as sharp as Wilbur's, Orville was unable to focus on school work. He frequently got into mischief, and teachers complained that he did not apply himself to his full ability. Orville never graduated from high school. Neither brother suffered from their lack of formal education. They both spent much of their life in private study.

Newspapers and bicycles

The Wright brothers lived together and pursued printing as their first serious career endeavor. In 1889 they established their own weekly newspaper. In 1893 they sold their printing business to embark on a new career journey: they opened a bicycle rental and repair shop in Dayton. American consumers had developed an interest in bicycles in the late 1880s. At the peak of the bike craze in the 1890s, more than three hundred bicycle companies were manufacturing more than one million bicycles a year. The brothers were able to make a good living with their shop, and they became known throughout the community as trustworthy businessmen.

The Wright Cycle Company operated out of five separate locations throughout Dayton between 1893 and 1897. Competition was stiff. The brothers began designing and building their own line of bicycles, which they offered to the public in 1896. Unlike the competition, the Wrights built their bicycles by hand, with the help of Ed Sines, who had assisted them in the day-to-day operations of their previous printing business. This traditional means of production gave the Wrights' bikes a certain appeal the other, more "modern" manufactured bikes lacked.

In their peak years of production between 1896 and 1900, the Wrights built three hundred bicycles a year, earning between $2,000 and $3,000 annually. Today, only five bikes built by the Wright Cycle Company are known to exist.

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Researching flight

Given the brothers' mechanical ability, curiosity, and unceasing quest for knowledge, it should not be surprising that they began experimenting with aeronautics. Beginning in 1899 they used their bike shop to build and research aircraft. Although the men have been credited with genius for their invention, researchers and scientists through the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries have been in awe not only of the result (the first airplane) but also of the research process the brothers implemented. Their research and evaluation methods remain an important part of the aeronautical industry.

Based on their research, Orville and Wilbur decided to test their ideas using full-sized gliders. By studying how aerodynamics would affect such a simple machine, they figured they could slowly develop their design, step by step. It would prove to be an excellent decision.

When complete, the glider weighed 52 pounds (24 kilograms) and had a wing span of 17 feet (5.2 meters). The Wrights wanted to build part of the wings with spruce, but they had to settle for pine, a soft, light wood not ideal for aircraft structure, because that is what was available. The framework was covered with a sateen fabric (a midweight, strong material).

Taking flight

To test the glider the brothers needed a place with wide open spaces and steady winds. They settled on a small fishing village in North Carolina called Kitty Hawk. Wilbur and Orville took turns piloting the glider during the test flights in 1900 at Kitty Hawk. This gave them both much-needed experience manning the craft. Repeated flights gave them the information necessary to take back to the drawing table when it came time to make the next new-and-improved aircraft. They built and tested two more gliders in 1901 and 1902.

They spent most of 1903 researching ideas for a powered plane, designing one with wooden propellers and a specially made gasoline engine. They returned to Kitty Hawk in September. Almost immediately, things started to go wrong, making the men question the reality of their plan to take to the air. The weather was exceptionally bad, and they were experiencing technical difficulties with the airplane. They forged ahead, and on December 14 set out to test the 152-pound (69-kilogram) plane.

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Wilbur, left, and Orville Wright built and flew the first Wright biplane in 1903. AP IMAGES

They flipped a coin to determine who would fly first. Wilbur climbed aboard. The plane was airborne for just 3½ seconds before it crashed into the sand.

Three days later, the damage was repaired and the brothers set out to test the plane again. Orville sat in the pilot's seat this time. He kept the plane in the air for twelve seconds before it came to rest in the sand. It had flown a distance of 120 feet (37 meters). History had been made: a human had maintained flight for a significant amount of time that did not land in a crash.

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They made three more flights that day. Wilbur made the longest flight on the final run. The plane was in the air for 59 seconds and flew 852 feet (260 meters). The world of aviation and aeronautics was changed forever.

Just after that final flight, a gust of wind caused the plane to roll over. It was so seriously damaged that it never flew again. After initially being rejected, on May 22, 1906, the Wrights were granted U.S. Patent 821,393. Owing to a mix-up, the patent was given to the 1902 glider rather than the 1903 airplane. This would cause many patent infringements (violation of owners' rights) in the future.

The Wright brothers achieved their goal of inventing the first powered airplane, but it was not a practical plane. If they were to sell their planes, they had to design and build crafts that could be used in terrains other than wide, sandy spaces. So they set to work and built two more airplanes. By 1905 they were done building experimental aircraft. On October 5 Wilbur flew their latest plane for thirty-nine minutes. He circled a field thirty times and flew a distance of 24.5 miles (39.4 kilometers).

Wilbur Wright died of typhoid fever (a bacterial disease concentrated in the bloodstream) in 1912. He was forty-five years old. Orville sold the Wright Company in 1916 and returned to the business of inventing. He built himself an aeronautics lab and became a member of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA). He remained a member for twenty-eight years, until his death from a heart attack in 1948. Ten years later, NACA became **National Aeronautics and Space Administration** (NASA).

Wyoming

Wyoming was admitted to the **Union** as the forty-fourth state on July 10, 1890. Located in the western region of the United States, where the Rocky Mountains meet the Great Plains, it is bordered by **Montana**, **South Dakota**, **Nebraska**, **Colorado**, **Utah**, and **Idaho**. The Continental Divide runs through the central part of the state.

John Colter was the first modern explorer to visit Wyoming. This American fur trader traveled the area in 1807 and 1808, most likely crossing through Yellowstone Park. Thousands of Americans used the **Oregon Trail** to cross Wyoming between 1840 and 1867. Because of the region's harsh weather conditions, few willingly stayed. Most were

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migrating to **Oregon** or **California**. The Union Pacific Railroad and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 brought settlers to Wyoming. The state became a center for cattle ranching.

Growth remained slow, however, because farming was difficult in the region owing to soil unsuitable for crops and extreme weather conditions. During the 1970s the state experienced growth in the minerals industry, specifically coal, oil, and natural gas. Even that progress was stunted in the 1980s as the worldwide oil supply became abundant and Wyoming's contribution lost its importance.

In the twenty-first century Wyoming, though the ninth-largest state in terms of area (with a total area of 97,809 square miles, 253,325 square kilometers), is the least populous. In 2006 its total population was just over 515,000 people. The largest cities were Cheyenne, the capital; Casper; and Laramie, each with fewer than 60,000 residents.

Wyoming's population was primarily (92.4 percent) white, with 6.8 percent Hispanic and another 1.9 percent American Indian or Alaska Native. Just 33 percent of the population was aged twenty-four or younger.

Agriculture is the cornerstone of Wyoming's economy. Mining also contributes. Tourism has become increasingly important to state revenue, with travelers visiting Yellowstone and Grand Teton **national parks** as well as national monuments and historic trails.

In 2008 *CNNMoney.com* ranked Wyoming as the number one most business-friendly state in the nation, thanks to the absence of income tax.

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X

XYZ Affair

The XYZ Affair was a foreign relations crisis with France in 1797 and 1798. The United States was a young nation trying to remain neutral with France and Great Britain, who were at war. Naval conflict ensued with both foreign powers, but President **John Adams** (1735–1826; served 1797–1801) eventually negotiated solutions that averted full-scale war.

Dueling treaties

In 1778 amidst the **American Revolution** (1775–83), the United States signed two treaties with France in exchange for France's wartime assistance. The Treaty of Commerce promised that French warships would have free access to American ports for selling goods captured during war. The Treaty of Alliance promised that neither country would separately make peace with Great Britain.

In 1783 the United States officially ended the American Revolution by signing the Treaty of Paris with Great Britain. John Adams negotiated the treaty along with Americans John Jay (1745–1829) and **Benjamin Franklin** (1706–1790). France considered the treaty to be a breach of the American-French Treaty of Alliance from 1778.

War between France and Great Britain

In 1789 France overthrew its monarchy and formed a republican government. Four years later France declared war on Great Britain. The source of their conflict was commerce and trade issues.

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France sought assistance from the United States under the Treaty of Alliance. President **George Washington** (1732–1799; served 1789–97) announced that the United States would remain officially neutral. Republicans, however, the opposition party at the time, believed that the policies of Washington and the Federalist-controlled government were designed to favor Great Britain.

At the same time relations between the United States and Great Britain were faltering. Americans refused to pay Great Britain on debts owed from before the Revolution. Great Britain refused to abandon military forts in North America and was blocking U.S. ships from British ports. When war erupted with France, Great Britain began to capture American vessels, forcing the sailors to serve in the British navy, a practice called impressment.

Washington sent John Jay to London, England, to negotiate a solution with Great Britain. The result was **Jay's Treaty** of 1795. The treaty did very little to fix relations with Great Britain, but the very existence of the treaty angered France. The French considered it another breach of the Treaty of Alliance and a taking of sides in the ongoing war.



Politician Charles Pinckney was sent to France as the American minister and was ordered to leave. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The XYZ Affair

Shortly before Washington's second term ended in 1797, he sent politician Charles C. Pinckney (1757–1824) to France as the American minister. France rejected Pinckney and ordered him to leave. When France learned that John Adams would succeed Washington as president, it cancelled the 1778 Treaty of Alliance and ordered its navy to begin capturing American vessels.

Soon after taking office Adams addressed a special session of Congress in May 1797. Adams spoke harshly toward France and asked Congress for money to build the army and navy. At the same time he planned to send a commission to France for negotiations. Consisting of Pinckney, John Marshall (1755–1835), and Elbridge Gerry (1744–1814), the commission sailed in July 1797 and arrived in Paris, France, in October.

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The French Directory, or official government of France, assigned foreign relations minister Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838) to negotiate with the Americans. Talleyrand sent three secret agents to speak with the American commissioners ahead of official negotiations. The secret agents said that to get an official reception from France, the Americans would have to apologize for Adams's harsh words, make a payment of 1.2 million livres (an old French monetary unit), and loan France thirty-two million florins (another form of currency previously used in Europe) for its war with Great Britain. The Americans refused the demand and were threatened in the ensuing months while negotiations with France made no progress.

America angered

Dispatches from the commissioners reached the Adams administration in March 1798. Secretary of State Timothy Pickering (1745–1829) was angered to read that secret agents had bribed and then threatened the Americans. While such bribes were common in European diplomacy, the amount demanded had been high.

Adams was angered by the news, too. Congress asked to see the message from the commissioners. At first Adams tried to use executive privilege to hide the message from Congress. Eventually he shared it, but he replaced the names of the secret French agents with the letters X, Y, and Z. He feared the commissioners would be harmed if he revealed the names of the secret agents.

Americans reacted angrily to the news. Many called for war with France. A popular slogan arose, "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." The United States increased spending for its army and navy. Naval conflicts with France escalated to the level of what Adams called a "half war." The countries never declared war, though, and they finally negotiated peace in the Convention of 1800.

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Y

Yalta Conference

The Yalta Conference was held February 4 to 11, 1945, near the end of **World War II** (1939–45). British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin (1878–1953), and U.S. president **Franklin D. Roosevelt** (1882–1945; served 1933–45) met at Yalta on the Crimean Peninsula in the Soviet Union. As leaders of the **Allied** powers, they gathered to discuss the political details of Germany's expected surrender and the postwar world.

The conference at Yalta marked the height of cooperation between the Allied leaders. Conflicting aims and personalities, however, strained discussions and required many compromises. The future of Germany and its occupied countries, the Soviet Union's role in the war against Japan, the boundaries of Poland, and details regarding the development of an international security organization were all important topics the leaders discussed. Many other issues went untouched at the conference.

At the time of the conference, Germany had not yet surrendered, but it was expected to do so in the coming weeks. Much of the discussion among the Allied leaders involved the demands they would place on Germany and its allies in the peace process. Stalin wanted a harsh policy that would disable Germany from making war again. He demanded that reparations, or payment of war costs to the Allies, be high. Churchill wanted to preserve a healthy economy in Germany while still disabling its war industries. Roosevelt's position was somewhere in between.

In the end, decisions about reparations were postponed and given to a committee for study. The three leaders agreed that Germany would be divided into four zones of occupation after surrender. Each of the three

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countries and France would be responsible for one of the zones until a new government could be established. A joint occupation policy would be defined by an Allied Control Council, also called the Four Powers, in Berlin. Other newly liberated European countries were also to have the support and help of the Allies until free elections for new governments could be held.

Whereas the German surrender seemed certain, it was not obvious that Japan would take the same step. By 1945 the Soviet Union had not yet entered the war against Japan. The three leaders established a secret agreement that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan within two to three months after Germany's surrender. In return, the Soviet Union would be awarded certain territory gained by Japan during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5.

Stalin also had great interest in his country's neighbor, Poland. Seeking the security of a friendly government, Stalin hoped to persuade Churchill and Roosevelt to recognize the Polish Committee of National Liberation, a communist government. Both leaders, however, already acknowledged a Polish government in exile in London. With no one will-



Sir Winston Churchill, seated left, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin, right, meet at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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ing to change allegiances, it was decided that both governments together would form a united interim government. Elections were to be held as soon as possible. Stalin proposed a shift in the boundaries of Poland whereby it would regain territory previously lost by the Soviet Union after **World War I** (1914–18). After much negotiation, the boundary of Poland was changed, and the Soviet Union gained territory from the eastern part of Poland. To compensate for Poland's loss, Germany would be required to move its eastern boundary to give Poland some of its territory.

The concept of an international security organization was first proposed in 1941. By 1944 the foreign ministers of the three countries had established an organizational structure known as the United Nations. During the conference, plans were made for an international conference to be held to form the United Nations. It was scheduled for San Francisco in April 1945.

Prior to formation of the United Nations, there were important issues to be discussed at Yalta. Stalin wanted each of the Soviet republics to be considered independent countries. With such status, he hoped to gain sixteen seats in the General Assembly, the general governing body of the United Nations. He also pushed for veto abilities on all matters before the Security Council, which was to have powers superior to those of the General Assembly. After much discussion, Stalin dropped his demands. Instead he agreed to send a representative to the founding meeting scheduled for San Francisco.

Although discussions between the leaders at Yalta were difficult, their compromises made them optimistic about the peace process. The Yalta Conference, however, marked the last meeting of the three Allied leaders, and many issues remained undecided. President Roosevelt was very sick and died only two months later. Churchill would meet again with Stalin

Yalta Agreement

The compromises reached during the Yalta Conference were recorded in the Yalta Agreement accepted by the three leaders. Over time the agreement was criticized in the United States. Stalin's failure to keep his promises earned great condemnation. Rather than allowing free elections of a democratic government in Poland, the Soviet leader established communist governments. Other eastern European countries under Soviet control were reestablished with communist governments as well. The three Baltic States, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, continued to be occupied by the Soviets and were incorporated into the Soviet bloc.

The Soviet-dominated portions of Germany and Berlin became communist as well, contrasting sharply with the other three quarters overseen by France, Britain, and the United States. The region served as a blatant reminder of Cold War tensions between democratic and Communist states. Although the Yalta Agreement raised high hopes for a postwar world at the time, few of those aspirations were realized. In retrospect, the Yalta Agreement represents the beginning of a crumbling Allied partnership.

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at the **Potsdam Conference**, but in the British elections that occurred during that conference he was voted out of office. Changing leadership, conflicting intentions, and mutual suspicions slowly soured relations between the communist Soviet Union and the other democratic Allies. As promises made at Yalta dissolved in the tensions, the **Cold War** began.

Brigham Young

Brigham Young was the second president of the **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**, or the Mormon Church. Young led the Mormons to **Utah**, and colonized and governed the territory that served as their homeland.

Young was born on June 1, 1801, in **Vermont**, but his family moved to western **New York** when he was three. The family lived in poverty, and Young spent his childhood clearing woods, logging, and farming. He received only eleven days of formal education; all his other learning came from reading the Bible. At sixteen Young apprenticed himself to a woodworking shop and became a skilled carpenter and builder.

Seeking a religion

Young's parents were strict Methodists, but Young never accepted Methodism, and looked for a religion that was more suited to him. In 1825 he read the *Book of Mormon,* written by Joseph Smith (1805–1844). Intrigued, Young began to attend local Mormon meetings. In 1832 he moved to Kirtland, **Ohio**, to join Smith's Mormon community and church, officially called the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Young quickly rose within the new church. In 1835 he was elevated to a position third in seniority in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the administrative body that governed the church with Joseph Smith. By 1838 he had become the senior member of the Quorum, and in 1841 Young took over the job of handling the church's finances.

Years of conflict

Hostility plagued the Mormons throughout their history. Non-Mormon neighbors resented the success of the Mormon communities, and the American public at large feared the peculiarities of their doctrines. Persecution, armed conflicts, and massacres forced the Mormons to move progressively westward from Ohio to western **Missouri**, and finally

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to Nauvoo, **Illinois**. Each move reinforced the group's consciousness of themselves as special people and drew them closer together.

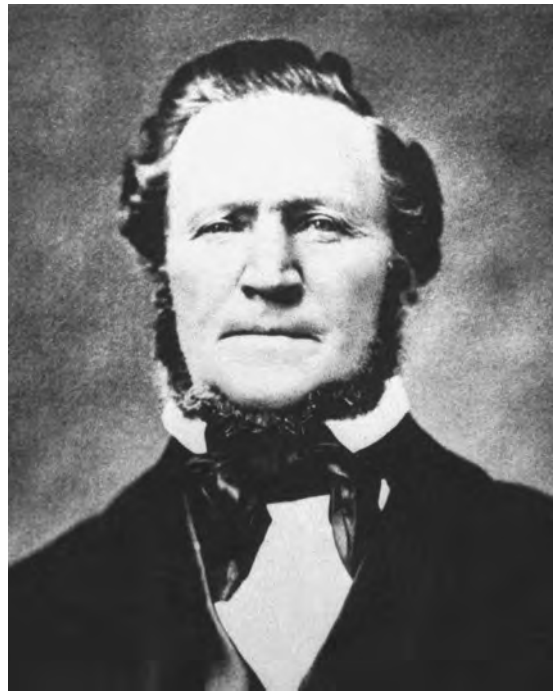
The state of Illinois, desperate for settlers, granted a charter for the Mormon city of Nauvoo in 1840 that established it as a separate city-state within Illinois. With its own mayor, justices, and an independent military, Nauvoo became the second-largest city in Illinois.

Soon conflict erupted with the non-Mormon population. Although it was kept secret, the Mormon leaders, including Smith and Young, practiced what they called "plural marriage"—having more than one wife at a time. Rumors of this practice of polygamy inflamed the hostilities of the non-Mormons around them. Besides, people feared the absolute power Joseph Smith had attained in Nauvoo as religious and political leader. When Smith ordered the destruction of the printing press of a group of Mormons who disagreed with him, mob violence broke out. Smith was arrested and eventually shot to death. In January 1845 the state of Illinois withdrew the charter for Nauvoo and demanded that the Mormons leave.

Taking the leadership role

After a brief struggle for leadership among several Mormon factions, Brigham Young took the top position of president of the Mormon Church. Frustrated by continual persecution, Young concluded that the Mormons must settle outside of American boundaries and become a self-sufficient people. After careful study, he decided the next Mormon home would be in the Great Salt Lake Valley in the Great Basin region, then a remote outpost of Mexico.

Young immediately began to prepare his people for the demanding trek across the country in 1846. He developed a military-style organization in order to ensure that his people would endure the hardships of the journey. Each group of ten families was led by a captain who maintained discipline. The first groups constructed roads and built bridges to make the passage of those that followed easier. They planted crops at strategic places along the course that



Brigham Young was the second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or the Mormon Church. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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could be harvested by later Mormon migrants. Because of Young's brilliant organizational skills, twelve thousand Mormons succeeded in reaching their distant destination by 1847.

Deseret

The Mormons soon established the provisional state of Deseret in the Great Salt Lake Valley. Between 1847 and 1857, ninety-five communities were established in the Mormon state. Young introduced the first scientific irrigation system in the United States, allowing agriculture to become the basis of the economy in this dry region.

Deseret was not a democracy. Repeated crises with non-Mormons and the discipline required for the westward migration reinforced the Mormon's earlier tendency toward authoritarian leadership. A theocracy (government ruled by religious authority) emerged with Young as spiritual and temporal leader. The prosperity of the community, in Young's eyes, depended on the cooperation of all members of the group. Individualism was discouraged, while obedience was highly valued.

Young's great organizational abilities mark him as one of the great colonizers. As he set up communities throughout the fertile valleys of the territory, he made sure each group included enough skilled mechanics and artisans to establish viable settlements. In 1868 Young established Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution and other businesses to protect Mormon self-sufficiency. He also established the Perpetual Emigration Fund, which provided loans and jobs for a steady flow of converts and immigrants. From 1849 to 1883, over seventy thousand converts to the Mormon church settled in Deseret.

Governor of Utah Territory

In 1848 Mexico ceded to the United States a large portion of its territory, including the Great Basin area. Only a year after their migration, the Mormons were once again on American soil. Young petitioned Congress to have Deseret admitted to the Union as a state. Congress refused Young's petition and instead gave Deseret territorial status and changed its name to Utah. Young was appointed governor.

In 1852 Young publicly announced Joseph Smith's earlier revelation, which had been kept secret since 1843: that plural marriage was a holy practice and the sacred duty of Mormon leaders. Young announced that

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he himself had more than twenty wives. The Mormon people were, for the most part, willing to accept plural marriage by this time. The outside world was not.

Mountain Meadows Massacre

In 1857, after being pressured by various territorial officials in Utah, President **James Buchanan** (1791–1868; served 1857–61) announced that Young would immediately be replaced by a new governor. He also ordered 2,500 troops to Utah, which, based on reports that Mormons were ignoring the laws of the United States, he considered to be on the verge of rebellion. The Mormons, determined not to be driven from another homeland, prepared for war. By the fall they had fortified the mountain passes and burned their supply forts. They also tried to persuade the local Ute Indians to join them as allies against non-Mormons.

In September of that year a large wagon train from Arkansas passed through Mormon territory on its way to **California**. The Mormons, already in a defensive, warlike state, put together a force of soldiers and Ute allies. They attacked the wagon train and killed its 120 members, a mix of men, women, and young children, in cold blood. The attack, which became known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre, was ordered by unknown Mormon leaders. Young almost certainly knew about the plans for the attack; it is not known if he approved it.

After the massacre Young expressed his willingness to negotiate with the federal government. The new territorial governor was installed without incident, but the friction between Young and the federal government never ceased. In 1862 government authorities sent a second armed force to Utah to watch over the Mormons, particularly to try to stop polygamy. Federal officials, moreover, sought to make new laws that would forever eliminate the practice. In connection with these rulings, Young and others were repeatedly arrested.

Young continued to rule behind the scenes until his death on August 9, 1877. He remained, to some extent, the dictator of a society whose methods, institutions, and ideals were extremely different from those of nineteenth-century American society. He succeeded in bringing his religious, social, and economic system into practice and preserved its identity against a hostile nation. When he died he left behind a fortune, testifying to his practical business skills. He also left behind at least twenty-six wives (some say many more) and fifty-seven children.

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